Ritual and Religion in Iron Age Britain

G. A. Wait

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS			ix
CHAPTER 1		RELIGION AND ARCHAEOLOGY	1
	1.1	Introduction	
	1.2	A Model of Religion	3
	1.3	The Evidence for Celtic Religion	10
		The Archaeological Evidence	10
		Celtic Ethnographies	11
		Celtic Vernacular Literature	12
		Ethnography	22
	1.4	Framework of Analysis	13
CHAPTER 2		METALWARE AND WATERY CONTEXTS	15
	2.1	The Evidence	16
		Limitations	17
	2.2	Analysis	18
		Contexts of Artifacts	18
		Geographical Distribution of Artifacts	22
	2.3	Discussion of Results	47
	2.4	Continental Evidence	49
CHAPTER 3		RITUAL SHAFTS AND WELLS	51
	3.1	The Evidence	52
		Definition of the Evidence	52
		Limitations of the Evidence	54
	3.2	Analysis	61
		Geographical Distribution of Shafts	61
		The Contents of the Shafts	64
		Formal Characteristics: Depth of Shafts	76
	3.3	Discussion of Results	76
	3.4	Summary	81
CHAPTER 4		HUMAN MORTUARY RITUALS	83
	4.1	The Evidence	85
		Definition	85
	4.2	Analysis	89
		Population Represented	89
		Age Structure	90
		Differential Treatment of Males/Females	92
		Burial Categories	94
		Contexts of Deposits on Sites	98
		Locations of Deposits on Sites	100
		Frequency of Deposits through Time	113
	4.3	Summary of Results	116
	4.4	Interpretations	118
	4.5	Conclusions	120

CHAPTER 5		ANIMAL DEPOSITS AND CELTIC ANIMAL SACRIFICE	122
	5.1	The Evidence	122
		Definition of the Evidence	122
	5.2	Analysis	126
		Comparison of Species in Minimum Number of Individuals and Special Animal Deposits	126
		Species Preferences through Time	132
		Category Preferences through Time	132
		Species and Category Preferences Correlated	132
		Non-Domestic Animals in Special Deposits	138
		Contexts and Locations of Special Animal Deposits	138
		Frequency of Special Animal Deposits through Time	147
		Characteristics of Special Deposits not Considered	149
	5.3	Results	149
	5.4	Interpretation	151
	5.5	Conclusions	153
CHAPTER 6		CELTIC SHRINES	154
	6.1	The Evidence	154
		Celtic Ethnographies	155
		Shrines in the Pre-Roman Iron Age	156
	6.2	Analysis of Celtic Shrines	171
		The Structures	171
		The Sites	173
		Associated Artifacts	176
		Summary of Results: Celtic Shrines	177
	6.3	Romano-Celtic Temples	178
		The Evidence	178
		Analysis	179
		Temple Structures	179
		Temple Sites	181
		The Artifacts	186
		Summary of Evidence from Romano-Celtic Temples	188
	6.4	General Summary	190
CHAPTER 7		THE CELTIC ETHNOGRAPHIES	191
	7.1	The Evidence	191
		Limitations	192
	7.2	Analysis	194
		The Celtic Pantheon	195
		Religious Specialists	200
		Religious Locations	203
		Eschatology: Beliefs of Soul and Afterlife	205
		Sacrifices	206
		Divination	207
		Votive Offerings	207
	7.3	Summary	208

CHAPTER 8		THE CELTIC VERNACULAR LITERATURE	210
	8.1	The Evidence	210
		The Nature of the Sources: Irish Mythology	210
		Welsh Mythology	211
		Limitations on Interpretation	212
	8.2	Analysis	215
		The Celtic Myths	216
		Irish Deities	217
		Tuatha de Dannan	217
		Tutelary Goddesses	218
		Miscellaneous Irish Deities	219
		Welsh Deities	220
		Heroes	222
		Continental Parallels with Insular Celtic Mythic Figures	223
		Remnant Cosmogony	224
		Remnant Eschatology	225
		Articulation of Society with the Supernatural	227
		Sacral Kingship	227
		Liminal Time Cycle	228
		Liminal Places: Religious Locations	229
		Religious Specialists	231
		Articulation of the Individual with the Supernatural	232
		General Features of the Supernatural	232
	8.3	Summary: Religion in Irish/Welsh Society	234
CHAPTER 9		THE ETHNOLOGY OF BURIAL AND SACRIFICE	235
	9.1	Analysis	235
		General-Comparative Analogies	235
		Death and Mortuary Rituals	236
		Sacrificial and Votive Offerings	240
	9.2	Summary: Ethnography and Archaeology	245
CHAPTER 10		THE NATURE AND ROLE OF RELIGION IN THE IRON AGE	246
	10.1	The Early Iron Age: circa 700 - 400 BC	247
		The Social Context	247
		Ritual Behaviour	248
	10.2	The Middle Iron Age: circa 400 - 100 BC	252
		The Social Context	252
		Ritual Behaviour	254
	10.3	The Late Iron Age: 100 BC - AD 43	257
		The Social Context	257
		Ritual Behaviour	260
		Cult Institutions	262
		Fertility Cults	262
		Mortuary Cults	263
		Cult of Sacral Kingship	265
	10.4	Future Research on Celtic Religion	268

APPENDICES 271
Appendix I Finds from Watery Contexts 272
Swords, Daggers and Scabbards 273
Bronze Vessels 293
Spoons or Scoops 302
Shields and Helmets 304
Torcs 310

Appendix II Ritual Shafts 320
Ritual Shafts 321
Chi-squared Tests 337

Appendix III Special Animal Burials 341

Appendix IV Human Remains 357

Appendix V Celtic Shrines 385

Appendix VI Romano-Celtic Temples 394

BIBLIOGRAPHY 431

LIST OF FIGURES

CHAPTER 1		RELIGION AND ARCHAEOLOGY	
	1.1	Systemic Model of a Cult Institution	9
CHAPTER 2		METALWARE AND WATERY CONTEXTS	
	2.1	Swords of the Early Iron Age	23
	2.2	Swords of the Early Iron Age - Thames Basin	25
	2.3	Swords of the Middle Iron Age	26
	2.4	Swords of the Middle Iron Age - Thames Basin	28
	2.5	Swords of the Late Iron Age	29
	2.6	Bronze Vessels of the Early Iron Age	32
	2.7	Bronze Vessels of the Late Iron Age	34
	2.8	Bronze Spoons of the Late Iron Age	37
	2.9	Shields of the Early Iron Age	39
	2.10	Shields and Helmets of the Late Iron Age	41
	2.11	Torcs of the Early and Late Iron Age	43
	2.12	Torcs - Roman and Undated Finds	45
	2.13	Regional Traditions in the Iron Age	48
CHAPTER 3		RITUAL SHAFTS AND WELLS	
	3.1	Distribution of Late Iron Age Ritual Shafts	62
	3.2	Distribution of Roman Ritual Shafts	63
	3.3	Depths of Iron Age and Roman Shafts	77
CHAPTER 4		HUMAN MORTUARY RITUALS	
	4.1	Iron Age Burial Traditions	84
	4.2	Iron Age Sites with Human Remains in Pits	86
	4.3	Age Structure of Human Remains	91
	4.4	Proportions of Males and Females in Burial Categories	93
	4.5	Frequency of Burial Categories	95
	4.6	Comparison of Burial Categories and Age Groups: Settlements	96
	4.7	Comparison of Burial Categories and Age Groups: Hillforts	97
	4.8	Contexts of Human Remains	99
	4.9	Human Remains at Ashville	103
	4.10	Human Remains at Ashville and Little Somborne	104
	4.11	Human Remains at Gussage-All-Saints	105
	4.12	Human Remains at Old Down Farm	106
	4.13	Human Remains at Old Down Farm	107
	4.14	Human Remains at Twywell and Winnall Down	108
	4.15	Human Remains at Hod Hill	109
	4.16	Human Remains at Winklebury	110
	4.17	Human Remains at Danebury, Early Iron Age	111
	4.18	Human Remains at Danebury, Late Iron Age	112
	4.19	Number of Deposits of Human Remains	115

CHAPTER 5 ANIMAL DEPOSITS AND CELTIC ANIMAL SACRIFICE

5.1 Iron Age Sites with Special Animal Deposits 123
5.2 Minimum Number of Individuals and Special Animal Deposits 127
5.3 Comparison of Occurrence of Species in SAD and as MNI 128
5.4 Special Animal Deposits on Hillforts 130
5.5 Special Animal Deposits on Settlements 131
5.6 Relative Proportion of Special Deposits represented by each Animal Species 133
5.7 Relative Frequency of each Category of SAD 134
5.8 Correlation of Species and Deposit Categories in the Early and Middle Iron Age 135
5.9 Correlation of Species and Deposit Categories in the Late Iron Age 136
5.10 Special Animal Deposits at Ashville 140
5.11 Special Animal Deposits at Ashville and Little Somborne 141
5.12 Special Animal Deposits at Gussage-All-Saints 142
5.13 Special Animal Deposits at Old Down Farm 143
5.14 Special Animal Deposits at Old Down Farm 144
5.15 Special Animal Deposits at Winnall Down and Twywell 145
5.16 Special Animal Deposits at Winklebury 146
5.17 Comparison of Numbers of Pits and Special Animal Deposits 148

CHAPTER 6 CELTIC SHRINES

6.1 Celtic Shrines at Danebury 158
6.2a Celtic Shrines at Hayling Island 159
6.2b Celtic Shrines at Frilford 159
6.3 Celtic Shrine at Gosbecks 160
6.4 Celtic Shrine at Heathrow 162
6.5 Celtic Shrine at Lancing Ring 163
6.6 Celtic Shrine at Little Waltham 164
6.7 Celtic Shrine at Maiden Castle 165
6.8 Celtic Shrine at South Cadbury 167
6.9 Celtic Shrine at Uley 168
6.10a South Cadbury Shrine 5.31 Detail Plan 170
6.10b Celtic Shrine at Worth 170
6.11 Distribution of Celtic Shrines 174
6.12 Hypothetical Celtic Political Boundaries 175
6.13 Features of Romano-Celtic Temple Sites 182
6.14 Distribution of Romano-Celtic Temples 185

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Her death on 1 November 1984 prevented her from seeing
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CHAPTER 1

RELIGION AND ARCHAEOLOGY

INTRODUCTION

The civilised world of the Mediterranean in the first millennium BC was in no doubt as to the identity of their northern neighbours - they were the Celts, and they enter into history as barbarians grudgingly accepting Graeco-Roman civilisation at the point of a Roman sword. Modern archaeological research, especially during the last two decades, has done much to correct this Romano-centric attitude.

During the Iron Age (roughly from the seventh century BC until Roman conquest) the peoples of France, Switzerland, Austria, southern Germany, east central Europe, part of Spain and the British Isles were not as simple and primitive as they sometimes appear in contemporary Roman accounts. These peoples, who shared in some degree a similar material culture, which is now called Hallstatt and La Tène, spoke similar languages (now called Celtic) and in spite of local variations had a similar lifestyle. This combination left the Greeks and Romans convinced that the Celts were a recognisable ethnic group. A group, moreover, which in the third century BC invaded and sacked much of Italy and Greece and left successful colonies behind them in central Turkey and northern Italy - invasions which were long remembered in Rome.

In their homelands north of the Alps these Celts had maintained a wide and complex trade network, sometimes deeply connected to the Mediterranean world (Frankenstein & Rowlands 1978) and at other times largely independent (Rowlands 1980; Collis 1984, 62-81, 139-157). The Celts had also begun the process of urbanisation (Cunliffe 1976b; Burnham 1979, 255-72; Collis 1984, 145-157). When on the fringes of the Roman state, the Celts may have begun the transformation from a complex chiefdom-political system (Crumley 1974; Rodwell 1976) into incipient states (Nash 1978; Haselgrove 1979, 1982; Cunliffe 1978; 1984, 12-45). The marvellously complex and rich art style for which much of the Celtic material culture is named - the La Tène art - and the complexity of the Irish Celtic mythology both belie any notions about Celtic simplicity or primitiveness. Amongst this list of the many aspects of Celtic society supporting active research, one aspect is conspicuously absent: religion. Even the superstitious Romans were impressed by the religious fervour of the Celts, so religion must have been a prominent part of the Celtic culture. This study seeks to complement the wealth of research into Celtic society by providing a basic picture of Celtic religion, with particular emphasis on the evidence from Britain.

Past research on the subject of Celtic religion has been both diverse and detailed, but each study has concentrated on only one or two narrowly defined points of interest or sources of evidence. The result is that, although many individual topics are now well understood, no overall understanding of Celtic religion has been achieved.

One of the earliest, and still one of the best studies of Celtic religion is T D Kendrick's The Druids (1927). This work presents a good summary of the evidence, along with Kendrick's interpretations. Stuart Piggott's The Druids (1968) presents an updated version of its forebear of the same title with an emphasis on the burgeoning amount of archaeological evidence, but like its predecessor it is still constrained by the topic of Druids and rarely diverges into the wider realm of Celtic religion.

Another major work is Lambrechts' (1942) analysis of Romano-Celtic iconography. This fine study is still a standard reference, but the implications of iconography for religious beliefs in a wider sense are left substantially unexplored. The same limitations apply to the subsequent researches of Vendryes (1948), Duval (1976) and De Vries (1963). Anne Ross' Pagan Celtic Britain (1967) integrates several sources, primarily Romano-Celtic iconography with Celtic vernacular mythology. Neither source is fully exploited and again the result is of limited usefulness. More recently Green (1976) provides a welcome study of British iconography, and the volume edited by Rodwell (1980) contains several papers of great interest, but there are still no attempts at a general synthesis.

The increased data available from all of these previous studies, makes an attempt at a general understanding of Celtic religion practical and logical. The major limitation affecting the earlier studies has not been a lack of evidence, but rather the absence of any general framework by which the great variety and volume of evidence can be organised. This limitation is true not only of Celtic religion but of archaeology in general: there is as yet no consistent theory or methodology by which to interpret the evidence of religious behaviour preserved in the archaeological records of prehistoric societies.

This study proposes a model of religion, derived from anthropology (A F C Wallace 1966) but extensively modified, which is sufficiently general to guide a study of any religion and which can incorporate both archaeological and non-archaeological evidence. This model is used to organise and interpret the results of the diverse earlier studies, and thereby to attempt a general synthesis of Celtic religion.

Religion is here defined as: (1) the recognition of, and belief in, supernatural powers, forces and deities, and (2) the formulation of procedures to control both the supernatural forces and the natural world, by correct interaction with the supernatural. The last part of this definition is, for the purposes of this study, the most important, since religious beliefs always have behavioural concomitants which are directly accessible to the ethnographer and indirectly to the archaeologist. The ethnologist William Goode has phrased it thus:

> Religion is not something which is only believed; it is lived ..... religious belief requires action at every turn, action in this world, toward this world (1951, 222, emphasis is original).

Thus this study will focus first on the actions of religious behaviour; this is inherent in the archaeological record where only the results of actions are preserved. The use of non-archaeological information will be crucial to an understanding of the non-behavioural belief aspects of religion. Certainly the relationship between behaviour and belief need be neither direct nor obvious, but it must exist.

A MODEL OF RELIGION

The basic element of religion is what A F C Wallace (1966, 52) calls the "supernatural premise", the existence of supernatural forces. R Drennan (1976, 347) phrases the concept more specifically as the "religious experience", or a direct, emotion-based experiencing of the numinous or the supernatural. Beliefs or behaviours involved in a direct experience of the supernatural acquire religious significance. Here, seven "minimal units" of belief and nine "minimal units" of behaviour are distinguished; these form the basis of religion.

The seven basic units of belief, combined in varying proportions and in different detailed form, constitute what is generally referred to as a "belief code" or "belief system" (Wallace 1966, 81-83), or as "sacred propositions" (Drennan 1976, 347). All are accepted as prima facie "true" by believers and all are incapable of rational substantiation. They are therefore, by definition, articles of belief. These include (adapted from Wallace 1966, 52-88):

1 Direct experience of the supernatural. All religions recognise and use some mechanism or form of direct personal contact with the supernatural. This may be referred to as inspiration (cf Wallace 1966, 65-66), mysticism, religious ecstasy etc. Typically, religions recognise only one or two types of such experiences as valid and view all other types as suspect.

2 Embodiment of supernatural power in physical form. Certain objects are held to embody a supernatural force, according to the tenets of all or most religions. Under certain conditions it is beneficial to touch such objects (mana), while in other circumstances contact is held to be highly dangerous (taboo), (cf Marrett 1909, for source of terms "mana" and "taboo" in Polynesian cultures).

3 Liminality. All religions consider certain geographical places, or certain times (of day, week, month, season or year) to be liminal - that is, a point of contact or threshold between the ordinary profane world and the supernatural world.

4 Pantheon. The term relates to a collection of deities and supernatural powers, not necessarily organised or internally related. A pantheon usually implies a hierarchic organisation of gods, which often may be inappropriate, but there is no adequate alternative term. The nature of organisation amongst supernatural powers, therefore, must be specified.

5 Cosmology. A theory of the universe, and particularly its origin, is integral to all religions. Cosmology, as an explication of the universe, also includes substantive beliefs about planes of exis-

tence (life and death, dreams) and relations of cause and effect (as in illness).

6 Eschatology. All religions also offer, as elements of belief, concepts of the nature of death and the fate of man/soul after death, and include concepts of judgement and afterlife.

7 Morals. Most religions specify certain behaviours as "good", "proper" or "necessary" in the daily lives of the laity. They also include the definition of certain goals as "good", and require the laity to attempt their attainment. A common example is spiritual salvation.

There is also a series of elemental behaviours, which are so basic as to be virtually inseparable from the beliefs just discussed. Such basic behavioural elements rarely, if ever, occur alone; they are religious acts which in themselves possess little or no meaning. Indeed, if they did so occur, the action would have no meaning and would allow no interpretation, for the meaning follows as a result of the combination of various acts and beliefs. These are adapted from Wallace (1966, 52-88).

8 Prayer. All religions have customary ways in which members address the supernatural and communicate with it. Usually, the content of the address, its style of presentation, and a requisite body posture are all carefully specified.

9 Music, dancing and singing. Most religions use dancing, singing and music as elements of religious behaviour in the performance of ceremonies. A typical combination is music and prayer as a mechanism to promote a mystical state allowing a direct sensate experience of the supernatural.

10 Physiological manipulation. Many religions use a series of mechanisms to induce an ecstatic spiritual state, a direct experience of the supernatural. These include hallucinogenic drugs, alcohol, sensory deprivation, deprivation of food or water, or physical mortification by pain.

11 Mediation. Most religions provide for some people to act as mediators between the laity and the supernatural. Individuals may become mediators (perhaps more appropriately designated as religious specialists) by birth, inspiration or training; their assignment is to exhort the laity on behalf of the supernatural and to carry requests and supplications from the laity to the supernatural.

12 Control of the supernatural. Many religions define certain parts of the supernatural as susceptible to direct control by mortals if certain rituals are followed. The key belief is that the supernatural power must, by its very nature, act as man desires. Typical examples are imitative and simulation magic.

13 Feasts/fasts. Most religions require the laity to partake of certain meals, both as an act of piety and as a method of acquiring a beneficial supernatural power or force (mana). Conversely, the same force can be gained, or a dangerous force avoided, by abstinence from certain foods at certain times.

14 Congregation. All religions involve some actions in which the laity participates or watches - religious behaviour in at least some of its aspects is a social activity. The most typical examples are meetings, processions and feasts.

15 Sacrificial and votive offerings. Most religions define certain deities or supernatural powers which may act in a desired fashion if they receive proper inducement. Alternatively, the laity may enter into a "contractual" relationship with the supernatural; sacrifices or votives are offered as either payment for, or bribes for, a desired effect. In none of these instances is the supernatural required to act as in 12 above, though the sacrifice is predicated on the presumption that the supernatural will act as desired. Sometimes, the distinction between control of the supernatural and sacrifice can be difficult for an outsider to distinguish, though the conceptual differences are clear.

16 Iconography and symbolism. Most religions use various items, ranging in size from buildings to personal talismans, to represent deities, supernatural powers, morals, values and man-supernatural relationships. These serve as immediately perceptible summations of major religious principles. They serve to edify and to pictorialise, and the contemplation and handling of such items is frequently useful in attaining direct experience with the supernatural. As part of this last concept many symbols or icons are believed to be charged with super-natural power - they become mana.

These seven elemental beliefs and nine elemental behaviours may be combined in a great many ways. These combinations are rituals: standardised, repetitive, stereotypic successions of discrete actions occurring in a supernatural context (eg associated with a direct experience of the supernatural) and are undertaken for a single specific purpose (cf Wallace 1966, 67-68).

Although the possible variations are limitless, rituals may be grouped together into functional categories based upon the type of result they are intended to produce. For present purposes, seven types of rituals are postulated.

1 Mortuary and funerary rituals. The rituals regulate the disposal of the dead and care for the body and soul according to eschatological beliefs. These rituals are also instrumental in maintaining social solidarity and in the transference of power and property according to cosmology, morals and substantive beliefs.

2 Rites of passage. These include the rituals whereby a society recognises and effects change in the sacred and secular status of its members. Typically, these include birth, baptism/naming, adulthood, marriage and sometimes death. These rituals transfer an individual from one set of sacred/secular rights and duties to another, and the time of change is frequently viewed as a liminal time when the individual is part member of two groups yet not fully within either.

3 Fertility rituals. These rituals are intended to ensure the fertility of people, animals, wildlife, fields etc by maintaining a "proper" relationship between a group of people and the supernatural

power whence the fertility is believed to originate. The ritual serves to please, cajole or bribe the supernatural response.

4 Divination. A variety of rituals (frequently using a combination of sacrifice and technological magic) are intended to give knowledge of the future or of events beyond human control. Such knowledge may then be used to guide actions in order to maximise safety and productivity.

5 Technological magic. Some rituals are intended to manipulate or force a supernatural power to act in a desired manner, typically to cause or heal illness, or to bring rain or sun as needed. If the ritual is performed as prescribed, the result is automatic; the supernatural or natural world cannot help performing as directed.

6 Worship. Rituals performed by either an individual or a group, during which beliefs and relationships to the supernatural will be minimally reaffirmed, are called worship. Usually, other rituals are performed at the same time.

7 Rituals of sanctification. This class of ritual can be quite complex in function (cf Drennan 1976, 346-348), but in essence it imparts to persons, institutions and values the unquestionability of basic religious beliefs. Thus, a person, such as a chief or king, or an institution, such as trial by a council of elders, or a value concerning correct social behaviour all become directly associated with a basic belief and a direct experience of the numinous. The functioning of the system, be it political, judicial, economic or social, becomes sanctified or legitimated by the entire religious system. Many rituals perform this role indirectly, but there appears to be a separate class wherein the smooth and effective operating of society is the function of the ritual.

Although each of these rituals may include any of the elements of religious behaviour in the performance of the ceremonies, some elements may be expected a priori to be prominent in certain types of rituals. This sort of correlation, imperfect as it is, may be used to guide interpretation of the purpose of a ritual when explicit evidence is lacking.

For example, fertility rituals possess a consistent set of behaviours. Liminality of time is important (3), usually reflecting seasonality. Iconography (16) is present, representing both fertility and regeneration. The rituals nearly always involve social gatherings (14), feasts (13) and either propitiatory or contractual sacrifices (15).

Divination and technological magic have a similar series of behavioural elements. They utilise a belief in the nature of the supernatural as manipulatable (5), and both may use sacrifice (15) as the active part of the ritual.

Rituals of sanctification, which provide the point of maximum articulation between religion and society, are frequently characterised by five elements. Those which form the active elements are: congregation of the laity to witness (14), feasts (13) and sacrifice (15). The remainder are: the use of a distinctive series of "secular" symbols (16), and the use of liminal times and places to hold the events (3). The correlation between rituals of sanctification and other social

institutions, especially in terms of overlap of personnel, symbols, places and scheduling, is distinctive.

Clearly, evidence from one observer or source may be insufficient to distinguish the different varieties of rituals. Such differentiation will only be possible through the integration of a variety of sources.

All seven types of ritual have certain characteristics in common. The first is that they all tend to occur in a place which is either intrinsically sacred or is rendered sacred in the performance of the rituals. This is designed to regulate contact between this world and the supernatural. Because these places are sacred, behaviour on them is never normal; many profane activities are prohibited, while other sacred actions do occur which are never found elsewhere.

Secondly, such rituals will usually be performed by a religious specialist of some sort. Typically, this is either a part-time or full-time professional official, but in some instances lay individuals (usually secular social leaders) acquire a limited degree of sacred ability to perform certain rituals (cf Wallace 1966, 8-16-17, "individualistic" and "communal" cults). Often, these latter rituals seem as much secular events as religious ceremonies. The appearance of different kinds of officials with responsibility for different sorts of rituals has implications for the structural organisation of religious institutions.

Thirdly, rituals may be characterised by the nature of the function they serve. Rituals which serve regularly recurring functions may be called "calendrical rituals". Most, if not all, rituals performed by otherwise lay officials are of this sort. Other rituals are performed irregularly, as they are needed; these may be designated as "crisis rituals". Mortuary rituals are usually of the "crisis" variety (eg performed for individuals at death) or performed at irregular intervals for all the dead since the last ritual. Rites of passage may be either calendrical or crisis - performed regularly for age grades or, more commonly, when individuals achieve a new status. Fertility rituals, with their close links to seasonality, are nearly always calendrical. Both divination and technological magic are crisis rituals, performed at need to answer specific questions or to alter certain circumstances such as healing illness. Worship is nearly always regular - daily, weekly, monthly, seasonal and yearly. Most rituals of sanctification are deeply embedded in a regular cycle of social life, but a few are performed at crisis points: for example, selection and inauguration of a new leader upon the death of an old leader.

The fourth characteristic of rituals is the use of iconography and symbols to represent the nature of the supernatural power involved and to illustrate various aspects of the relationship between man and the supernatural. For example, mortuary rituals (eg treatment of body, grave goods) use symbols which represent eschatological beliefs, and fertility rituals' symbols represent prosperity. Within the context of any one ritual, the symbolism may be ambiguous or unintelligible; a wider knowledge of the contexts and associations between symbols may aid the identification of referents for most symbols.

Rituals, each of which may have a number of constituent parts, are combined in a variety of ways to form "cult institutions". Cult institutions are sets of rituals which have either the same or conceptually linked goals; usually, they are expressly related by a single belief code, use a common set of symbols and are supported by the same social group (Wallace 1966, 75-76). Cult institutions include some aspects of both cosmogony and eschatology in the belief code. Most cult

institutions maintain a hierarchy of part-time or full-time religious specialists, which allows cult institutions to be differentiated into bureaucratic or structural types.

For present purposes, two varieties of cult institutions are distinguished. The first maintains part-time officials and is characteristic of either small autonomous social groups or small, relatively egalitarian social groups within a larger society. Wallace further postulates two subtypes, Shamanic and Communal, based upon whether the official is paid for his services directly, and upon how frequently the official's services are needed (Wallace 1966, 84-88). Since there is considerable overlap, the distinction is dropped, and instead a single category of Communal cult institution will be maintained. When a cult institution serves a large or diverse group over a large area, it develops a hierarchy of full-time officials. The organisation of officials is supported as a whole by the laity, and a clear-cut sacred-profane division of labour develops. Such officials will be prominent in society (by virtue of rituals of sanctification) and are also frequently organised according to the same principles as secular, political, military or economic institutions. These are referred to as ecclesiastical cult institutions.

Cult institutions also maintain sacred places and, in ecclesiastical cult institutions, these will be hierarchically organised (and possibly susceptible to spatial analysis). In addition, cult institutions utilise a particular and complex set of iconographic symbols to represent the salient aspects of the cult. All of these elements are related into a cohesive whole by a series of beliefs, including both moral and legal systems and illustrated by the use of mythology.

This tightly cohesive linking of all aspects, both belief and behaviour, means that the cult institution is "religion" at its most tangible. This also suggests that cult institutions may be treated as an example of D L Clarke's "polythetic entities" (1978, 36-37). Thus, certain rituals and other religious behaviour (eg different kinds of rituals and specific ways of performing those kinds of rituals) may be linked together as a cult institution by an outside observer, on the basis of their co-occurrence with certain religious specialists, sacred places, iconography, myths and beliefs, deities etc. Whenever such co-occurrence is found, a cult institution may be represented. This provides a key to interpretation, as all of the constituent parts must fit together with minimal contradiction. Clearly, the more evidence available from different sources (eg ritual, iconography, myths etc) the more links between various parts are explicit, thus greatly aiding interpretation.

Cult institutions provide for interaction between religious beliefs and behaviour and the functioning of the rest of secular society. The most obvious point of contact is the ritual of sanctification, though this leads to a slight over-simplification. Most rituals play some role in the cycle of secular activities and indirectly serve to legitimate those activities - they provide the meanings behind them and explanations for why things are done as they are. Religious rituals and beliefs ultimately link all aspects of social life together in a complex but indirect network (Drennan 1976, 347-349; Geertz 1957, 421-427). This direct and indirect linkage of social systems to the supernatural tends to replace members' rational assent with emotional commitment (Geertz 1957, 421) and provides an exceptionally powerful element of cooperative behaviour among members. This, in turn, promotes continuity, not only of religion, but of the social system as a whole.

Figure 1.1: SYSTEMIC MODEL OF A CULT INSTITUTION

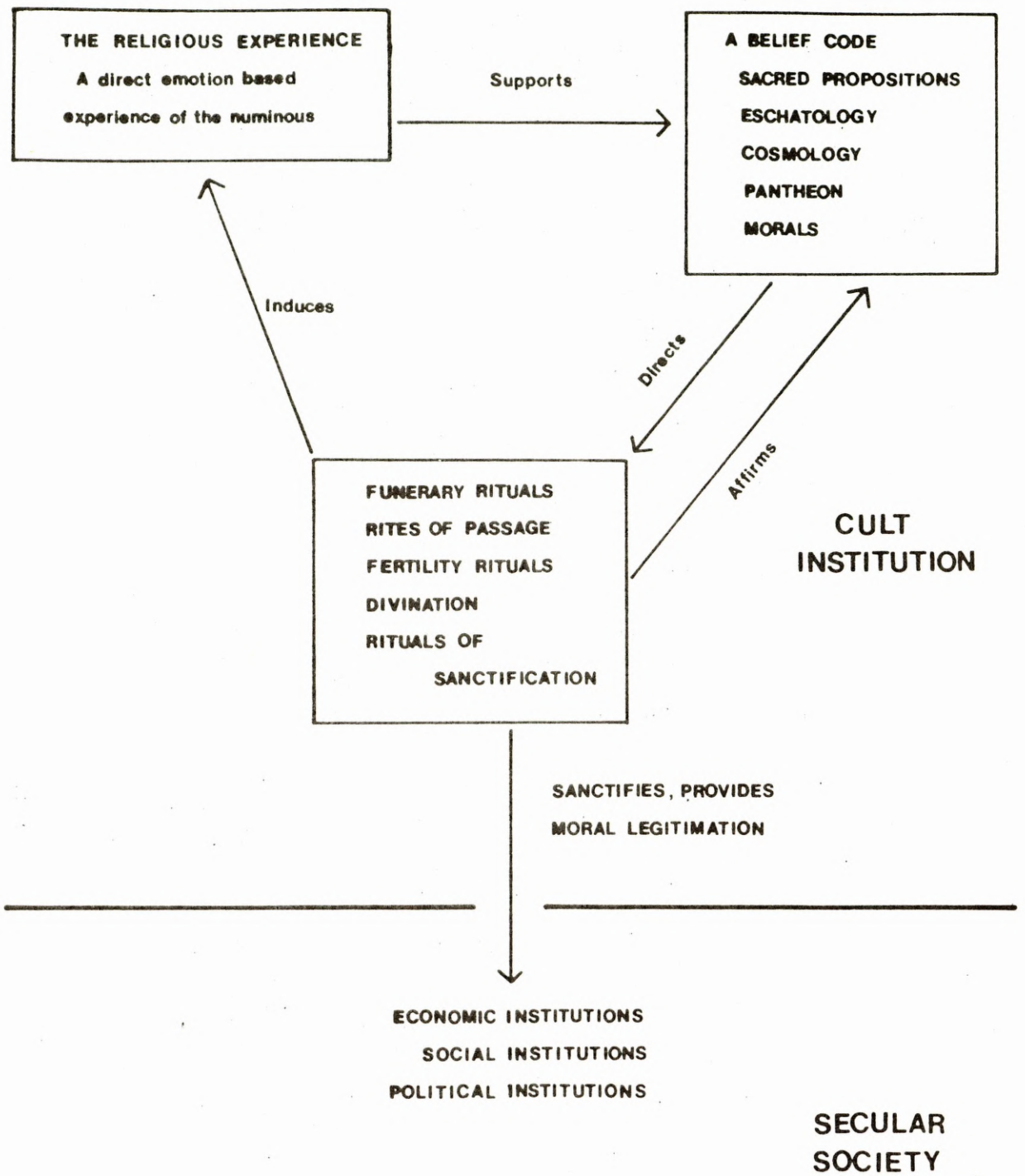


Figure 1.1 Source Drennan 1976 Fig.11.8, with modifications

It also implies that changes in the secular social sub-systems (economics, politics, subsistence etc) will be at first resisted by the entire social system but will eventually lead to changes in most parts of the society, including religion. Religious institutions must therefore be studied in the context of the society in which they occur, and which they support. All of the available points of contact between sacred and secular institutions should be considered in order to understand how the religious system functions and changes through time. Figure 1.1 represents a "systemic model" of the functional interaction within a cult institution and its articulation with other social institutions.

Cult institutions, however, rarely, if ever, occur singly. Rather, a number will be maintained simultaneously by a single group of people. In the manner of polythetic entities, no one cult institution will count a whole society in its membership, and no single member will participate in all of his group's cult institutions. There will, however, be a more or less workable integration of personnel, places and activities between cult institutions to allow for a maximal involvement of the whole laity. Each cult institution remains conceptually distinct and autonomous, however intermixed in practice (Wallace 1966, 76). This loosely related set of cult institutions constitutes the religion of a society. Religion is thus a summative notion (Wallace 1966, 78), a collective, normative entity which subsumes diversity. It can easily be recognised and understood in the context of its constituent parts, the cult institutions.

THE EVIDENCE FOR CELTIC RELIGION

The model proposed here is applied to the evidence available for Celtic religion. Such evidence is found not only in the archaeological record, but also from three other sources: Celtic ethnographies, the Celtic vernacular literature, and ethnology. The quantity of evidence and its varied sources, means that a surprisingly complete account of Celtic religion is possible. Here the evidence will be discussed in general terms, and its strengths and weaknesses briefly outlined. More complete, extensive discussions of each set of evidence and its inherent limitations will be found in the introductions to chapters two to nine.

The Archaeological Evidence

There are six classes of artifacts of the Pre-Roman Iron Age of Britain which may provide evidence for religious behaviour. The most dramatic of these classes includes the several hundred swords and daggers (of Hallstatt C and D and mid-late La Tène date respectively) that have been found consistently in a number of rivers in Britain. J D Cowen (1967) and M Jope (1962) have published discussions of certain aspects, but the consistent context of rivers has gone unexplored. Similarly, the numerous shields of late Hallstatt and late La Tène periods, from rivers and bogs, may well be part of the same phenomenon. This speculation is strengthened by a consideration of the bronze cauldrons, of both Hallstatt and La Tène date, which are found only in bogs and rivers (Hawkes 1951, Hawkes & Smith 1957). These artifacts may be contrasted in both context and spatial distribution with other prestige items, such as torcs. If these artifacts' context contrasts with the context and distribution of other artifact classes, some other

behaviour must be postulated as an explanation. In this case, the lack of a sealed archaeological context may be no great handicap to the use of the evidence.

Three other varieties of archaeological features from Iron Age sites have been separately touched upon by past researchers as potentially religious in origin. Anne Ross' (1968, Ross & Feacham 1976) controversial speculations about ritual shafts and wells are an example of postulations seriously in need of re-examination. Similarly, the subject of human burial has received some recent attention, notably from Whimster (1977, 1981) and Wilson (1981), but the full range of variation, and the meaning behind Iron Age mortuary rituals in a religious context, remain wholly unexplained. Finally, the presence of what are undoubtedly animal burials on Iron Age settlement sites has gone virtually unnoticed, with the exception of the necessarily tentative interpretations offered by Grant (1984a, 533-548). A more comprehensive analysis is essential.

There remain archaeological sites bearing traces of structures which are arguably religious in nature. The existence of religious buildings and sites of the Iron Age has been noticed on many occasions, notably by Grimes (1948), Alcock (1968, 1969, 1970, 1971, 1972a, 1972b), Cunliffe (1978, 320-323; 1984, 81-87, 187-189) and Downey, King and Soffe (1982), and the subject has recently benefited from a general review by Drury (1980). Such religious complexes still need to be examined in the context of Celtic religion in general and as sacred places in particular.

The last source of archaeological evidence includes the Romano-Celtic temples which so dramatically symbolise religion at the end of the period under consideration. Although they are, by definition, from the post-conquest period, they are predominantly Celtic in inspiration (Wilson 1973a) and can, with care, provide a retrospective view of some aspects of Celtic religious practices. Romano-Celtic temples have been well studied in their own right, beginning with the seminal work of Lewis (1966), and more recently (and less structure-oriented) by Wilson (1972, 1975a) and Rodwell (1980a), where the integration of temples into a Romano-Celtic social context is begun. The role which temples fulfilled in Romano-Celtic religion is virtually unknown. From an archaeological point of view, much of this evidence is of high quality, and the size and composition of the samples are sufficient to allow confident analysis.

Celtic Ethnographies

In addition to the archaeological evidence, there are three non-archaeological sources relevant to a discussion of Celtic religion. The first of these includes the observations made by writers of the Greek and Roman world about the Celtic world, which they encountered in first century Gaul and Britain. For this evidence, Kendrick (1927) with his own translations, is still a valuable source, followed by Tierney's (1960) "reconstruction" of the lost writings of the early observer Posidonius. Nash (1976) effectively balances Tierney's interpretations and restores to Caesar his accuracy. Chadwick (1966) presents much useful data, but her analysis is biased toward the classical world and consistently understates the complexity of pagan Celtic religion. Piggott's (1968) treatment is more even-handed, but he fails to follow up all the implications.

There are two inherent limitations to the information presented in the classical writings. First, nearly all of it pertains directly only to the first century BC in southern Gaul; careful extension is necessary to apply such evidence to other times and areas. Secondly, each of the classical authors had his own purpose in writing, and his own biases as well. These must be carefully sifted to determine the probable reality behind the statements. This problem of selection is very similar to that faced by ethnologists using ethnographic accounts. Consequently, the classical authors' accounts are treated as if they are ethnographic accounts, and will be referred to as Celtic Ethnographies. An adjunct to this set of evidence will be considered in the evidence from Gaulish iconography, which is roughly contemporary in time and space with many of the Greek and Roman accounts and, like them, comes to be preserved through the actions of Romans and Romanised Celts. The appropriateness of the use of this evidence in this study will be discussed later; it produces significantly different results from earlier work.

Celtic Vernacular Literature

A very different source of evidence for Celtic religious beliefs and practices is to be found in the massive quantity of early Celtic literature written in the vernacular. This is referred to here as the Celtic Vernacular Literature. Outstanding analyses of the literature are found in Jackson (1961, 1964, 1971), Sjoestedt (1949), Dillon (1954), and Cross and Slover (1936). McCana (1970) presents probably the best recent analysis of the evidence in the context of religious mythology. An integral part of many of these studies, however, is the many intimate parallels between Celtic mythology and Gaulish iconography. McCana (1970) is an excellent source, Ross (1967) contains a large collection of such parallels, and Green (1976) includes a useful gazetteer of relevant elements of iconography in Britain. The standard works on the continental iconography are Lambrechts (1942) and Vendryes (1948). These studies serve to tie together the two disparate sources of evidence of mythology from Ireland and iconography from France.

The principal limitations in the use of this set of evidence are the result of its preservation. The evidence is preserved from Ireland, with a small amount from Wales, and therefore careful handling is required to enable analogies to be drawn with other areas. The real source of confusion lies in the fact that nearly all the material was written first by Christian monk-scribes, beginning in the late sixth century AD, and many myths exist only in written versions that are medieval copies of much earlier written versions. Behind all lies a long existence as purely oral, epic literature. The problem, therefore, is to sift aside both Christian influences and later (mostly medieval) alterations to leave only the evidence stemming from the undoubtedly pagan period of their oral origin and transmission. The result is a Celt's version of his own pagan mythology in his own language. The potential value is obvious and immeasurable.

Ethnography

The last general source of information relevant to Celtic religion may be summarised as ethnographic literature. This information is useful as a source of a range of possible explanations for, and relations between, features observed archaeologically, or elements found in the Celtic ethnologies or Celtic literature. One of the most useful

sources is Wallace (1966).

More specific subjects have received more detailed study - mortuary rituals in particular. Work by Hertz (1907, 1960) is seminal, with recent surveys as in Huntingdon and Metcalf (1979) and Humphreys and King (1981). Other specific studies, including applications to archaeology, are found in Saxe (1970), Binford (1971), Tainter (1973, 1975, 1978), Chapman, Kinnes and Randsborg (1981) and O'Shea (1984) among many others. The study of ritual processes, and sacrifice in particular, rests on the early work of Hubert and Mauss (1839, 1964) with more recent additions by Firth (1965, 1970) and Turner (1969); Levy (1981) is one of the few applications of this literature to archaeology.

The usefulness of ethnology is entirely proportional to the scope with which it is applied. The production of a single ethnographic parallel for a single phenomenon observed archaeologically is worse than useless. Greater relevance and accuracy accrue as more primary evidence is generated, but its ideal use is to produce a range of possible explanations which can then be tested against the primary data to find one which is both simple and complete. In this study evidence will be drawn from all three primary sources, with their different details and emphases, and then a range of ethnographic parallels which match the primary evidence will be suggested to fill particular gaps. The result is, of course, argument purely by analogy and is inconclusive; it can be, however, very convincing.

FRAMEWORK OF ANALYSIS

The integration of evidence derived from these four sources into the general model proposed here is conducted in a four step sequence. The first step is an analysis of the archaeological evidence. Each set of archaeological evidence is considered individually to establish its nature and the implications for ritual behaviour (chapters two to six). This positive evidence for a series of ritual activities performed in a region (in this case, southern Britain), is used as the basis for further interpretation. Each of these ritual activities allows some simple inferences to be made about religious beliefs, which are noted but not explored at this stage.

The second step in the application of the proposed model reflects the nature of relevant evidence - a consideration of non-archaeological sources of evidence of Celtic religion. Clearly, analogous sources may not be available for studies of other religions. These two sources utilised here are the Celtic ethnographies and the Celtic vernacular literature (chapters seven and eight). In each case the purpose of considering such evidence is to correlate the variety of ritual activities with the elements of belief involved in the ritual, the rituals which may have belonged to the same cult institutions, the participants of the various rituals and cult institutions, and the social contexts in which such activities occurred. Such information is often explicit in these literary sources and very usefully supplements the inferences that may be drawn from the archaeological evidence.

The third step may be used by all archaeologists, and will assume a much greater role in cases where non-archaeological literary evidence is unavailable. This is the use of ethnographic sources to generate general-comparative ethnographic analogies. In the present study this source is used to suggest elements of belief associated with human mortuary rituals and sacrificial rituals, subjects not covered in detail

in the surviving literary sources (chapter nine).

The fourth and final step is combining the elements of belief and behaviour on the basis of associations found in either the archaeological record, the literary sources, or suggested by ethnographic analogy. Elements of belief and behaviour are associated to form rituals, which in turn may be correlated into cult institutions, which form the active elements in religion. Inevitably in a study relying on archaeology, supplemented by other literary sources and ethnography, the resulting picture of religion falls short of an ethnographic ideal. It is, however, possible to build a general picture in which many elements of religious belief and behaviour are visible. These elements are intimately linked to other aspects of society, such as the political organisation and trade and farming practices, which are more directly visible to the archaeologist. This close correlation of religious practices with other social customs allows further implications on the nature of both the religion and the society to be generated and tested, and the original picture of society to be modified and expanded.

CHAPTER 2

METALWARE AND WATERY CONTEXTS

This chapter discusses the occurrence of prestigious metal objects in watery contexts such as rivers, lakes and bogs. Examples of the deposition of such prestige objects range in date from the Middle Bronze Age (later second millennium BC) to the end of the Pre-Roman Iron Age in the first century AD. These finds include bronze swords, iron swords and daggers, sheet-bronze vessels, bronze spoons or scoops, and helmets and shields. Torcs, although they are not associated with watery contexts, are also included in this discussion since they, also, are known to have been used as status symbols in Celtic society.

The implicit attribution of these artifacts, in their contexts, to religious ritual rests on two lines of argument. First, and most frequently relied upon, is a scattering of comments by Greek and Roman writers, and some glimpses gleaned from the Celtic mythology. Both sources indicate that rivers, lakes and bogs held sacred significance for the Celts. Posidonius, for example, mentions the vast treasures submerged in pools in sacred precincts near Toulouse in the second century BC (below, cf Piggott 1968, 77). The Irish myths depict lakes and rivers as common locations for supernatural events (eg Táin Bó Cualnge). Even in the sixth century AD, Gregory of Tours mentions a Gallo-Roman lakeside festival which included votive offerings thrown into the lake (Piggott 1968, 77). From this, it seems reasonable to conclude that rivers, lakes and bogs were frequently places of religious significance (Megaw & Simpson 1981, 405).

A second reason for attributing the presence of these artifacts in watery contexts to ritual activity is based on a disparity between the artifact and the context. The objects are all fine examples of the metal workers' craft and must have been very valuable items. Items of such value should not reasonably be expected to occur in rivers, lakes or bogs - contexts far from both their centres of manufacture and use. Casual loss is an inadequate alternative; loss should be a nearly random process and these artifacts occur overwhelmingly in watery contexts and very rarely on land. Contrast with the torcs is instructive here, as their distribution appears to be random. Thus the occurrence of valuable items in watery contexts points to a deliberate activity which, from a logical viewpoint, seems irrational and uneconomic. The attribution of the presence of wealth in rivers and bogs to such activities as conspicuous consumption and potlatch-style destruction of wealth (usually pictured as part of a prestige-goods economy) is less than convincing because there is no other independent evidence of this

behaviour (cf Bradley 1984, 104-105, 112-113, 120-122; and especially Needham & Burgess 1980, 438, 443-449). Their use as votive offerings, which by nature involve the deliberate "loss" of items of value (as mentioned above and chapter seven) is perhaps the best explanation.

There are, in fact, a number of Iron Age sites where the presence of artifacts in watery contexts is generally interpreted as evidence of votive practice. Prominent among these are Llyn Cerrig Bach on Anglesey (Fox 1946, 1958); Carlingwark in Scotland (Curle 1931-1932; Hawkes 1951; Fox 1958); Duchow in Czechoslovakia (Piggott 1968, 76); the Source of the Seine (Martin 1963, 1965; Deyts 1971; Baudot 1846) and Les Roches (Vatin 1969, 1972) both in France; as well as the original, but now questionable, interpretation of the Iron Age type-site of La Tène on Lake Neuchatel in Switzerland (Piggott 1968, 76).

There is a considerable amount of archaeological evidence for concentrations of fine objects in unusual contexts, the assumption being that they were intentionally placed as votive offerings. It is thus reasonable to attach a similar explanation to individual artifacts found in isolation in similar contexts, ie, the shield and swords from the Witham in Lincolnshire (eg Megaw 1971) or the swords and shield from the Thames at Wandsworth (Smith 1925, Megaw 1971).

THE EVIDENCE

The artifacts under consideration here are all examples of fine metalware, and as such, have attracted a number of studies. They have been examined either as classes of artifacts or as individual objects, but little attention has been paid to the context of the finds.

The first artifact class to be discussed is weaponry, predominantly swords and daggers. There are two main groups distinguished by metal type, that is, bronze and iron, and both groups are primarily from river contexts. The bronze swords of the Gündlingen group (Late Bronze Age to Early Iron Age) date approximately from the seventh century BC; the authoritative source on these is J D Cowen (1967). The second group is of iron swords and daggers from the Iron Age, covering the fifth to first centuries BC. These are examined in Brewis (1923), Piggott (1950), Clarke and Hawkes (1955), Jope (1961), Stead (1967, 1968) and MacGregor (1978). The swords and daggers from these sources, supplemented by a few more recent discoveries, total 181 and are summarised in the gazetteer in Appendix IA.

Items in the second class of artifacts are sheet-bronze vessels, mostly cauldrons and smaller bowls. These mainly come from bog contexts and are sometimes difficult to date closely, due to a general absence of datable associated artifacts and the infrequent use of closely datable artistic motifs on the vessels themselves. The principal sources for bronze vessels are Hawkes (1951), Hawkes and Smith (1957), Fox (1961), Burns (1969, 1971) and MacGregor (1976). These sources provide the evidence which is summarised in Appendix IB, a total of 64 vessels.

Bronze spoons or scoops are known from only fifteen examples from Britain and are often difficult to date. Twelve of the scoops have been found as pairs, and three were found singly. In each pair found, one scoop has a "+" engraved in the bowl, while the second has a small hole drilled through the bowl near the lip. The handles usually bear typical La Tène curvilinear decoration of varying complexity. Their function is totally unknown, though the presence of several spoons in inhumation burials led Cunliffe (1978, 318-320) to discuss them as accoutrements of

religious specialists. Bronze scoops have been considered in Way (1869) and Craw (1924): these are summarised in Appendix IC.

The fourth class of artifacts consists of sheet-bronze shields and helmets. There are two main groups, the circular shields of the Later Bronze Age, and the shields and helmets of the Late Iron Age (second to first centuries BC). The principal source for the first group are J M Coles (1962) and Needham (1979), while the second group was examined by Fox (1958), Megaw (1970) and Cunliffe (1978, 287-309). The total number of shields and helmets is forty-four: these are listed in Appendix ID.

Torcs, or neck-rings, comprise the fifth class of artifacts considered here. Torcs are well known as markers of social status in Celtic society (eg Cunliffe 1978, 305-309; Filip 1977, 101-107; Polybius' Histories II 29). Unfortunately, like the bronze vessels and scoops, the decorative motifs are rarely susceptible to being dated except in a very general way. Unlike all the other classes, however, torcs are rarely found in watery contexts. One of the few general studies of torcs is Megaw (1971); other, more discursive studies are Smith (1925), Fox (1958), Piggott (1970) and MacGregor (1976). These 75 torcs are summarised in Appendix IE.

Limitations

Archaeological evidence is rarely complete or ideal, and analysis and interpretation must recognise and incorporate the weaknesses of the data as well as the strengths. There are two main problems inherent in the evidence: the first is the difficulty of accurately dating the artifacts, because very few of them occur in any closed, datable context. The bed of a river from which a sword comes, and the layer of peat, previously a bog, which produces a bronze bowl, provide very little information about the date the objects were deposited. There are only a few exceptions to this general case - mainly bronze vessels containing artifacts which are datable, such as coins.

The contexts in which the artifacts occur are therefore largely undatable, and the only alternative is to date the artifacts themselves. This can usually be done, within broad limits, by the use of conventional typologies, giving the general date of manufacture and the item's period of "currency".

There is a second limitation to the use of the evidence that arises as a result of the contexts and method of discovery. The first point to be made here concerns those artifacts - most of the swords, shields and helmets - which came from rivers. These artifacts were found as a result of river dredging and channelisation work during the last one hundred years, from the rivers Thames, Ouse, Nene, Witham, Trent, Tyne, Tees and Tay. The question arises, therefore: are swords, shields and helmets not found in other rivers because there are no such artifacts there to be found, or simply because the other rivers have not been dredged and maintained? In other words, the pattern of occurrence of swords, etc, may be a result of prehistoric depositional practices, or of modern industrial river management, or of a combination of the two. One approach to the question would be to compare river finds to the pattern of dredging - if many rivers were dredged, but produced no artifacts, then the depositional pattern is likely to be largely prehistoric.

This problem is further exacerbated by the difficulty in identifying a river channel which has been dredged, as one which was in existence in the Iron Age: shifts in channel are potentially quite

dramatic (information from M R Hall, Archaeologist, Thames Water Authority; cf the location of the Iron Age River Thames, identified archaeologically at Farmoor, Oxfordshire [Lambrick & Robinson 1979], with its present course). The difficulties are insurmountable within the scope of the present research, but many other rivers have been extensively managed (notably the Severn), suggesting that the absence of swords and shields does mirror different patterns of deposition of artifacts in prehistory.

An analogous problem seems to apply to the Bronze Age shields which are found overwhelmingly in bogs in the process of peat cutting and drainage operations. The question here could be phrased: are shields only found in bogs because none have appeared on dry land, or is preservation on dry land too poor for these artifacts to survive and to be found? In reverse order, these questions are easily answered: there are sufficient fragments of artifacts found during ploughing to indicate that preservation, though poor, is adequate. Thus, considering the extent to which ploughed land covers much of Britain, if few or no examples of such artifacts come from dry contexts, it is more likely to be because few were deposited on dry land in the first place.

ANALYSIS

There are two aspects of the evidence which must be considered in order to attempt to understand the behaviour behind the depositions: the contexts producing the objects (contexts until now prejudged as "watery"); and the geographic distribution of the objects by both artifact type and type of context. A consideration of the results of these two enquiries suggests several significant regional traditions. These patterns may then be compared with the contexts of similar objects in contemporary continental Celtic societies.

Contexts of Artifacts

Swords

A total of 181 bronze and iron swords is included in the gazetteer (Appendix IA) and is used as the basis for analysis. These 181 swords may be divided into three distinct chronological groups. The first group, of 64 swords, may be dated very generally to the seventh century BC on a typological basis (cf Cowen 1967); the second group of 84 swords is dated to the Middle Iron Age; and the third group, of thirty-three swords, dates to the Late Iron Age.

There are five general contexts from which nearly all of these swords are derived. These include:

1. rivers and bogs; also included here is the anomalous context of the backwater in Weymouth bay (IA 113)
2. burials
3. hoards of metalware
4. occupation sites, including hillforts and undefended settlements
5. unprovenanced stray finds

The total number of swords from each context during each of the three chronological periods is presented in the chart below.

Context	Chronological Periods					
	7th BC		4th-2nd BC		1st BC-1st AD	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
Bog/River	57	89	62	74	13	41
Burial	2	3	5	6	5	16
Hoard	1	2	0	0	1	3
Occupation Site	0	0	11	13	6	19
Stray Find	4	6	6	7	4	12
(Ritual Pit)					4	9
Total	64		84		33	

Total Swords - 181

This chart makes clear the contention that these swords are overwhelmingly found in watery contexts, usually rivers. All of the rivers which have produced swords are, interestingly, east-flowing rivers (see Figs 2.1, 2.2, 2.3 and 2.13). The absence of swords from rivers flowing south or west is very noticeable, especially since several, such as the various Avons and the Severn, are larger rivers. The significance of this bias in distribution is unknown.

The association between swords and rivers is most marked in the Gundlingen group, nearly 90% of which come from rivers. This association drops steadily through time, however, to 74% in the Middle Iron Age, and finally to 41% in the Late Iron Age. But note that the actual numbers of finds does not change except on occupation sites.

Bronze Vessels

A total of 64 bronze vessels is included in the gazetteer (Appendix IB) and used in this discussion. The difficulties of dating many of the vessels have already been considered, but even so two distinct chronological groups can be distinguished. The first belongs to the Late Bronze Age and very early Iron Age, and includes nine bronze vessels. The second group, including fifty vessels, dates to the Late Iron Age. As with the swords, five different contexts can be distinguished: bogs and rivers, burials, hoards, occupation sites and stray finds. These are presented in summary in the following chart.

Contexts	Chronological Periods					
	10th-6th BC		2nd BC-1st AD		Undated	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
Bog/River	5	55	19	38	4	100
Burial	0	0	5	10	0	0
Hoard	1	11	3	6	0	0
Occupation Site	1	11	11	22	0	0
Stray Find	2	22	13	26	0	0
Total	9		51		4	

Total Bronze Vessels - 64

This chart makes clear the frequency with which bronze vessels are found in watery contexts. This correlation is most obvious in the centuries of the Late Bronze Age and transition to the Early Iron Age when 55% of all the cauldrons are from bogs, and the remaining 45% are split between occupation sites, hoards, and strays. The next three hundred years, from the fifth to the third centuries BC, are a blank, with no securely dated vessels known. However, beginning in the second century BC, vessels again appear, but in slightly different contexts. At least 38% are again from bogs and rivers, but they also occur for the first time in burials, 10% of the total. The occurrence of vessels in hoards drops considerably, while the frequency of vessels, as a percentage, on occupation sites, doubles. Twenty-four percent of the cauldrons and bowls of this period, however, are unprovenanced. This figure is slightly misleading, because the state of preservation of eleven of the vessels is good enough to suggest that their survival depended on a watery context (see Appendix IB, nos 11, 21, 38, 43, 44, 47). If so, it would make the proportion of vessels from watery contexts some 7% higher than in the earlier period. Some 6% of all the bronze vessels cannot be securely dated (IB, nos 3, 8, 9, 39), but of these, at least one (No.39) is of a type current in the Late Iron Age and is likely to have been found in a bog.

If these changes are made, the chart can be revised as follows:

Contexts	Chronological Period					
	10th-6th BC		2nd BC-1st AD		Undated	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
Bog/River	5	55	31	60	3	100
Burial	0	0	6	11	0	0
Hoard	1	11	3	6	0	0
Occupation Site	1	11	11	21	0	0
Stray Find	2	22	1	2	0	0
Total	9		52		3	

Total Bronze Vessels - 64

The revision indicates that the occurrence of bronze vessels in watery contexts (overwhelmingly bogs, less than 9% from rivers) remains relatively constant in the two time periods. The intervening three century blank period, however, remains unexplained. There are two changes between the two periods; first, vessels appear in graves in the latter period and, second, they are found less frequently in hoards. The number in contexts from occupation sites doubles and stray finds decrease markedly.

Bronze Scoops

Palm-sized bronze scoops or spoons are a poorly represented, and therefore poorly understood, artifact. Only fifteen scoops are known from Britain; twelve found in six pairs and three found singly. All of the datable examples, dated by typology of decorative motifs, or if in a grave, by associated artifacts, should derive from the final century and a half of the Iron Age, from circa 100 BC to AD 50. They may be divided by context as follows, based on the evidence in the gazetteer (Appendix IC):

Bog/River	2 pairs, 1 single	5	33%
Burial	2 pairs	4	27%
Stray Find	1 pair, 2 single	4	27%
Occupation Site	1 pair	2	13%

The scoops, therefore, are found in the same series of contexts as were swords and bronze vessels, and with the same predominance of finds in the two contexts of bogs/rivers (33%) and burials (27%). Stray finds are unusually prominent at 27%.

Shields and Helmets

There are forty-eight shields and helmets made of sheet-bronze known from Britain in the period under consideration. They fall into two distinct chronological groups which, as with the bronze vessels, belong to the Later Bronze Age (Needham 1979, 128-29) and Late Iron Age. The range of contexts producing shields and helmets, however, is much more limited: rivers, bogs and a few unprovenanced examples. The details, found in the gazetteer (Appendix ID), are summarised below.

Context	Chronological Periods			
	12th-7th BC		2nd BC-1st AD	
	No	%	No	%
Bog	28	79	6	50
River	7	18	2	17
Burial	0	0	3	25
Stray Find	1	3	1	8
Total	36		12	

Total Shields and Helmets - 48

As this chart makes clear, shields and helmets of both periods are found almost entirely in watery contexts. The earlier period is characterised by the predominant use of bogs for deposition, while in the later period, rivers become more common contexts and shields begin to appear in burials.

Torcs

The last artifact type to be discussed here is the torc, a typically Celtic artifact. Unlike the other artifacts, torcs are not inherently valuable (unless made of precious metal) and usually involve much less skilled labour than do the other artifacts. They are, however, known to have been considered status items by the Celts (cf Filip 1979, 101-107). Based on this value factor, a comparison is relevant.

A total of 61 deposits of torcs have been collected for use in this study and are presented in detail in the associated gazetteer (see Appendix IE). Because the torcs rarely have diagnostic decorative motifs, many are poorly dated. Those torcs which are datable belong predominantly to the later Iron Age, with only one from the Early Iron Age. Very few torcs are known to date from the period between the end of the fifth and the mid-second century BC - a blank period paralleled

by the bronze vessels.

Information about the torcs is summarised as follows:

Context	Chronological Periods							
	5th BC	1st BC-1st AD		Roman-2nd AD		Undated	
	No	No	%	No	%	No	%
Bog/River	0	3	6	0	0	3	18
Burial	1	1	2	0	0	0	0
Hoard	0	4 (19 torcs)	37	0	0	0	0
Occupation Site	0	14	27	3	60	0	0
Stray Find	0	15	29	2	40	14	82
Total	1	52		5		17	

Total Torcs - 75

The types of context in which torcs occur are clearly different from the previous artifacts. Torcs are found predominantly on occupation sites, especially in the later Iron Age. This tendency is probably artificially low, because most of the identified sites are hillforts which are difficult to overlook, while torcs listed here as "strays" may well have come from undefended (and unrecognised) occupation sites. In spite of this, the predominant contexts are clear - dry land sites and strays. The rivers, bogs and burial contexts, so prolific in other classes of fine metal ware, have produced few torcs.

Geographical Distribution of Artifacts

The second theme to be investigated is the geographical distribution of the artifacts. The find spots for examples of each artifact class (eg swords) were plotted by period and by type of location. A comparison of roughly contemporary distributions of different artifacts may then be used to discern regional patterns.

Swords

The distribution of swords of the seventh century BC is found in Figures 2.1 and 2.2. There are five significant concentrations of swords: first is the great number of swords from the Thames Basin, comprising nearly three-quarters of all swords of this period. There are four swords from rivers in the Lincolnshire area, a prominent sword-burial (or perhaps two burials each with one sword) in north Yorkshire, and one sword from the Tyne, plus another group of swords from Scotland, especially from the area of the Tay River.

Swords of the fourth to second centuries BC are plotted in Figures 2.3 and 2.4. These show several differences from the earlier distribution. The Thames Basin is still very prominent, and the Lincolnshire area again has a modest number of swords (three altogether, all from rivers). The north Yorkshire area is still notable for the presence of sword burials plus another sword from a river. The Scottish concentration also continues, with all swords coming from rivers. In addition, two new concentrations of swords appear, in the Cambridgeshire and Norfolk Fens there are five swords and a sword burial. The number of swords from known and suspected occupation sites in Dorset and Somerset are very prominent; there are two sword burials in this area.

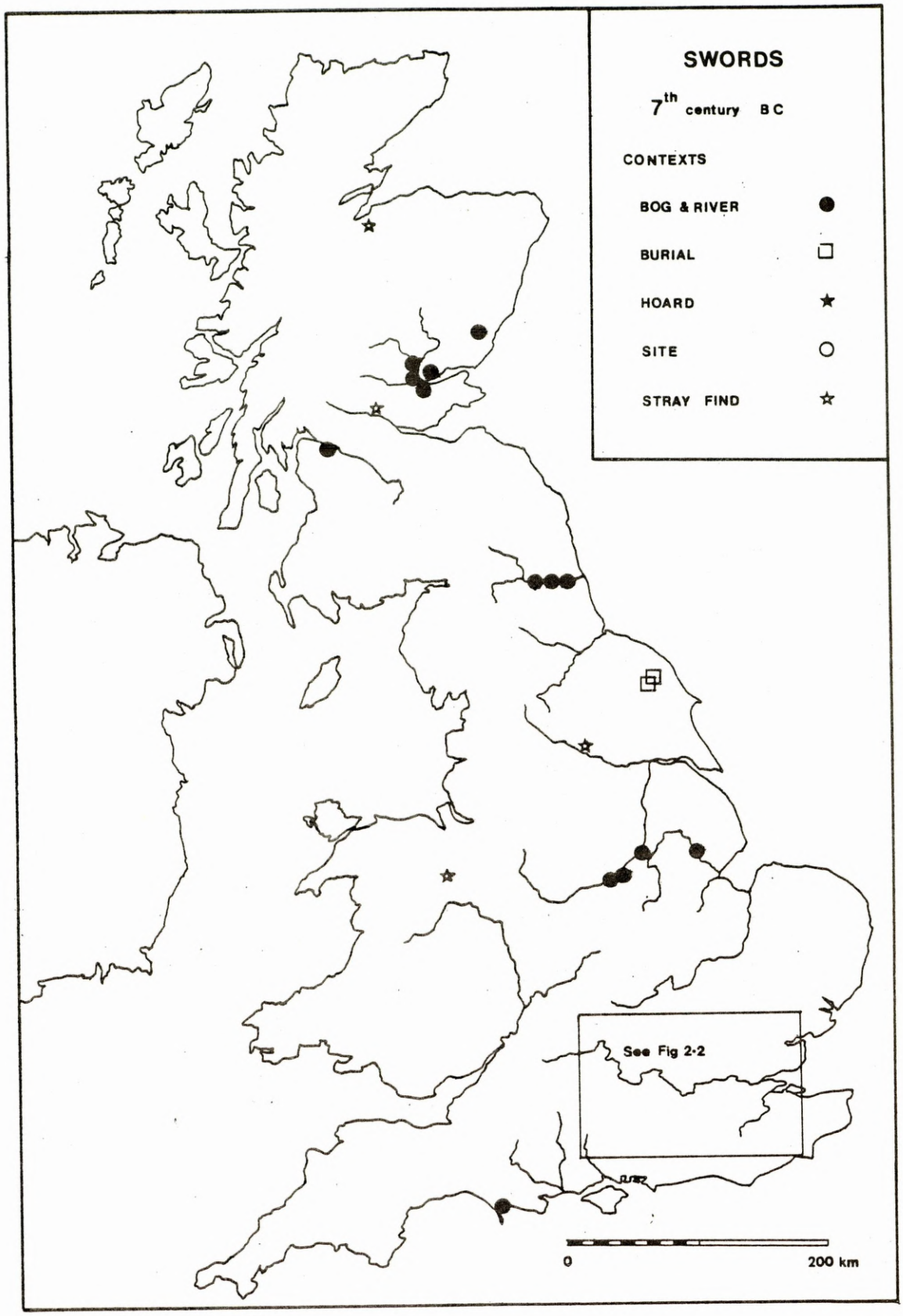


Figure 2.1: SWORDS OF THE EARLY IRON AGE

KEY TO SITES IN FIGURES 2.1 AND 2.2

7th Century BC
Swords

Number	Location	Grid Ref
River/Bog		
93	Aylesford	TQ7359
4	Battersea	TQ2776
6 (3)	Battersea	TQ2776
26	Battersea	TQ2776
7 (2)	Billinghay	TF2158
96	Bourne End	SV8985
97	Bowling	NS4473
10 (2)	Brentford	TQ5993
98 (4)	Brentford	TQ5993
19	Chatham	TQ7567
101	Chiswick	TQ2077
24	Crawley	TQ2541
103	Elcho	NO1621
53	Hammersmith	TQ2279
37	Headpile Eyot	SU9079
119	Henley	SU7682
41 (2)	Holme Pierpoint	SK6239
44 (2)	Isleworth	TQ1675
104	Katesgrove	SU7272
46	Kingston	TQ1869
105	Kingston	TQ1869
106 (2)	Leuchland	NO6060
50 (2)	London	TQ3380
118 (2)	London	TQ3380
115	Mortlake	TQ2075
116	Mortlake	TQ2075
107	Mugdrum	NO2219
58	Newark	SK8054
59 (3)	Newcastle	NZ1971
109	Perth	NO1123
74	Perth	NO1123
66	Richmond	TQ1874
67 (2)	Richmond	TQ1874
110 (2)	Richmond	TQ1874
78	Taplow	SU9082
79	Teddington	TQ1617
83	Wandsworth	TQ2574
84	Wandsworth	TQ2574
113	Weymouth	SY6778

Number	Location	Grid Ref
Burial		
27 (2)	Ebberston	SE8983
Hoard		
95	Bexley	TQ4975
Stray		
99	Brogynton	SJ2734
100	Cambuskenneth	NS8094
102	Culloden	NH7140
80	Temple Newson	SE3632

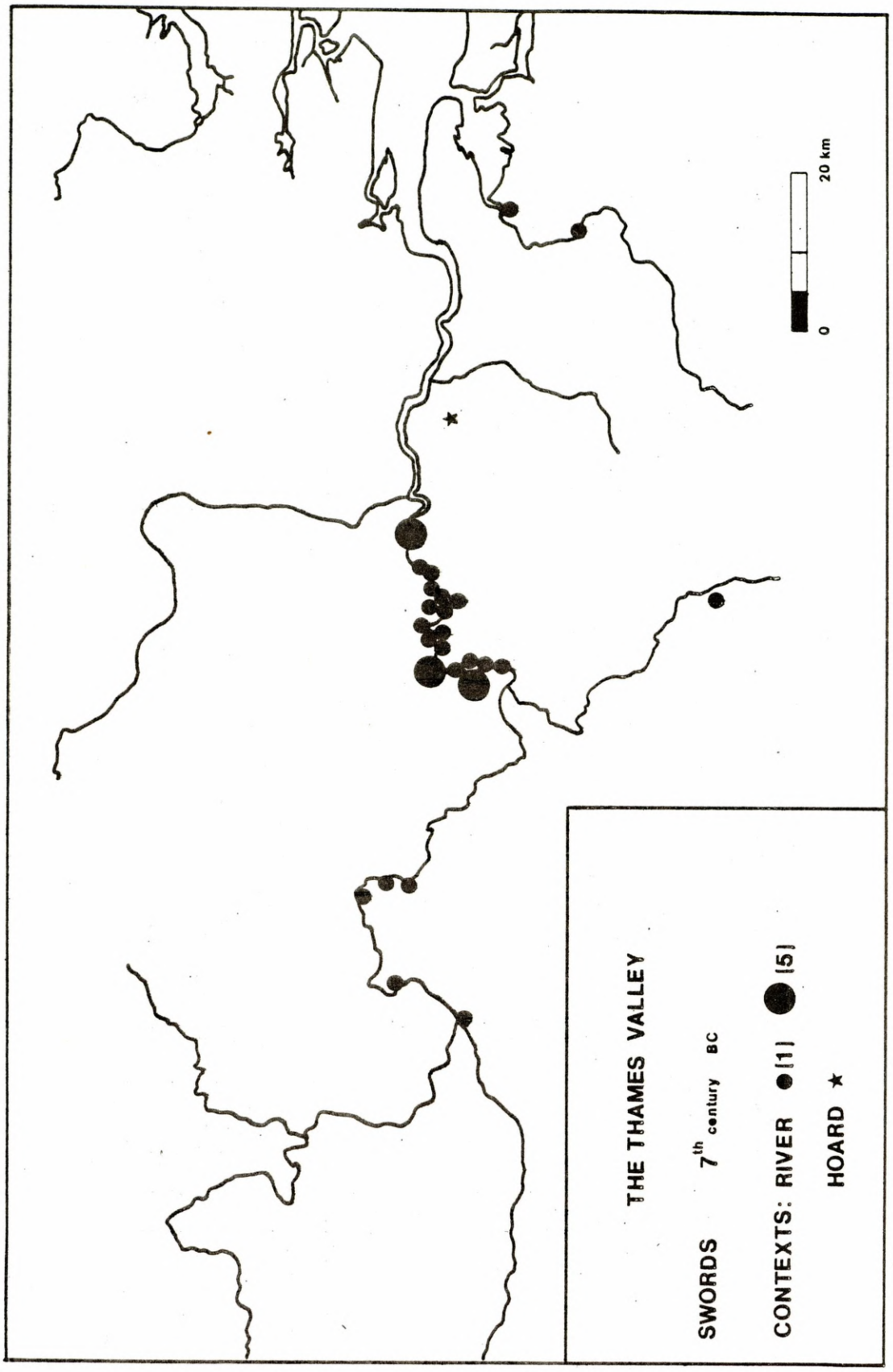


Figure 2.2: SWORDS OF THE EARLY IRON AGE - THAMES BASIN

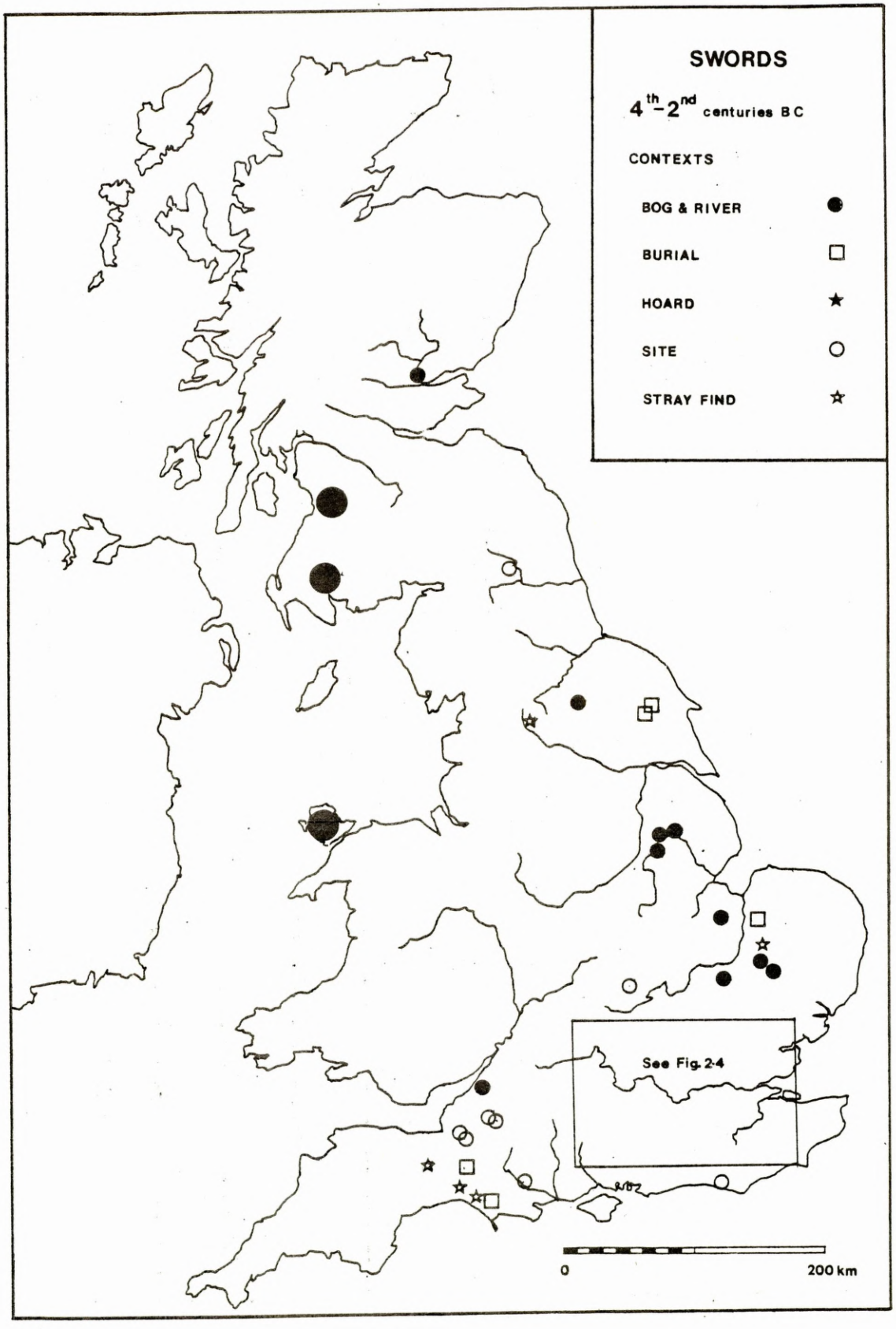


Figure 2.3: SWORDS OF THE MIDDLE IRON AGE

KEY TO SITES IN FIGURES 2.3 AND 2.4

4th to 2nd Centuries BC
Swords

Number		Location	Grid Ref
River/Bog			
1		Amerden	SU9082
2	(2)	Barn Elms	TQ0272
5		Battersea	TQ2776
42		Battersea	TQ2776
15		Cambridge	TL4658
20		Chelsea	TQ2778
22		Cookham	SU8884
35	(2)	Hammersmith	TQ2279
11		Newbridge	SP3902
63		Oxford	SP5106
68		Richmond	TQ1874
85	(2)	Wandsworth	TQ2574
16		Wandsworth	TQ2574
120		Washingborough	TF0270
87		Westminster	TQ2979
88		Windsor	SU9676
89		Wisbech	TF4609
90		Witham	SK9872
91		Witham	SK9872
51		London	TQ3380
52		Long Wittenham	SU5493
55		Mildenhall	TL7174
56		Mortlake	TQ2075
70		Sea Mills	ST5477
72		Southwark	TQ3179
74		Perth	NO1123
124	(11)	Llyn Cerrig Bach	SH3076
122	(5)	Lochlee	NS4327
123	(8)	Carlingwark	NX4560
21		Clothaholm	SE3171
25	(2)	Datchet	SU9876
36	(4)	Hammersmith	TQ2279
39		Hertford Warren	TL8564
Burial			
114		Whitcombe	SY7188
61		North Grimstone	SE8266
62		North Grimstone	SE8266
71		Shouldham	TF6808
34		Ham Hill	ST4717
Occupation Site			
32	(2)	Glastonbury	ST4940
45		Kingsdown Camp	ST7151
54		Meare	ST4442
14		Caburn	TQ4408
18		Camerton	ST6856
43	(2)	Hunsbury	SP7358
73		Spettisbury Rings	ST9102
121		Carry House Camp	NY8878
Stray			
30		Flashy	SD9456
65		Quatre Bras	SY6690
86		West Buckland	ST1720
76		Stoke Abbot	ST4500
82		Walthamstow	TQ3788
47		Lakenheath	TL7182

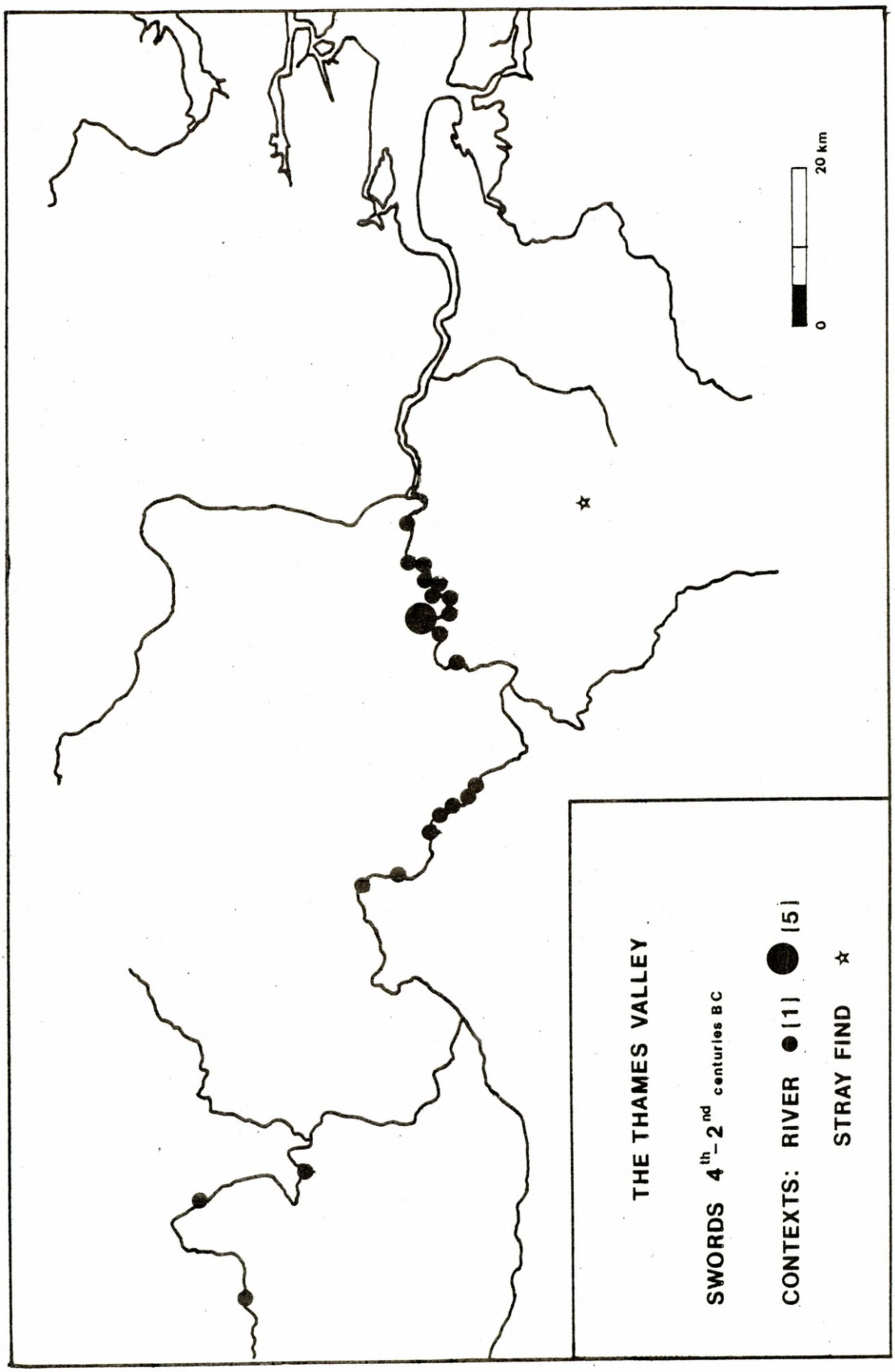


Figure 2.4: SWORDS OF THE MIDDLE IRON AGE – THAMES BASIN

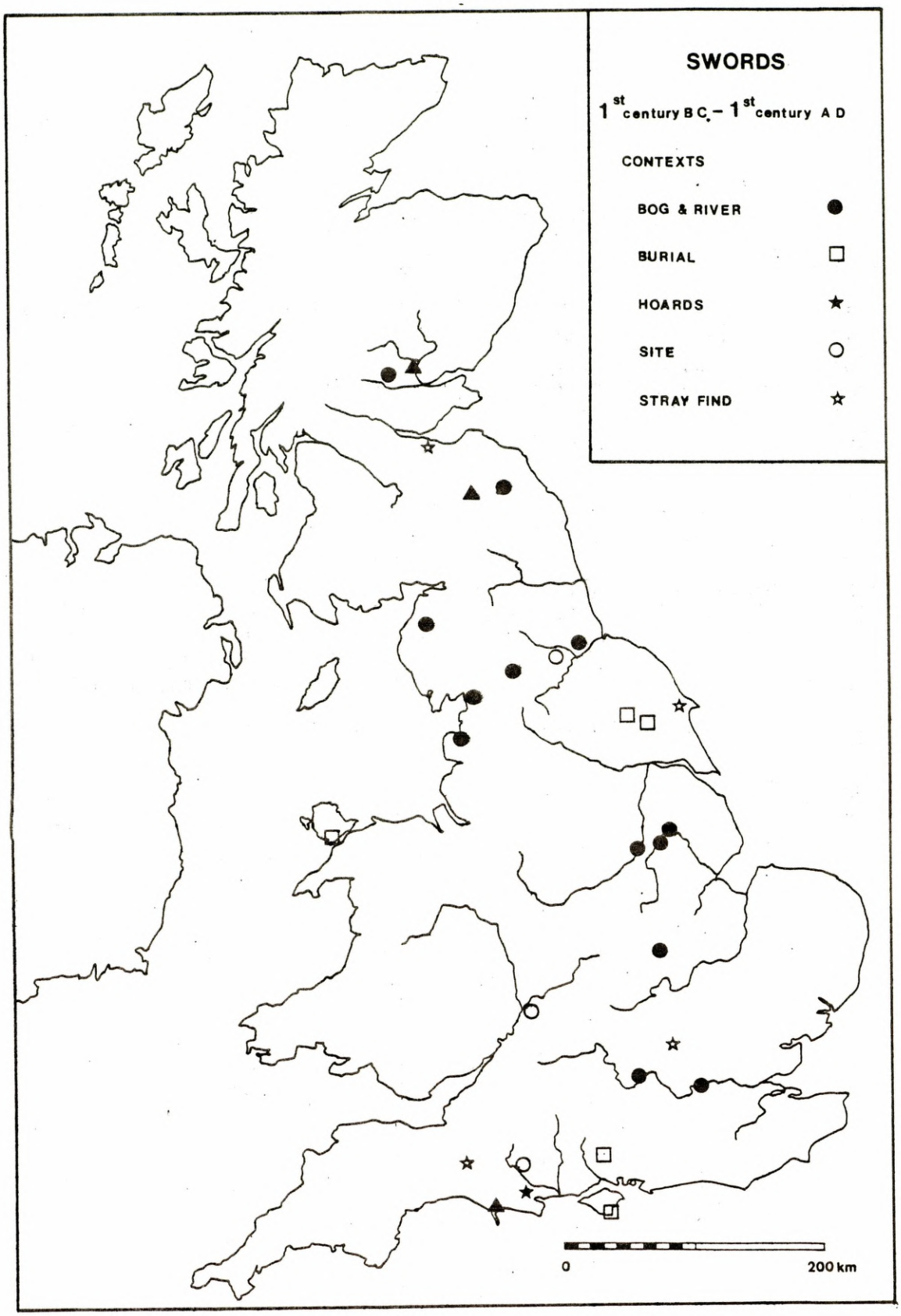


Figure 2.5: SWORDS OF THE LATE IRON AGE

KEY TO SITES IN FIGURE 2.5

1st Century BC to 1st Century AD
Swords

Number	Location	Grid Ref
River/Bog		
3	Battersea	TQ2776
17	Carham	NT8039
23	Cotterdale	SD8394
28	Embleton	NY1731
29	Fendoch	NN9128
38	Henley	SU7682
48	Lincoln	SK9872
49	Lincoln	SK9872
74	Pilling Moss	SD4146
79	Sadberge	NZ3417
77	Sutton	SK7966
112	Thropston	SP9980
92	Worton	SD4972
Burial		
12	Bugthorpe	SE7758
31	Gelliniog-Wen	SH4565
33	Grimthorpe	SE8153
108	Owslebury	SU5224
111	St Lawrence	SZ5376
Hoard		
13	Bulbury	SY9294
Occupation Site		
9	Bredon	SO9236
40 (4)	Hod Hill	ST8510
75	Stanwick	NZ1908
Stray		
8	Boxmoor	TL0306
117	Ham Hill	ST4717
57	Mortonhall	NT2574
81	Thorpe Bridlington	TA1867
Ritual Pit		
94	Bertha	NO0529
60 (2)	Newstead	NT5633
124	Jordan Hill	SY6882

In the Late Iron Age the distribution of swords shifts again (Fig 2.5). The Thames concentration disappears abruptly, as does the Fenland group. Lincolnshire maintains its tradition of swords in rivers, and north Yorkshire has several swords in burials. Scotland also has several swords, but these are from Roman contexts, including ritual shafts, along the Tay and Almond Rivers. There are a few swords scattered across Northumberland and Cumbria, all from rivers. The Dorset and Somerset tradition of swords from occupation contexts, however, is still noticeable, though less numerous. There are two swords from burials to the east of this group, one in southern Hampshire and one from the Isle of Wight. The sword burial at Gelliniog-Wen on Anglesey is anomalous.

Bronze Vessels

Bronze vessels of the seventh century BC and those which cannot be dated are plotted in Figure 2.6. The only noteworthy fact is the generally west and north distribution of vessels in bogs - two dated cauldrons in Wales, along with one undated vessel, and a further two vessels in the Pennines and south Scottish uplands. The Thames Basin also has two vessels, an example from the Upper Thames Basin at Shipton, and another from the Thames at London, both of Early Iron Age date.

The second and first centuries BC show a dramatic increase in the number of vessels (there are none which can be dated to the fourth to second centuries). These are seen in Figure 2.7. Several concentrations are evident. There are again two in the Lower Thames near London. North Wales has several, most, if not all, from bog contexts. The Fenland area has seven vessels, all from bogs, as are another six from the south Scottish uplands. The rest of England, south of a line from the Severn to the Wash, shows a thin scatter of bronze vessels, six from burials and nine from occupation sites, with a noticeable concentration in Dorset and an absence from Kent, Surrey and Sussex.

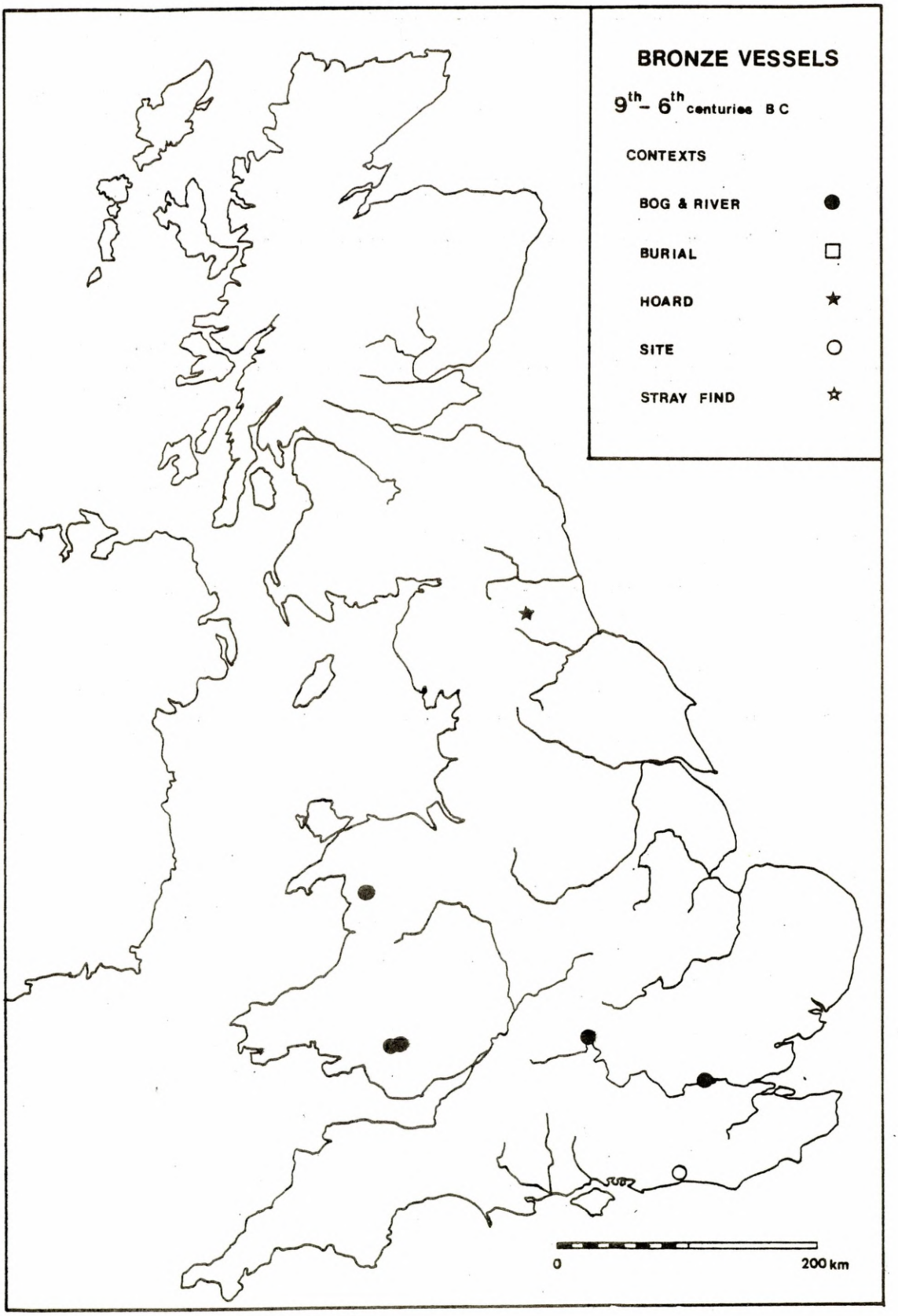


Figure 2.6: BRONZE VESSELS OF THE EARLY IRON AGE

KEY TO SITES IN FIGURE 2.6

9th to 6th Centuries BC
Bronze Vessels

Dated

Number	Location	Grid Ref
River/Bog		
18 (2)	Llyn Fawr	SN9204
20	London	TQ3380
22	Nannau	SH7421
24	Shipton	SP4716
Hoard		
12	Heathery Burn	NY9939
Occupation Site		
26	Sompting	TQ1605

Undated

Number	Location	Grid Ref
River/Bog		
3	Baschurch	ST4222
8	Crumockdale	SD7768
9	Eckford	NT7126

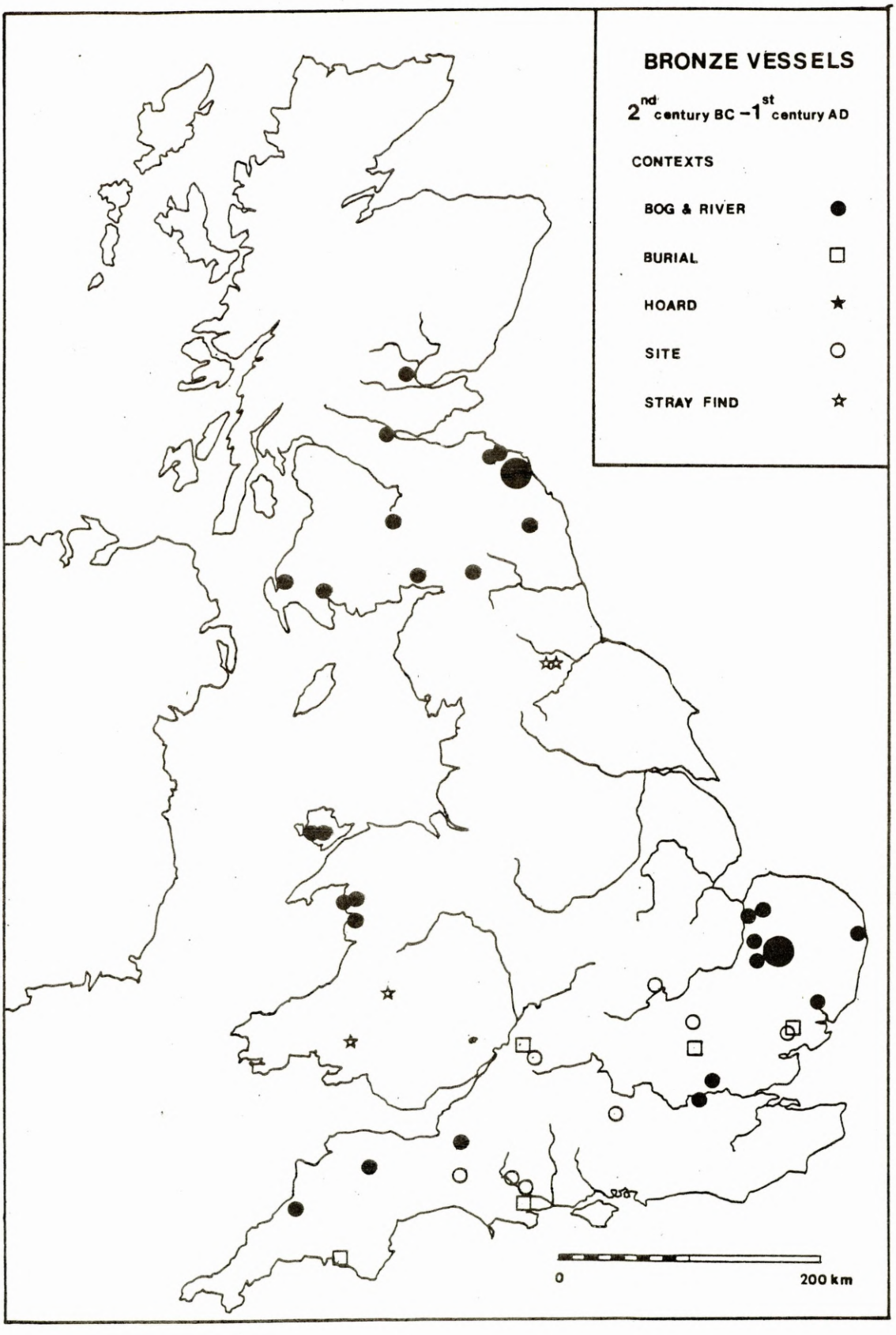


Figure 2.7: BRONZE VESSELS OF THE LATE IRON AGE

KEY TO SITES IN FIGURE 2.7

2nd to 1st Centuries BC
Bronze Vessels

Number	Location	Grid Ref
River/Bog		
1	Abercairney	NO0529
33	Barmouth	SH6116
2	Battersea	TQ2776
4	Bewcastle	NY5785
5 (2)	Blackburn	NT7771
6	Carlingwark	NX4560
10	Elvanfoot	NS9517
50	Feltwell	TL7093
39	Glastonbury	ST4940
14	Kincardine	NS9387
15 (4)	Lamberton	NT9758
43 (2)	Danenddwyn	SH5623
17 (2)	Llyn Carrig Bach	SH3177
19	Lochar Moss	NX0471
11	Ewart	NT9911
38	Gayton	TF7418
13	Ipswich	TM1744
21	Lound Run	TM5099
46	Rose Ash	SS7620
47 (5)	Santon	TL8187
23	Stanton	TL8084
29	Walthamstow	TQ3788
30	Whitehills	NY1575
31	Wormgay	TF6611
48	Youlton	SY2090
Hoard		
28 (2)	Stanwick	NZ1908
Occupation Site		
32	Bagendon	SP0006
37	Colchester	TM0025
37	Felmersham	SP9957
40	Ham Hill	ST4717
41 (2)	Hod Hill	ST8510
16	Letchworth	TL2333
25	Silchester	SU6262
27	Spettisbury	ST9102
Burial		
34 (2)	Birdlip	SO9214
45	Mount Batten	SX5152
49	Welwyn	TL2412
36	Colchester	TM0025
35	Bulbury	SY9294
Stray		
2	Arthog	SH6515
44	Llanycil	SH9153

Scoops or Spoons

The palm-sized bronze scoops or spoons are widely scattered across England. There are no particular areas of concentration, as has been found with several of the artifacts considered. This suggests that these scoops are not part of a localised tradition but instead were linked to a practice found in most regional societies during the Late Iron Age. Most of the scoops occur in contexts of either votive deposits or burials; both are ritual, which may indicate that the original function of the scoops was also in ritual practices.

KEY SITES IN FIGURE 2.8

1st Century BC to 1st Century AD
Scoops

Number	Location	Grid Ref
River/Bog		
3	Crosby (pair)	NY6215
9	Weston (pair)	ST7266
6	London	TQ3380
Burial		
2	Burnmouth (pair)	NT9661
4	Deal (pair)	TR3752
Stray		
5	Llanfair (pair)	SJ1455
1	Andover	SU3645
7	London	TQ3380
Occupation Site		
8	Penbryn (pair)	SN2952

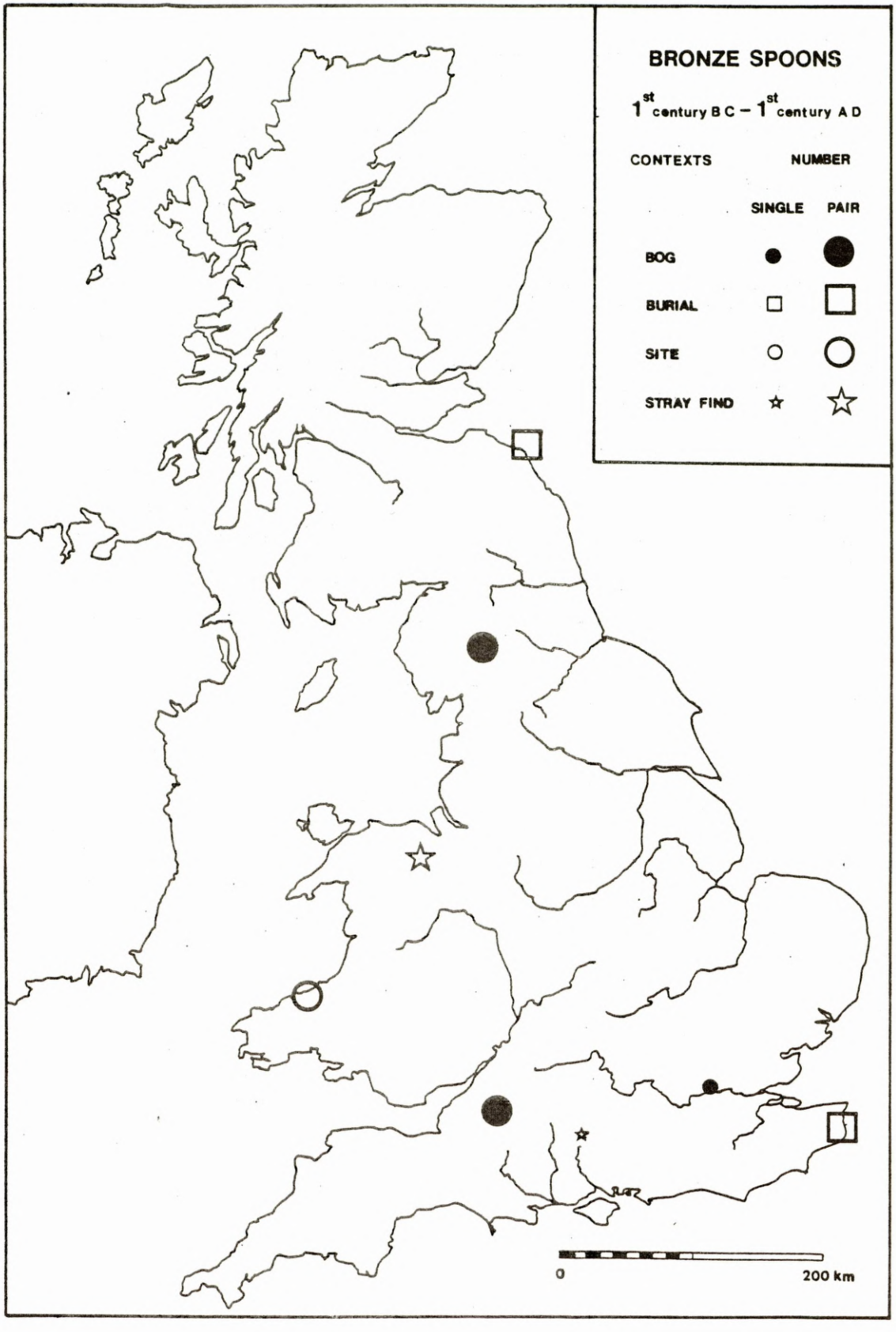


Figure 2.8: BRONZE SPOONS OF THE LATE IRON AGE

Shields and Helmets

The distribution of the circular bronze shields of the Late Bronze Age (see Fig 2.9) follows a pattern that is now familiar. The Thames Basin is prominent with five shields in the Lower Basin and two more from the Upper, all from either the Thames or nearby bogs. The Fenland area has four shields, all from bogs, as are the five from north Wales. Lincolnshire produced three shields, also all from rivers and bogs. Northumberland and the Border uplands contain a prominent cluster of five shields, four from bogs and an unprovenanced example with good preservation, surely indicating a bog context. Scotland has eight shields from only two contexts - five from a bog in Ayrshire and three more from near Aberdeen.

The blank centuries from the fifth to the second end with a drastic reduction in the number and distribution of shields (see Fig 2.10), very much as noticed with swords (Fig 2.5). The Lower Thames at London and the Witham near Lincoln have produced several famous shields (eg Wandsworth and Witham) and a helmet (Waterloo), while the Llyn Cerrig Bach deposit on Anglesey and the Torrs bog deposit in Kirkcudbright are well known but widely dispersed examples. The fragmentary shield boss from Somerset may be an anomalous stray, although the three shields found in burials of warriors at Owslebury, Whitcombe and Saint Lawrence may suggest that it too is from a burial context.

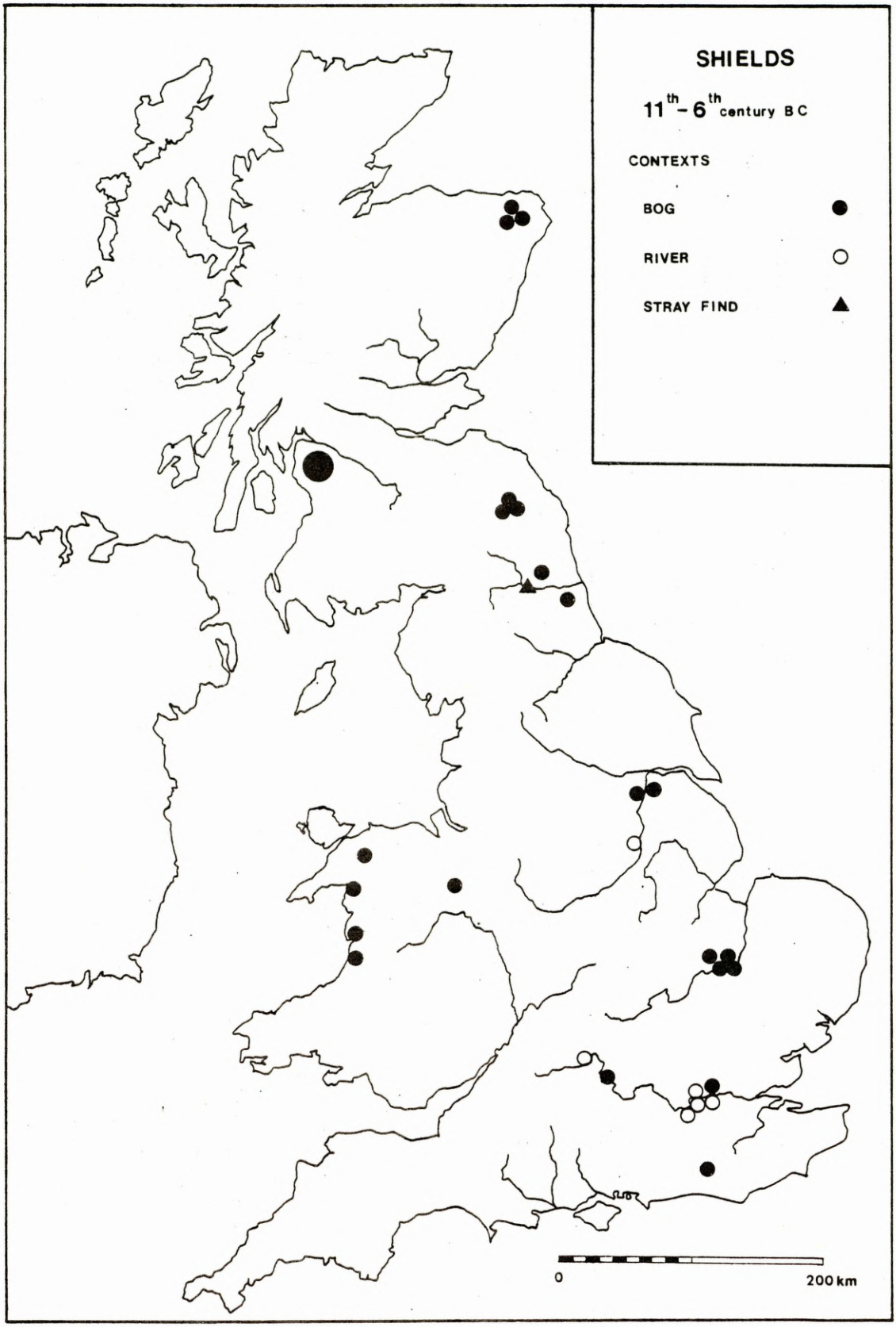


Figure 2.9: SHIELDS OF THE EARLY IRON AGE

KEY TO SITES IN FIGURE 2.9

11th to 6th Centuries BC
Shields

Number	Location	Grid Ref
Bog		
1	Aberystwyth	SN5882
2 (3)	Auchmaleddie	NJ8847
4 (5)	Beith	NS3454
5	Brunby	SE8909
6	Burringham	SE8309
8	Chester	NZ2752
9 (3)	Coveny	TL4881
10	Doneymouth	SN6293
11	Ellermere	SJ4035
14	Harlech	SH5831
15	Ingoe	NZ0475
16	Langwood	TL3986
17	Lea	TQ3888
18	Little Wittenham	SU5693
21	Moel Siabod	SH7258
22	Sutton	TG3823
24 (3)	Yeltholm	NT8128
River		
7	Carlton	SK7964
12	Eynsham	SP4309
13	Hampton	TQ1370
19	London	TQ2776
20	London	TQ2776
23	Woolwich	TQ4379
Stray		
3	Aydon	NY9964

KEY TO SITES IN FIGURE 2.10

2nd to 1st Centuries BC
Shields and Helmets

Number	Location	Grid Ref
Bog		
27	Llyn Cerrig Bach	SH3076
32	Torrs	NX4560
Burial		
33	Owslebury	SU5224
34	St Lawrence	SZ5376
35	Whitcombe	SY7188
River		
25	Battersea	TQ2776
26	Brentford	TQ1778
30 (2)	Wandsworth	TQ2574
29	Waterloo	TQ3380
31	Witham	SK9872
Stray		
28	Polden Hill	ST4336

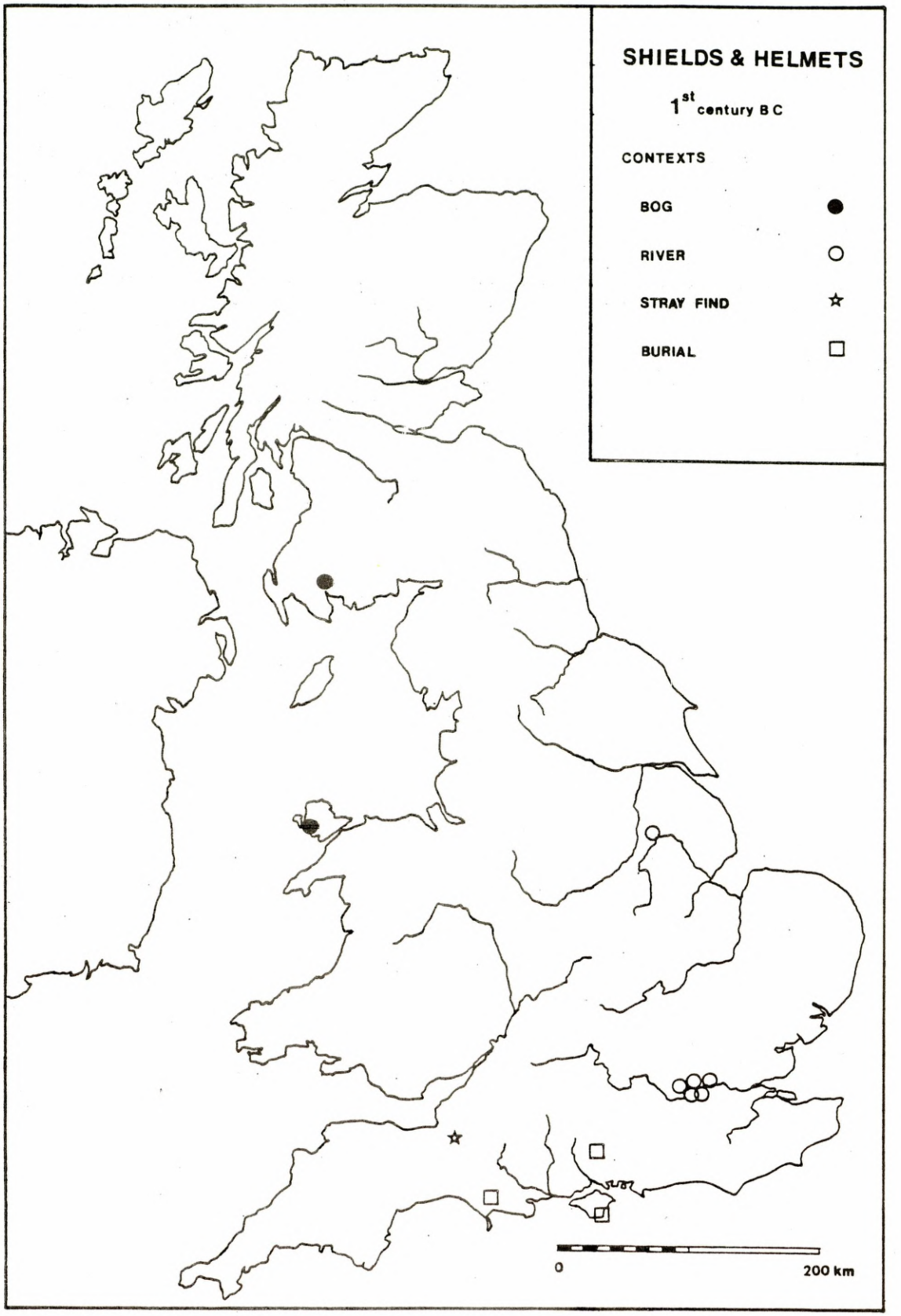


Figure 2.10: SHIELDS AND HELMETS OF THE LATE IRON AGE

Torcs

Nearly all of the torcs known from the Pre-Roman Iron Age are dated to the last two centuries before the Conquest; the single dated exception is from a burial in north Yorkshire. The distribution of the remaining examples is clearly unlike the distribution of the artifacts considered already (see Fig 2.11). There are the four famous hoards of precious metal torcs along the eastern seaboard (Ipswich, Snettisham, Ulceby and New Cairnmuir) and a few bog context finds from the Scots Border uplands. Otherwise, there is a diffuse scatter of torcs found either on occupation sites or as strays (also probably from as yet unrecognised settlements) across most of the rest of England and Wales, with a very noticeable concentration in Dorset, Somerset and Avon.

Most of the undatable torcs (see Fig 2.12) are probably of Iron Age origin, but their distribution is equally diffuse, though a small group in the Fens and Norfolk may be discerned. The three Roman torcs (see Fig 2.12) are too few to produce a spatial pattern.

Torcs, unlike the other artifacts considered here, show no tendency for watery contexts, but are overwhelmingly from dry sites. Further, the only spatial clustering they show is a marked concentration in Dorset and Somerset and possibly in the Fenlands, with a wide scatter of examples across the rest of England.

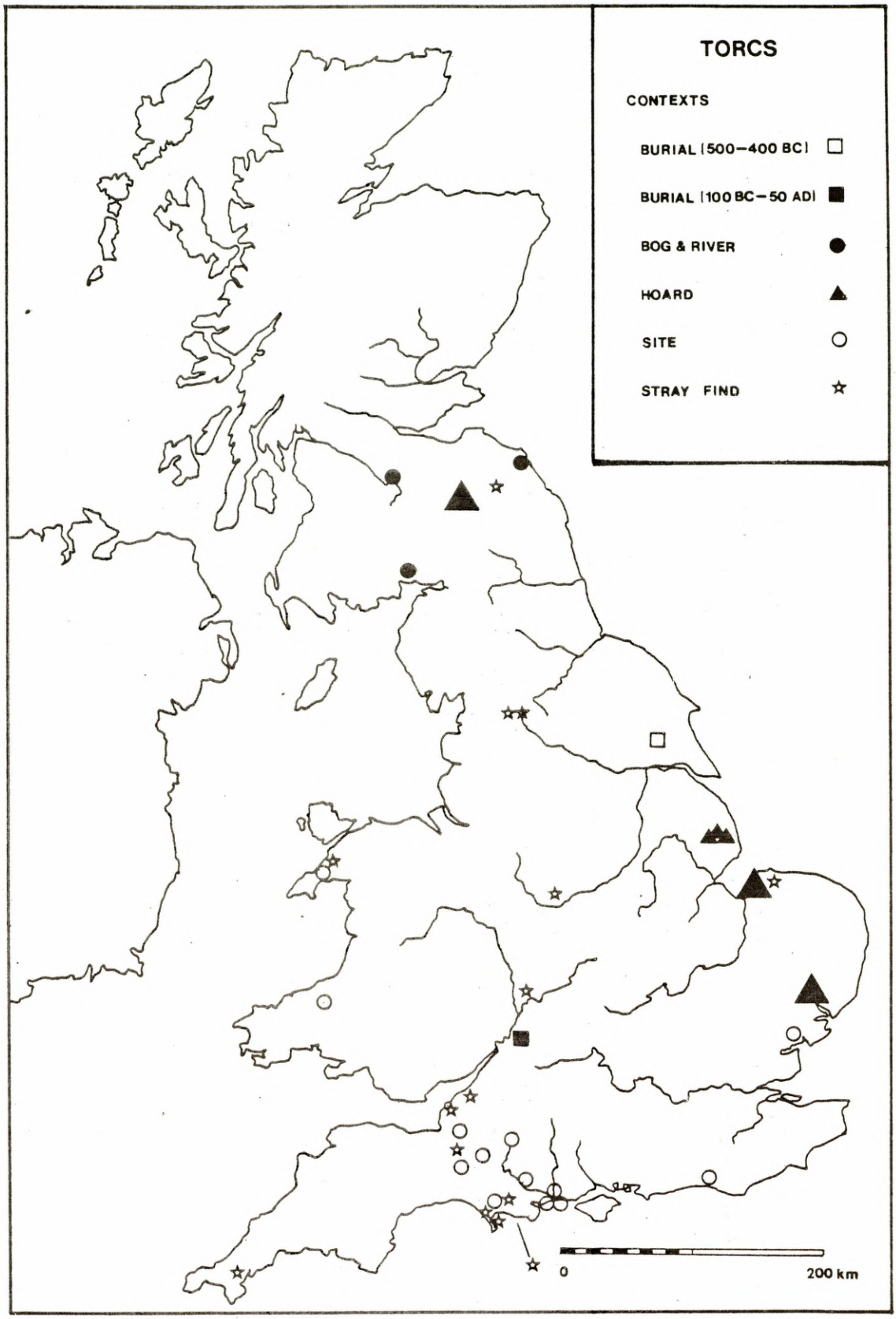


Figure 2.11: TORCS OF THE EARLY AND LATE IRON AGE

KEY TO SITES IN FIGURE 2.11

Torcs

1st Century BC to 1st Century AD

Number	Location	Grid Ref
River/Bog		
24	Hyndford	NS9141
26	Lamberton	NT9758
28	Lochar	NY0471
Hoard		
25 (6)	Ipswich	TM1744
35 (4)	New Cairnmuir	NT4734
47 (6)	Snettisham	TF6834
52 (3)	Ulceby	TF4272
Occupation Site		
6	Cadbury	ST6225
11	Colchester	TM0025
12	Cold Kitchen Hill	ST8438
20	Ham Hill	ST4717
22	Hengistbury	SZ1790
23	Hollingbury	TQ3207
27	Llandyssul	SN4242
30	Maiden Castle	SY6688
31	Meare	ST4541
48	Spettisbury	ST9102
51	Tre'r Ceiri	SH3848
53	Worlebury	ST3363
Stray		
1	Attermire	SD8264
10	Clynnog	SH4249
13	Cross Axbridge	ST4154
14	Dorchester	SY6890
15	Dorset	-
17	Giggleswick	SO8164
19	Greenhill	SV6878
34	Needwood	SK1624
36	North Creake	TF8538
37	Perdeswell	SO9647
38	Polden Hill	ST4326
39	Portland	SY6870
49	Sickhill	NT7239
50	Trenoweth	SW7533
54	Wraxall	ST4973

5th Century BC

Number	Location	Grid Ref
Burial		
57	Arras	SE9341

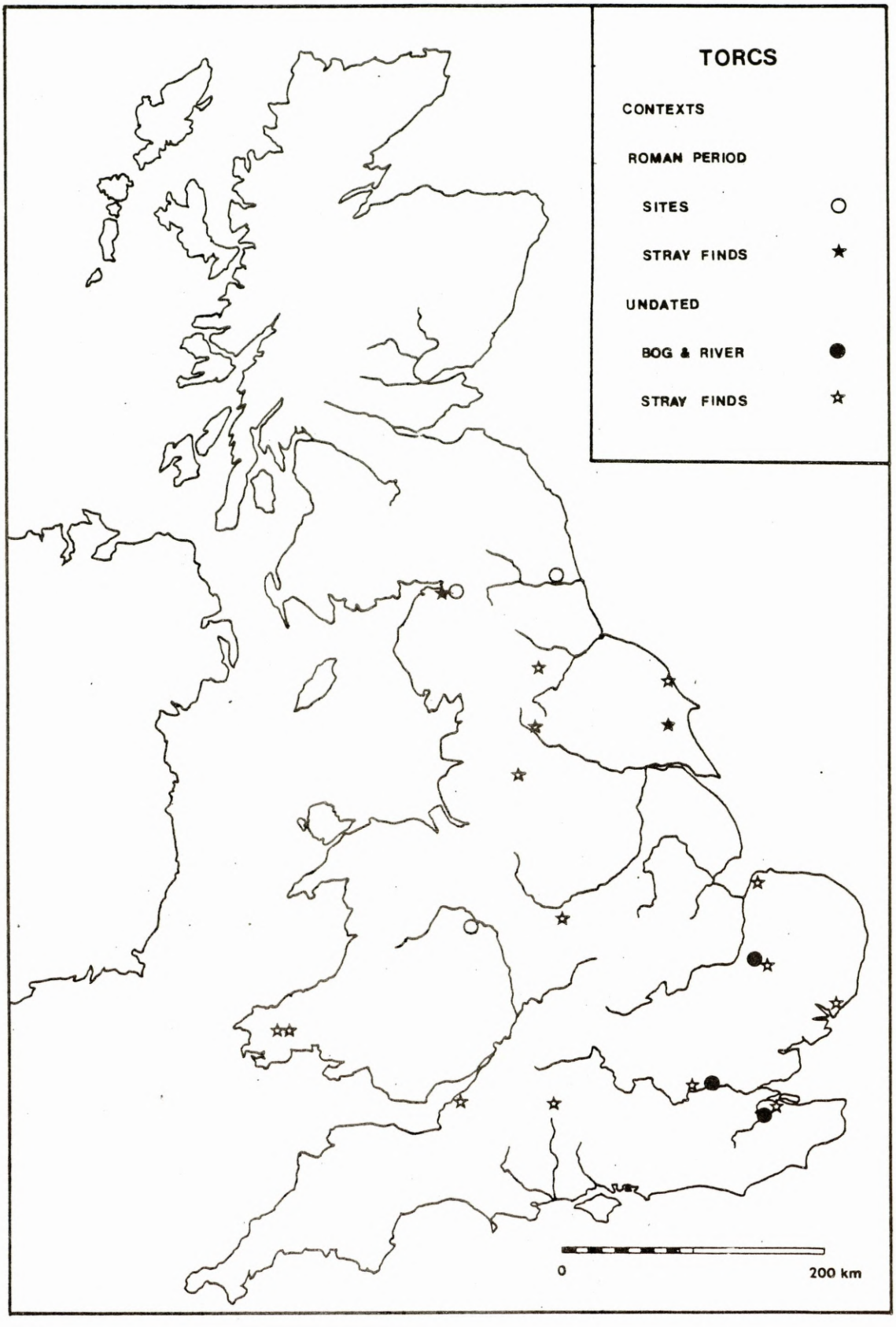


Figure 2.12: TORCS - ROMAN AND UNDATED FINDS

KEY TO SITES IN FIGURE 2.12

Torcs

Roman

Number	Location	Grid Ref
Occupation Site		
4	Benwell	NZ2164
41	Rickerly	NY3957
55	Wroxeter	SJ5608
Stray		
7	Carlisle	NY4056
45	Skeine	TA0455

Undated

Number	Location	Grid Ref
River/Bog		
2	Aylesford	TQ7359
29	London	TQ3682
32	Mildenhall	TL7074
Stray		
3	Bawsey	TM3440
8	Clench Common	SU1765
9	Clevedon	ST4071
16	Embsay	SE0053
18	Glascote	SK2203
21	Hammersmith	TQ2279
33	New Row	SD8912
40	Reeth	SE0499
56 (2)	Rudboxton	SN1020
42	Scarborough	TA0489
43	Sedgford	TF7036
44	Shepherds Fen	TL7074
46	Slay Hill	TQ8467

DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

The foregoing evidence suggests that Britain in the Iron Age can be divided into several regional traditions on the basis of ritual practices. First, there are the areas for which there is positive evidence for votive depositions of prestigious metalwork in watery contexts. Secondly, there are two areas which show the presence of distinctive ritual traditions in positive evidence for different ritual treatment of a similar range of artifacts. The third tradition includes much of the rest of Britain, for which there is as yet no positive evidence for any rituals involving either prestigious metalwork or watery contexts (see Fig 2.13).

The Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age

Six regions contain positive evidence for the votive deposition of swords, vessels or shields in watery contexts during the Later Bronze Age and Early Iron Age. These regions are the Thames Basin, the Fenlands, central Lincolnshire, north Wales, the Scottish Border uplands and the River Tay Basin. One region shows positive evidence of a different ritual tradition. This is the appearance of swords in burials in east Yorkshire, as part of the "Arras" culture at the very end of the Early Iron Age period. Here, swords do not appear in a votive context, but rather were used in mortuary rituals. There is very little positive evidence for the rest of Britain, as these artifacts are rarely found. Presumably such artifacts were, in fact, available elsewhere, but were not used in either votive or mortuary rituals.

The Middle Iron Age

The persistence of all of these regional ritual traditions may be seen in the Middle Iron Age, but on a very reduced scale (cf Torbrügge 1970/1971). Four of the six regions - the Thames Basin, Fenlands, Lincolnshire and north Wales, have all produced a few items of the prestige classes from watery contexts, but the numbers and variety of artifacts are far fewer. The Scottish Border region and the Tay Basin have virtually no positive evidence. This ritual was apparently no longer practised as widely, or as intensively, as in the Early Iron Age. Yorkshire continues to show positive evidence of a different ritual tradition, by the presence of swords in burials as part of a distinctive mortuary tradition. During the Middle Iron Age, probably in the second half of the period, the Dorset and Somerset region begins to assert an individuality by producing swords from occupation sites, which is positive evidence for a regional tradition that did not use swords in votive rituals. A few scattered swords and vessels from burials (two in the Dorset and Somerset region) hint at local practices at a level too detailed to be dealt with here.

The Late Iron Age

During the Late Iron Age there may be a slight increase in the use of the ritual of votive depositions of metalwork in watery contexts. Many of these Late Iron Age depositions are of bronze vessels, which were present, but uncommon, in the Early Iron Age. The favoured Early Iron Age objects - swords and shields - are present, but rare, in the Late Iron Age. A further change is that, although all of the former regions once again show the use of rivers and bogs for votive offerings,

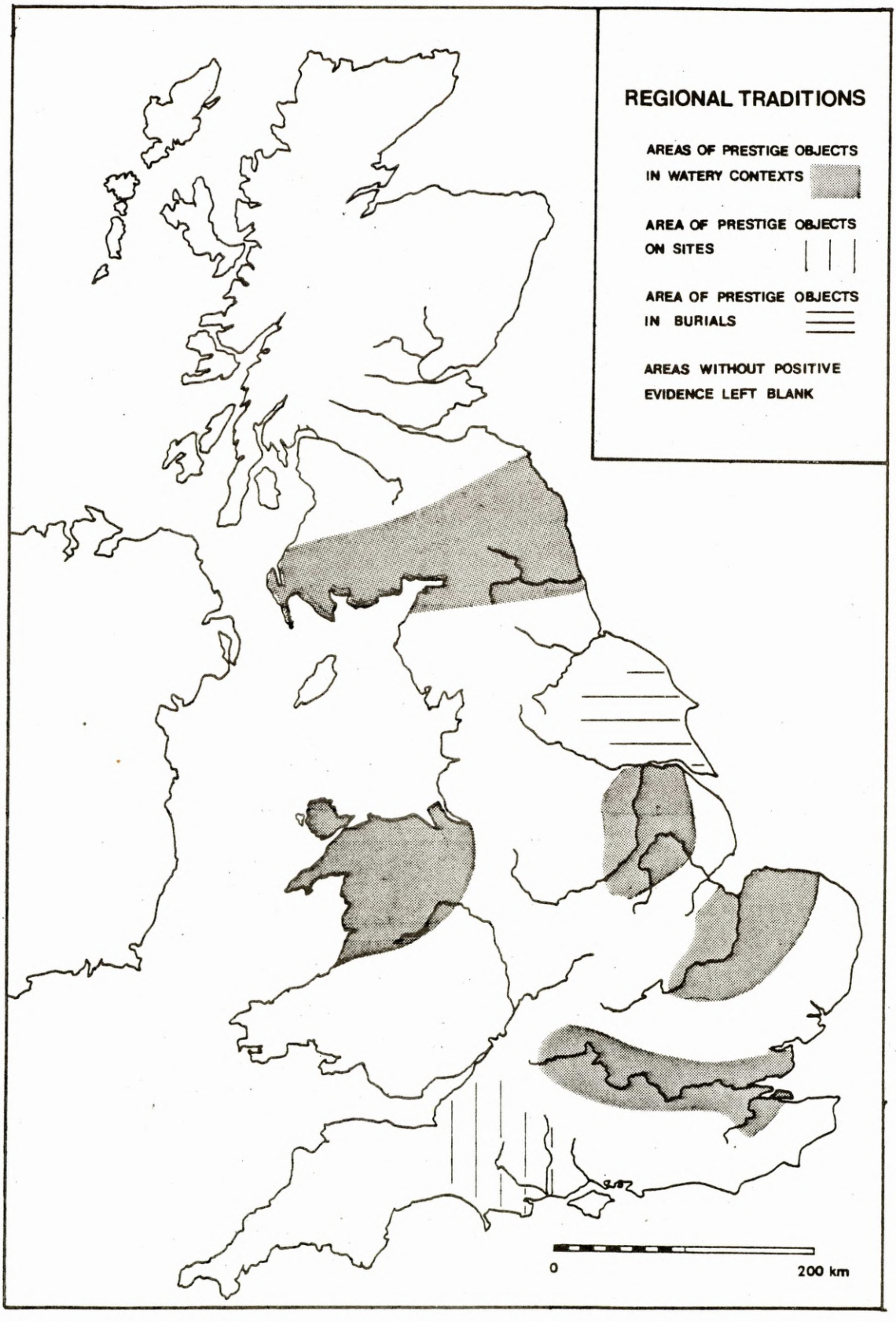


Figure 2.13: REGIONAL TRADITIONS IN THE IRON AGE

the find spots are less tightly clustered. This suggests that a new class of artifacts was favoured for use in this votive ritual and that this ritual was more widely followed, but less intensively so, in any particular region. The Yorkshire Arras culture still distinctively includes swords in burials; the Dorset and Somerset region continues to produce swords and bronze vessels from domestic sites, indicating that these artifacts were not used in ritual there. During the Late Iron Age the distribution of torcs contrasts with the other artifact classes in both contexts and geographic distribution, probably indicating that these status items were rarely deposited in ritual contexts.

Thus the archaeological evidence indicates that a number of widely separated regions all practised similar ritual depositions in the Early Iron Age, and chose for these practices a limited range of prestigious artifacts. During the Middle Iron Age these rituals were abandoned in some areas and were practised far less intensively in the remaining areas. Other regions present contrasting practices, with the use of the same series of artifacts in very different ritual contexts (Yorkshire), or by not using the artifacts in any ritual at all. The Late Iron Age sees a reduced continuation of the practice of votive deposition; but now a new artifact class is used and the ritual practice seems to have been performed by more widely scattered groups, rather than intensively in only a few geographically restricted regions.

CONTINENTAL EVIDENCE

Throughout the early centuries of the Iron Age, Britain and much of the Continent participated in a very widespread exchange system based on bronze and bronze artifacts (Bradley 1984, 96-156; Cunliffe 1978, 141-150; chapter 10 below). During this period (the Early Iron Age in the present chronology), Britain and north-west Europe also share in one other widespread phenomenon: a veneration of watery places celebrated by the ritual deposition of valuable, prestige artifacts (Cowen 1967, maps B, D, E, F; Collis 1984, 76-79, Fig 18g; von Brunn 1980; Torbrügge 1970/1971, 1-146). This ritual congruence is not total however, because from Hallstatt C/D onwards such prestige items also occur in another ritual context - burials - in southern Germany (Kimmig 1969, 1975; Frankenstein & Rowlands 1978) and slightly later in the Champagne and Marne regions of France (Bretz-Mahler, 1971; Flouest & Stead 1979; Duval & Kruta 1975; Piggott 1965, 215-216; 1968, 86). Such wealthy ("princely" or "chieftain" burials) continue for several centuries alongside the watery deposits.

Sometime towards the end of this period (circa 450-400 BC), the European bronze trade network collapsed (Bradley 1984, 138-144) and Britain became more insular (Cunliffe 1978, 152-160). This period of insularity persisted until the end of the second century BC, when both social and economic contacts were renewed (Cunliffe 1978, 160; Bradley 1984, 144-155). Throughout this phase (the Middle Iron Age), the watery deposits continue in both Britain and on the continent, although in much smaller numbers (as indicated by this research; Torbrügge 1970/1971; Fitzpatrick 1984, 183-184).

The end of the insular phase in Britain (circa 100 BC) coincides with a change in burial customs in north and central France, following earlier changes in Germany. The new burial rite is by cremation, inurned in flat cemeteries with few grave goods (Bretz-Mahler 1971, 169-197; Filip 1977, 179-181, 222-223; Hodson & Rowlett 1973, 187-188).

The deposition of prestige objects in watery contexts continues but is infrequent, although there is a resurgence during the Roman period in northern Europe (Torbrugge 1970/1971; Todd 1975, 182-208). The Late Iron Age in Britain, conversely, witnesses the appearance of some wealthy burials (Cunliffe 1978, 87-90) and an increase in ritual deposits in watery contexts. During this period some regional patterns within Britain are apparent, such as the presumptively intrusive Arras culture in Yorkshire (with sword and chariot burials; Stead 1967, 1979; Flouest & Stead 1979, 59-74) and the Dorset and Somerset region, where prestige objects occur on sites.

Therefore it may be suggested, that in the Early Iron Age both Britain and the Continent share in a widespread ritual tradition of votive deposits in watery contexts. Concurrent with the end of the European-wide bronze trade this ritual tradition persists, but only on a much smaller scale in both Britain and Europe. The Late Iron Age and its resumption of cross-channel trade brings a resurgence of this ritual tradition in Britain. Sometime later, during the Roman period, ritual deposits in watery contexts in northern Europe also resume.

CHAPTER 3

RITUAL SHAFTS AND WELLS

One of the principal characteristics of the votive and sacrificial offerings discussed above, is that they must be removed from this world and placed beyond human recovery and re-use. A common method of accomplishing this was to throw the objects into water - a lake, stream or bog - as discussed in the previous chapter. A second method, very commonly employed, was to bury the objects in the ground, in pits or deeper shafts and wells. Later chapters will discuss the use of pits in religious rituals; here, the focus is on the deep shafts and wells.

The use of shafts for the deposition of votive and sacrificial offerings, and also of items which in the course of a ritual become imbued with a dangerous amount of supernatural "power", occurs widely in time and space, ranging from Neolithic Britain (Wainwright & Donaldson 1972) to Viking Denmark (Norlund 1948). The classical world of the Mediterranean participated in this general tradition - the Greeks too used votive shafts (Thompson 1958, 148-153; Shear 1973, 126-134; Kroll 1972, 203; Rouse 1902, 346; Altheim, 1938, 120).

In spite of a lack of detailed studies, it appears certain that the Celtic world made extensive use of shafts for ritual purposes. The presence of deep shafts with contents of putatively ritual origin within the rectilinear enclosures known as "viereckschanzen" is now well documented throughout southern Germany and the Marne and Seine areas of France (Schwarz 1962; 1975, 342-360; Zurn 1971). Ritual shafts are also common on a variety of other sites throughout the Continental Iron Age (both Hallstatt and La Tène), on Romano-Celtic temple sites (Baudry & Ballereau 1873), as well as on settlement sites (Fettich 1956, Pieta 1971, Petres 1972), and less well understood sites (Rybova & Soudsky 1962, Schuchhardt 1943).

The only attempts to study ritual shafts as a widespread Celtic phenomenon are regional in scope, focused on north central France and lowland Britain, and are all by Dr Anne Ross (1968, 1980) and Ross & Feachem (1976).

Because the work of Ross remains the first and only thematic study of Celtic ritual shafts, it forms the background to the present research and will be discussed briefly. There are several criticisms applicable to Ross' work; the first is the intuitive basis by which the characteristics of ritual shafts (as opposed to rubbish-filled pits) are derived. This intuitiveness is understandable in such a "first-time" study, but a revision of the criteria used by Ross, in the light of her results, can only help to strengthen the case, either for or against, the ritual

nature of the shafts.

This fault leads directly to a second, the inclusion of dubious examples of shafts which are presumed to be ritual in nature (Ross 1968, 258-275). For example, the shafts at the sites of Bedford, Danebury, Darenth, Thanet, Kidlington, London, Maiden Castle, several at Newstead, Wellingborough and Wroxeter are, on the basis of Ross' information and the published accounts, less than convincing even by Ross' criteria. In each case, the shafts are either too shallow or contained too few distinctive artifacts to distinguish them from normal domestic rubbish deposits.

The third criticism is that Ross' analysis and interpretation is anecdotal and lacks any attempt to present shafts or their contents as part of a functioning religious "system". The bones of hare and cock, frequent components of shafts' contents, are correlated with statements of Caesar and Dio Cassius, who refers to the animals' sanctity (1968, 275), but there is no explanation of why sacred animals should be found in shafts. Further, Ross' interpretation of these shafts as a Belgic phenomenon is not supported by her distribution map (1968, 280, Fig 67) which shows shafts distributed all across lowland Britain. Lastly, she uses Roman military sites to argue for a Belgic religious ritual, while failing to explain why the Roman army should adopt one Celtic tribe's practices and carry them far beyond the tribal homelands. Disturbing as these five faults are, Ross' main point is not seriously challenged: there are a large number of shafts of Iron Age and Roman date whose contents can best be explained in terms of religious practices.

The purpose of this chapter is, therefore, to attempt to overcome the faults of Ross' studies, to compile a useful gazetteer of convincing shafts, and to present an analysis of how shafts may have been used in Celtic religious rituals.

THE EVIDENCE

Definition of the Evidence

The first step in the collection of evidence for ritual shafts must be the development of a set of categories by which the shaft and its contents can be explicitly categorised. Ross (1968, 281) used a series of thirty-five categories, but a careful study of her results indicates that several categories are of little importance (eg No 33, smooth stones) and that others may be logically combined (eg pins and ornaments may be considered as jewelry). This process results in a designation of twenty-seven categories or characteristics which will be used in the present study. These characteristics are as follows:

1 Deliberate layers. This refers to the presence of distinct and deliberate layers of fill in the shafts. Typically, this involves layers of clean silt, gravel or chalk separating layers of distinctive artifacts such as animal burials or groups of complete pottery vessels. This also includes the use of large flat stones which effectively separate the fill into two or more major levels. Such stones are frequently pierced in the centre by a large hole through which artifacts could be passed or thrown into the lower section of the shaft. This category also includes a deliberate placement of items within one such layer, for example, complete pots surrounding a skull.

2 Lining. Many of the shafts are lined, either with timber framing, puddled chalk, clay, tile or wickerwork.

3 Cattle bones. This includes skulls, and the presence of skulls, when recorded, is noted explicitly.

4 Dog bones.

5 Pig bones.

6 Horse bones.

7 Sheep bones.

8 Deer bones, including antlers.

9 Bird bones.

10 Miscellaneous animal bones for which no genus is known.

11 Oyster shells.

12 Human bones. Skulls and complete bodies noted explicitly.

13 Weapons, such as swords and spearheads.

14 Body armour, such as shields.

15 Complete ceramic vessels - vessels complete upon deposition.

16 Ceramic vessels - which are complete, but which were broken in antiquity in the process of deposition.

17 Potsherds. This refers not to the occasional sherd, which may be found in all contexts of human activity, more or less by chance, but rather to distinct concentrations of sherds, usually layers, which are unlikely to be the product of chance.

18 Leather objects - especially shoes and sandals. This category and the following three are entirely dependent on water-logged contexts for preservation and recognition.

19 Organic material - especially leaves and grasses.

20 Trees or logs.

21 Nuts and twigs.

22 Votives. This refers almost by definition to objects of Roman date, including altars, paterae, figurines of bronze or statuary of stone, miniature bronze axes, spears, shields etc, all well known from Romano-Celtic temple sites.

23 Iron tools - usually carpenters' or blacksmiths' tools.

24 Quern stones.

25 Ashes, charcoal and charred wood occurring in layers or dense lenses in the fill of shafts (does not include occasional flecks of charcoal).

26 Jewelry. This includes fibulae, penannular brooches, pins, rings, bracelets etc.

27 Coins. Including both Celtic and Roman types.

It is readily apparent that none of these twenty-seven artifact categories is, alone, sufficient to characterise a shaft's contents as of ritual origin. Indeed, even two or three of these categories

together need not be significant. The single most convincing category is the first, involving the deliberate organisation and placement of artifacts into different layers or within a single layer. Unfortunately, such deliberate placement of artifacts occurs in only about 20% of the sample. Therefore, it seems best that the attribution of shafts to ritual activities should depend upon a combination of several of these categories.

The use of simple descriptive statistics in the following analysis will define some of the more common combinations, as well as the points of difference between some possible groups of sites.

The application of this revised list of content categories, and the use of a 2.5 metre minimum depth, results in the elimination of many of the more dubious shafts. This reduced set of evidence has been updated by the addition of several shafts which have either been discovered since Ross wrote (1968) or which were omitted from her original catalogue (1968, 258-275). The result of this is a collection of 102 shafts from 52 sites (summarised in the gazetteer in Appendix II) for which there is prima facie evidence of ritual activity. The gazetteer is neither comprehensive nor exhaustive (some of the discarded shafts may in fact be ritual in nature, and there are undoubtedly some shafts not considered), but it does include all of the more clearly defined ritual examples known and thus forms a useful base against which new shafts or uncertain examples may be compared and evaluated.

Limitations of the Evidence

Since archaeological evidence is never ideal, appropriate and successful analysis depends upon a clear understanding of the nature of the evidence and the limitations inherent in it. Several aspects of the evidence will limit analysis, and these limitations are discussed briefly here.

The first is that most of our knowledge of the shafts is the result of chance discoveries in the last century, and not of systematic archaeological field-work. This has two significant consequences: first, many of the shafts cannot be placed accurately in any sort of site context (in a few cases the presence of a site of some sort around the shaft may be presumed, but is undocumented); secondly, several of the discoveries occurred during the expansion of the railway system in the nineteenth century, and the published accounts fall hopelessly short of modern archaeological standards. The lack of site context and detailed recording means that the analysis of the information can only be carried out on a fairly general level, and that the results will therefore lack the specificity which could be derived from modern excavation.

The second problem is one of definition. There is arguably a continuum of features from the ubiquitous Iron Age storage pits through shafts of varying depths to the surprisingly deep wells found on the chalk uplands and, at first glance, any divisions may appear arbitrary. In practice, this is not the case. Shafts which are less than 2.5 metres in depth are usually of the "storage pit" category and, in fact, contain a distinct range of deposits; these are discussed in chapters four and five. Shafts which are over 2.5 metres deep seem rarely to have functioned as storage pits, and produce the distinctive contents which form the basis of the present discussion. Some, or many, of these deeper shafts, however, may have penetrated deeply enough to have served as wells. For present purposes, a distinction between dry shafts and

wells is irrelevant, since wells may have served as places for ritual activity both during and after their period of active use as wells; the emphasis here is on the ritual nature of the contents. One possible result of analysis may be to distinguish between shafts intended and used as wells, and shafts which did not function as such. However, the presence of water-logged preservation is no sure sign of a well, because changes in water table in the intervening centuries may have dried many wells or submerged some shafts.

One other qualification should be made which applies to all of the archaeological evidence. The evidence used here is drawn from Britain during the Iron Age and early Roman period. Interpretation is therefore applicable only to Britain, and only by analogy can interpretations be extended to sites in continental Europe. There are sufficient shafts known from the continental Iron Age to suggest that general patterns of behaviour may have been similar, but detailed evidence will be necessary before the matter can be further considered.

ANALYSIS

Three different approaches to the evidence should yield results of interest. The first of these is the geographic distribution of ritual shafts. This pattern can be compared with distributions of sites of all types for both the Iron Age and Roman periods, thus testing Ross' (1968, 268) assertion of a Belgic origin, as well as any other correlations to other aspects of settlement distribution.

The second approach is to examine the nature of the contents of the shafts. With 102 shafts and twenty-seven categories of contents, no intuitive method of analysis can be reliable. Furthermore, as a glance at the summarised evidence will show (below, Tables 3.1 to 3.5), most of the evidence is of the presence/absence form, a consequence of early, often amateur, excavation and publication. Such data is on a "nominal scale", reflecting differences in kind which cannot be measured (Thomas 1976, 19). Nominal scale data is susceptible to statistical analysis using "non-parametric" statistics (Thomas 1976, 261-264). The non-parametric statistic applicable to the present situation is the Chi-square test, which can be used to eliminate much of the arbitrariness of a purely intuitive approach.

The third approach considers the formal characteristics of the shafts themselves. Ideally, there are three features of interest - depth, diameter and shape or profile. Unfortunately, the evidence for diameter is often lacking, and information on shape is rarely available. This leaves depth, which is usually recorded and is, in fact, found to vary significantly with other attributes of the shafts.

The following charts are a condensed version of the full evidence presented in the gazetteer in Appendix II. Here, the shafts are listed in alphabetical order by site name, and the contents of each are noted. An "X" marks the presence of an artifact category in each shaft. A numeral followed by "c" indicates the number of complete examples of the artifact category, for example, or complete burials of animals. A numeral followed by "s" indicates the number of skulls of a particular animal species known to be present, where such detailed evidence is recorded. Blank spaces represent the absence of artifact categories for particular shafts.

Table 3.1

IRON AGE SITES

Site Name	Ritual Shaft Number	Depth (metres)	Deliberate Layering	Shaft Lined	Cattle Bones	Dog Bones	Pig Bones	Horse Bones	Sheep Bones	Deer Bones	Bird Bones	Miscellaneous Bones	Oyster Shells	Human Bones	Weapons	Armour	Pots, Complete	Pots, Comp but Broken	Pot Sherds	Leather	Organic Material	Trees, Logs	Nuts, Twigs	Votive Objects	Tools	Querns	Ashes	Jewelry	Coins	Other Objects
Ashstead	RS 6	6										X							X								X			
	RS 7	3										X							X											
Aylesford	RS 11	4										X																		
Bekesbourne	RS 13	6	X	X				X				X						6												
	RS 14	5																4												
Caburn	RS 21	3			X	1c					Cock	Hare							X											
Cadbury	RS 22	18		X				X						X					X					1			X	25		
Calke Wood	RS 29	10		X								X						X	X											
Crayford	RS 31	12										X	X						X											
Frittendon	RS 36	4		X													2				X									
Greenhithe	RS 43	10			X		X	X		X	X			3c					X					X						
Heywood	RS 48	-			1s			1s						4s					X											
Irsden	RS 49	-				1c																3								
Northfleet	RS 81	15			1s	2s		2s	3s		X			1s			3													
Purberry Shot	RS 84	13		X														X	X					2			2			
Rotherfield Peppard	RS 87	15								2s								2				1	X							
Stone	RS 93	8.3	X	X	1s							X		X				12			X									
Sturminster Marshall	RS 95	3			1s	1s												5									2			
Warbank Keston	RS 97	4.9				2c													X		X		X			X				
Winterbourne Kingston	RS 98	21		X													1		X							X				
Wolfhamcote	RS100	12.3	X														24													
	21 shafts		3	7	6 4s	5 3s 4c	1	5 3s	1 3s	2 2s	3	8	1	5 5s 3c	0	0	4 30	7 29	11	0	3	2	2	0	3	0	4	3	0	0

Table 3.2

ROMAN SITES

Site Name		Ritual Shaft Number	Depth (metres)	Deliberate Layering	Shaft Lined	Cattle Bones	Dog Bones	Pig Bones	Horse Bones	Sheep Bones	Deer Bones	Bird Bones	Miscellaneous Bones	Oyster Shells	Human Bones	Weapons	Armour	Pots, Complete	Pots, Comp but Broken	Pot Sherds	Leather	Organic Material	Trees, Logs	Nuts, Twigs	Votive Objects	Tools	Querns	Ashes	Jewelry	Coins	Other Objects
Ardleigh		RS 1	3	X	X				1s		X									X										
Armsley		RS 2	3		X				1s		X							3		X		X			X	X	X		X	
Ashill		RS 3	13	X	X	X		X			X			X				50		X		X		X		X		X	X	
		RS 4	7		X	1s					X							3												
		RS 5	2		X	1s		X		1s	X									X										
Asthall		RS 8	3	X			5c		X				X					X		X								X		
		RS 9	3																	X										
		RS 10	-																	X				X	X		X	X		
Barhill	(Fort)	RS 12	14			X				X	X								X		X		X	X	200				X	
Bertha	(Fort)	RS 15	6												2c		X		3											
Biddenham		RS 16	11		X	X	X	X	X						1c					X					2					
Birchington		RS 17	10	X		X		X	1s					X								X								
Bossens	(Fort)	RS 18	12										X								X	X			2		X			X^1
Brampton		RS 19	3																							60				
Brislington		RS 20	12										X		3s			3		X										
Caerwent		RS 23	9			X														X		X		X					X	X^2
		RS 24	7			3s							X		X					X										
		RS 25	-				5s																							
		RS 26	-				1s																							
		RS 27	3	X	X	X														X			X		X^3					
		20 shafts		5	7	9	4	4	5	2	6	0	4	2	4	0	1	5	2	11	2	5	2	3	6	4	2	2	3	3	2
						5s	6s		3s	1s					3s			59	3												
							5c								3c																

X^1 - 2 bronze vessels; X^2 - 1 bucket; X^3 - 1 pewter jug and 1 pewter plate.

Table 3.3

ROMAN SITES

Site Name	Ritual Shaft Number	Depth (metres)	Deliberate Layering	Shaft Lined	Cattle Bones	Dog Bones	Pig Bones	Horse Bones	Sheep Bones	Deer Bones	Bird Bones	Miscellaneous Bones	Oyster Shells	Human Bones	Weapons	Armour	Pots, Complete	Pots, Comp but Broken	Pot Sherds	Leather	Organic Material	Trees, Logs	Nuts, Twigs	Votive Objects	Tools	Querns	Ashes	Jewelry	Coins	Other Objects
Caerwent	RS 28	-																						X	X					
Carrawburgh (Fort)	RS 30	2												1s										X[1]				X	X	
Dunstable	RS 32	38										X		X					X								X		X	
	RS 33	27						3s						X[2]			1					X			X			X		
Ewell	RS 34	3	X		X	1c	X		X	X	X	X		X			X		X			X	X		X					
Felixstowe	RS 35	2		X													X					X	X							
Great Chesterford	RS 37	-																						96						
	RS 38	3			X	1c											2	7												
	RS 39	-				1c												1	X											
	RS 40	3				1c												1												
	RS 41	5			X	1c												1												
	RS 42	6			X	1s												6	X											
Hardham	RS 44	2.5	X	X	X		X	X						1s			2			X				X						
	RS 45	2.5	X	X	X												1		X		X									
	RS 46	2.5	X	X	X												1		X											
	RS 47	2.5	X	X													1				X									
Ipswich	RS 50	9		X															X		X									
	RS 51	20	X	X																				X						
Jordan Hill	RS 52	4	X	X							16			2s	5		6										X		16	
Newstead (Fort)	RS 53	7.6		X	X			X						1c		X								X	X				X	
	20 shafts		7	9	8	6	2	3	1	1	2	2	0	7	1	1	9	5	7	1	3	0	3	5	5	0	2	2	4	0
						1s		3s						5s																
						5c					18c			7c																

X[1] - 26 items including 2 altars and 2 figurines; X[2] - 6 complete burials and 1 skull.

Table 3.4

ROMAN SITES

Site Name	Ritual Shaft Number	Depth (metres)	Deliberate Layering	Shaft Lined	Cattle Bones	Dog Bones	Pig Bones	Horse Bones	Sheep Bones	Deer Bones	Bird Bones	Miscellaneous Bones	Oyster Shells	Human Bones	Weapons	Armour	Pots, Complete	Pots, Comp but Broken	Pot Sherds	Leather	Organic Material	Trees, Logs	Nuts, Twigs	Votive Objects	Tools	Querns	Ashes	Jewelry	Coins	Other Objects
Newstead	RS 54	3												1c	1															
	RS 55	3					1s												X											
	RS 56	5						3s			X	X	X	3s	1		X		X				X							
	RS 57	6													2				X				X			X				
	RS 58	5													1						X			12						
	RS 59	6.7			X	X		X			X			1s	6		X			X				18						
	RS 60	9.8			1s	1s		9c					X	1c				X			X		X		2			X		
	RS 61	7.6				1s				X						3		X			X		X		1	1		1		
	RS 62	9.2				5s		4s		X											X	X	X							
	RS 63	4.3				1s					1s						X													
	RS 64	3.7										X	X						X				X							
	RS 65	3			1s	2s				X								2												
	RS 66	3.7		X	X					X			X					4				X				X				
	RS 67	3.7											X					2	X			X		X				X		
(Fort)	RS 68	4.9			1s	2s		1s				X					1	1										4		
	RS 69	11			1s			2s						2s				2	X	X	X		X			X				
	RS 70	6.7																1	X	X	X		X							
	RS 71	5																3				X			1			2	X	
	RS 72	10			13s			8s		X								2								2			X	
	RS 73	3										X																		
	20 shafts		0	1	7	7	1	7	0	5	3	4	5	5	5	1	4	10	7	3	8	2	9	0	5	5	0	5	2	0
					17s	12s	1s	18s			1s			6s																
								9c						2c																

Table 3.5

ROMAN SITES

Site Name	Ritual Shaft Number	Depth (metres)	Deliberate Layering	Shaft Lined	Cattle Bones	Dog Bones	Pig Bones	Horse Bones	Sheep Bones	Deer Bones	Bird Bones	Miscellaneous Bones	Oyster Shells	Human Bones	Weapons	Armour	Pots, Complete	Pots, Comp but Broken	Pot Sherds	Leather	Organic Material	Trees, Logs	Nuts, Twigs	Votive Objects	Tools	Querns	Ashes	Jewelry	Coins	Other Objects
Newstead	RS 74	5														X			X		X		X	X						
	RS 75	3.7		X	X	1s		X	X	X									X	X					1					
	RS 76	4.9			X	1s		X											X	X					2					
	RS 77	5	X		X							X	X					4	X		X									
	RS 78	2.6			X																				2					
	RS 79	5		X	X				1s										X			X			1				X	
	RS 80	5				1s				X							6		X			X						4		
Plumstead	RS 82	15			1s	1s	1s		1s	X			X	X			8							1	1					
Pagan's Hill	RS 83	17		X	X				X								12	30			X		X						X	
Ramsgate	RS 85	35	X		X			X		X							1		X											
Richborough (Fort)	RS 86	-					X		X	X								X			X									
Sandwich	RS 88	21		X								X						3	X											
Silchester	RS 89	2.8																4												
	RS 90	6.4																2							100					
	RS 91	3		X											X		1	1							60					
Southwark	RS 92	2.5		X						X							3							1						
Stroud	RS 94	3			X	X	X			X			X	1				8										2	X	
Tallington	RS 96	-															1		X					1						
Winterbourne Kingston	RS 99	2.6			X	X	X		X				X				1		X					1				2	X	
Wroxeter	RS101	3.7										X					3		X				X			2		2	X	
Wychwood	RS102	-		X	X		X		X				X						X						X					
	21 shafts		2	7	11	6	5	3	7	7	0	3	5	2	1	1	9	8	12	2	4	2	3	5	8	1	0	4	5	0
					1s	4s	1s		2s					1c																

Geographical Distribution of Shafts

Iron Age

The nineteen sites containing twenty-one shafts which are of Iron Age date are plotted in Figure 3.1. There are two points of interest to emerge from this distribution pattern. The first is the very marked concentration of shafts in western Kent and Surrey; just over one-half of all the shafts occur in this limited area. The remaining 43% are dispersed across lowland England, south of a line between the Severn and the Trent, with the farthest outliers near Exeter in the west and in Warwickshire in the north.

This distribution is not the "Belgic" distribution claimed by Ross (1968, 280, Fig 67), but the concentration in the southeast is nonetheless marked. It is possible that some of the more northern and western shafts are later in date (eg Winterbourne Kingston in Dorset and Stone in Buckinghamshire), but the poor quality of the recorded evidence will not permit any certainty.

Roman Period

The thirty-one sites with 81 shafts which can be dated to after the Roman conquest are plotted in Figure 3.2, with civilian and military sites differentiated. This distribution is noticeably more diffused than the Iron Age pattern, though again, nearly all of the sites are south of the Severn-Trent lowland line.

This distribution is very much like a generalised distribution of known settlement sites for the first two centuries AD. This implies that the ritual practices which produced ritual shafts were not geographically restricted during the early centuries of Roman occupation. This can be explained in several ways. If it is assumed that the rituals involved had an Iron Age focus in the southeast, in Kent and Surrey, then some explanation must be found for their very rapid dissemination under Roman rule.

However, lacking any positive evidence for this, such as shafts occurring earlier in any particular region, it may be tentatively suggested that ritual shafts were a general, widespread Celtic ritual tradition. The Iron Age distribution (Figure 3.1) would support this conclusion, though the apparent concentration in the southeast will still require explanation. Simple sample bias in the form of the density of rail lines (the construction of such lines led to the discovery of many shafts) leading south and east of London, may explain part of the apparent contradiction.

The spatial distribution of sites suggests that there may be several different varieties of sites with ritual shafts. These include, in the Iron Age, those ten sites (twelve shafts) concentrated in Kent and Surrey, and the other Iron Age sites spread more widely across the rest of lowland England. These are distinguished geographically, as there is insufficient knowledge of the sites to allow functional categories to be used. There are also possibly two different kinds of Roman sites, civilian and military, distinguished by the differing nature of occupation, though their spatial distribution does not appear to differ greatly.

Sites of different functional types, or of different social groups (eg Roman civilian or military sites, Iron Age tribes), may well preserve traces of different preferences in the performance of rituals, reflecting differing beliefs. The Iron Age chiefdoms of Kent and Surrey may have held beliefs about how ritual shafts were used that were

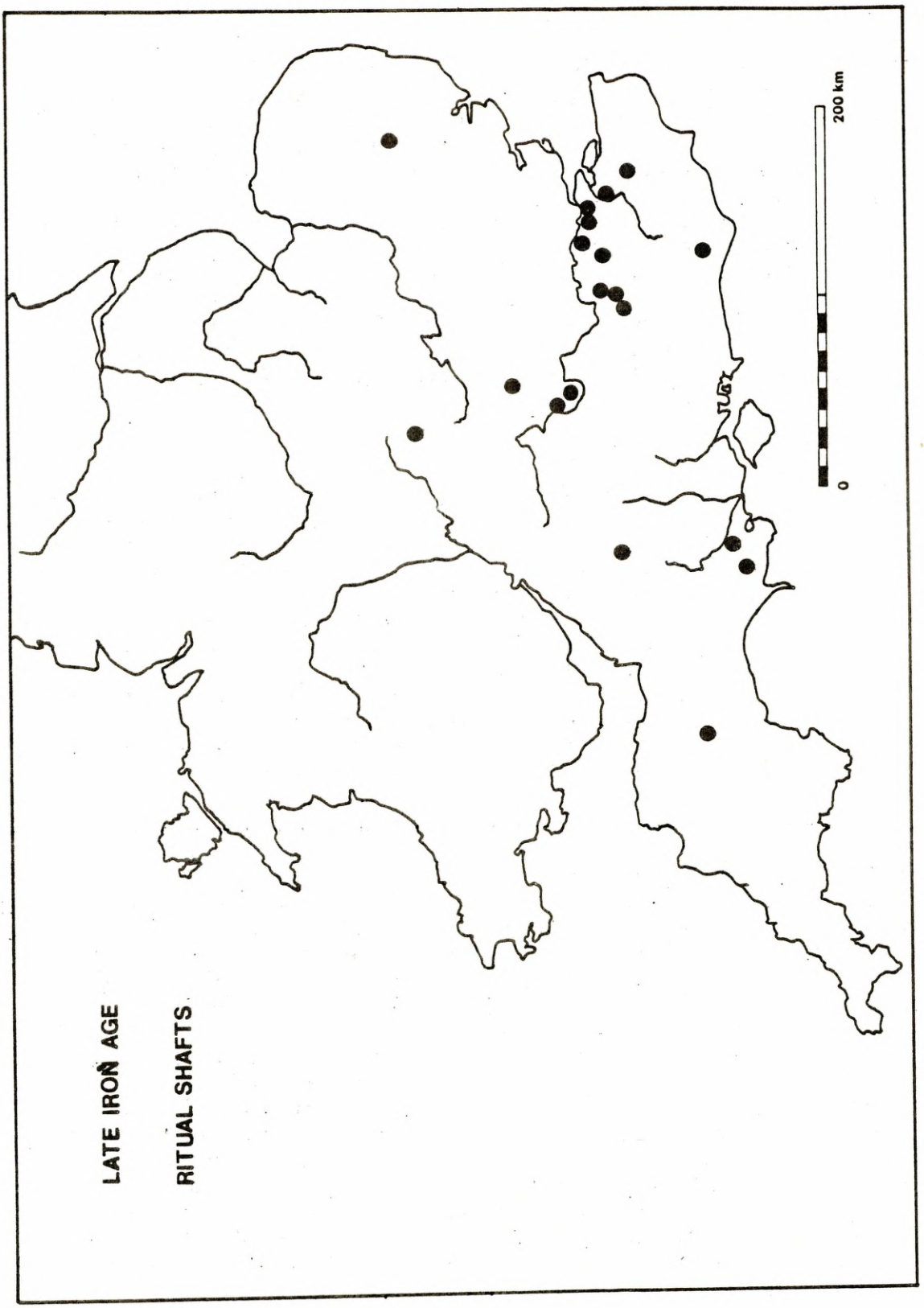


Figure 3.1: DISTRIBUTION OF LATE IRON AGE RITUAL SHAFTS

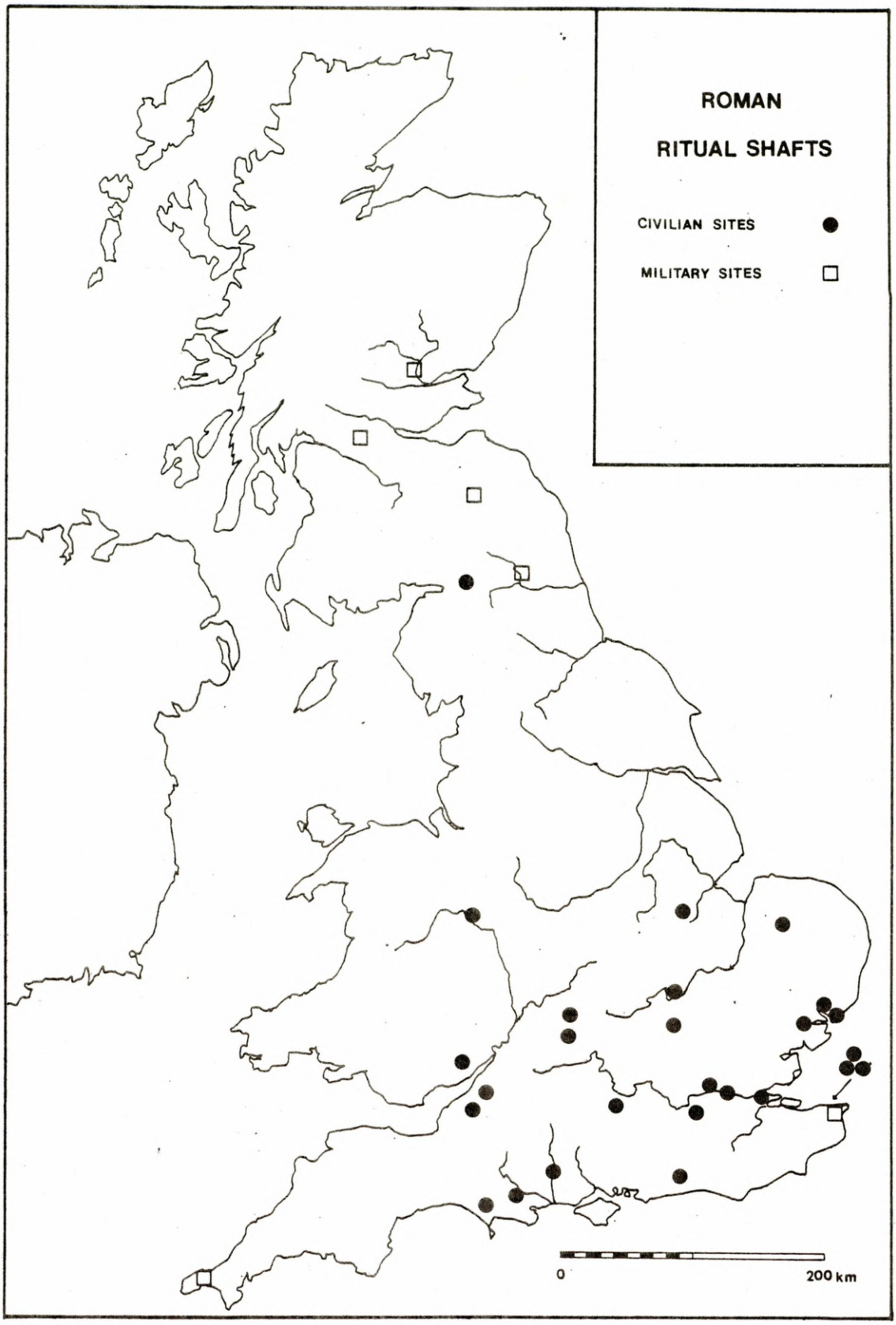


Figure 3.2: DISTRIBUTION OF ROMAN RITUAL SHAFTS

different from those of their neighbours, beliefs which may have persisted into the Roman period. Moreover, the Roman army, by drawing on religious traditions from the Roman world and from both Celtic and non-Celtic frontier provinces, may well have used ritual shafts differently from the insular Romano-British Celts. Gradually, ideas from Rome and elsewhere will also have affected the predominantly Celtic civilian population of Britain and altered their ritual practices as well.

In conclusion then, four different groups of shafts can be postulated, though others may well await discovery. These four are: the Iron Age Kent/Surrey concentration, the remainder of Iron Age sites, Roman civilian sites, and Roman military sites.

The Contents of the Shafts

The Chi-Square Test

Nominal data, characterised by the presence or absence of attributes, may be statistically analysed. One of the best and most commonly used tests is the chi-square test (or X^2), a frequent tool for the archaeologist and anthropologist (Thomas 1976, 261). Briefly, the chi-square test provides a method of comparing the degree of difference between two sets of data with differences which could arise simply by chance. The chi-square test cannot indicate that one of the groups considered is, in reality, a conglomeration of two smaller sets, nor does it estimate how greatly two groups differ. It does not specify explicitly in what ways the groups differ. The chi-square test results in a statement in this form: the observed differences between two groups is unlikely to occur by chance in a specified number of random trials. It is customary to use a significance level of 0.05, which means that the observed difference could occur by chance in less than 5 percent of cases. For a more complete discussion of the chi-square test and its possible applications, see Thomas (1976, 261-306).

The one drawback to the chi-square test is that it can only be applied to two groups which are already known or suggested. In the process of the analysis of the spatial distribution of sites, however, four groups of shafts were suspected; two Iron Age groups and two Roman groups. The following analysis of contents proceeds on the hypothesis that these four groups are, in fact, different, and therefore reflect some real differences in the ritual behaviour which created the shafts and contents.

As a basis for the chi-square tests, the following charts (Tables 3.6 to 3.8) list the number of shafts in each of the four groups which contain a particular artifact category. NOTE: Because chi-square tests cannot function with a "0" value in the list of "expected" values, it is common practice to add "1" to the number of shafts containing each artifact category. For example, there are only three Iron Age shafts which contain artifacts in deliberate layers. To this "1" is added to make a total of 4, or 19% of all Iron Age shafts. This is done consistently and therefore does not affect the final results.

A series of three preliminary chi-square tests were conducted to compare three pairs of the four postulated groups. These three pairs were: all Iron Age shafts and all Roman shafts; all Iron Age shafts and all Roman civilian shafts; and Roman civilian and Roman military shafts. In each case, the results were significant at a significance level of 0.01, which is to say that the differences between each pair were greater than could be expected by chance in even one in a hundred cases. (See chi-square tests in Appendix II.2).

TABLE 3.6

Artifact Categories	Iron Age Shafts		Roman Shafts	
	No of Shafts	% of Total	No of Shafts	% of Total
Layering	3	19	14	19
Lining	7	28	24	31
Cattle bones	6	33	35	45
Dog bones	5	29	23	30
Pig bones	1	10	12	16
Horse bones	5	29	18	23
Sheep bones	1	10	10	14
Deer bones	2	14	19	25
Bird bones	3	19	5	7
Misc bones	8	43	15	20
Oyster shells	1	10	14	19
Human bones	5	29	15	20
Weapons	0	5	7	10
Armour	0	5	5	7
Pots, complete	4	24	29	37
Pots, comp-broken	7	38	22	28
Potsherds	11	57	38	48
Leather	0	5	8	11
Organic matter	3	19	20	26
Trees	2	14	5	7
Nuts	3	19	18	23
Votives	0	5	17	22
Tools	3	19	24	31
Querns	0	5	7	10
Ashes	4	24	4	6
Jewelry	3	19	14	19
Coins	0	5	14	19
	21 Shafts		81 Shafts	

TABLE 3.7

Artifact Categories	Iron Age Shafts Kent		Iron Age Shafts All Others	
	No of Shafts	% of Total	No of Shafts	% of Total
Layering	1	17	2	33
Lining	3	33	4	56
Cattle bones	3	33	3	44
Dog bones	3	33	1	22
Pig bones	1	17	0	11
Horse bones	3	33	2	33
Sheep bones	1	17	0	11
Deer bones	1	17	1	22
Bird bones	3	33	0	11
Misc bones	–	–	–	–
Oyster shells	1	17	0	11
Human bones	2	25	3	44
Weapons	0	8	0	11
Armour	0	8	0	11
Pots, complete	2	25	2	33
Pots, comp-broken	7	66	4	55
Potsherds	–	–	–	–
Leather	–	–	–	–
Organic matter	–	–	–	–
Trees	–	–	–	–
Nuts	–	–	–	–
Votives	0	8	0	11
Tools	2	25	1	22
Querns	0	8	0	11
Ashes	2	25	2	33
Jewelry	1	17	1	22
Coins	0	8	0	11
	12 Shafts		9 Shafts	

TABLE 3.8

Artifact Categories	Roman Shafts Civilian		Roman Shafts Military	
	No of Shafts	% of Total	No of Shafts	% of Total
Layering	13	29	1	6
Lining	20	43	4	16
Cattle bones	21	45	14	47
Dog bones	13	29	10	34
Pig bones	10	22	2	9
Horse bones	8	18	10	34
Sheep bones	6	14	4	16
Deer bones	10	22	9	31
Bird bones	2	6	3	13
Misc bones	10	22	5	19
Oyster shells	8	18	6	22
Human bones	11	24	4	16
Weapons	1	4	6	22
Armour	0	2	5	19
Pots, complete	23	49	6	22
Pots, comp-broken	10	22	12	41
Potsherds	24	51	14	47
Leather	2	6	6	22
Organic matter	11	24	9	31
Trees	0	2	5	19
Nuts	7	16	11	38
Votives	12	27	5	19
Tools	14	31	10	34
Querns	2	6	5	19
Ashes	4	10	0	3
Jewelry	7	16	7	25
Coins	8	18	6	22
	49 Shafts		32 Shafts	

In the course of analysis, it became apparent that the source or cause of some of the intergroup variation was artificial. Variation in six of the twenty-seven artifact categories may more closely reflect recent archaeological practices or environmental conditions than prehistoric ritual behaviour.

The presence of four artifact categories, leather, organic material, tree trunks and limbs, and nuts and twigs, is directly related to preservation in water. Where present, they also reflect prehistoric behaviour. But the absence of these four categories does not imply that they were never present, for they may simply not have been preserved. For this same reason, it is virtually impossible to know which shafts could have served as wells. Therefore, variation in these four categories is not necessarily a valid indication of differences in ritual.

In the same way, the categories "miscellaneous animal bones" and "potsherds" may reflect the poor quality or absence of detailed post-excavation study and publication of many of the earlier shafts. "Miscellaneous animal bones" is not a "real" category since all the bones belong to species; they simply have not been accurately identified. Individual potsherds could represent ritual behaviour - throwing part of a pot into a shaft as part of a ritual - but they could equally well represent unreconstructed pots which were complete, but broken. Thus, neither category necessarily represents prehistoric behaviour.

These six categories were, however, the cause of some of the intergroup variation in the preliminary tests. Consequently, these six categories are disregarded in further analysis to ensure that any variation studied is more likely to reflect variation in prehistoric behaviour.

The following six chi-square tests (Tables 3.9 to 3.14) are used to evaluate the differences between the suspected groups of shafts. In each test, an "alpha" level of 0.01 is used, equal to a numerical value of 37.56. If the derived chi-square statistic (in the lower right hand corner of each test) exceeds this value, then the differences between the two groups tested could arise by chance in less than one case in one hundred. A chi-square statistic of less than 37.56 means that the difference could arise by chance more frequently and the groups are therefore less likely to be really different. It has been necessary to standardise the figures because each of the four groups involves a different number of shafts. In order to do this, the percentage equivalents have been used; these are also presented in Tables 3.6, 3.7 and 3.8.

Chi-square Test No 1 Tests difference between Iron Age shafts in the Kent cluster and the Iron Age shafts outside Kent (Table 3.9).

2 Tests difference between Roman civilian shafts and Roman military shafts (Table 3.10).

3 Tests difference between Iron Age "Kent" shafts and Roman civilian shafts (Table 3.11).

4 Tests difference between Iron Age "remainder" shafts and Roman civilian shafts (Table 3.12).

5 Tests difference between Iron Age "Kent" shafts and Roman military shafts (Table 3.13).

6 Tests difference between Iron Age "remainder" shafts and Roman military shafts (Table 3.14).

Each of the six chi-square tests produced results which indicate that the four suspected groups are, in fact, sufficiently different in their range of contents that chance is an inadequate explanation. The implication is, therefore, that the groups are in some sense "real". There is, however, one further aspect of the shafts from which further evidence may be derived.

Table 3.9
CHI-SQUARE: IRON AGE SHAFTS - KENT vs IRON AGE SHAFTS - OTHERS

Artifact Categories	O	E	O-E	$(O-E)^2$	$\frac{(O-E)^2}{E}$
Layering	17 (Kent)	24	7	49	2.04
	33 (Other)	26	7	49	1.88
Lining	33	42	9	81	1.92
	56	47	9	81	1.72
Cattle bones	33	37	4	16	0.43
	44	40	4	16	0.40
Dog bones	33	26	7	49	1.88
	22	29	7	49	1.68
Pig bones	17	13	4	16	1.23
	11	15	4	16	1.06
Horse bones	33	32	1	1	0.03
	33	34	1	1	0.02
Sheep bones	17	13	4	16	1.23
	11	15	4	16	1.06
Deer bones	17	19	2	4	0.21
	22	20	2	4	0.20
Bird bones	33	21	12	144	6.85
	11	23	12	144	6.26
Oyster shells	17	13	4	16	1.23
	11	15	4	16	1.06
Human bones	25	33	8	64	1.93
	44	36	8	64	1.77
Weapons	8	9	1	1	0.11
	11	10	1	1	0.10
Armour	8	9	1	1	0.11
	11	10	1	1	0.10
Pots complete	25	28	3	9	0.32
	33	30	3	9	0.30
Pots comp-broken	66	58	8	64	1.10
	55	63	8	64	1.01
Votives	8	9	1	1	0.11
	11	10	1	1	0.10
Tools	25	22	3	9	0.40
	22	25	3	9	0.36
Querns	8	9	1	1	0.11
	11	10	1	1	0.10
Ashes	25	28	3	9	0.32
	33	30	3	9	0.30
Jewelry	17	19	2	4	0.21
	22	20	2	4	0.20
Coins	8	9	1	1	0.11
	11	10	1	1	0.10
					$X^2=41.78$

df=20 alpha=0.01=37.56

Table 3.10
CHI-SQUARE: ROMAN CIVILIAN SHAFTS vs ROMAN MILITARY SHAFTS

Artifact Categories	O	E	O-E	$(O-E)^2$	$\frac{(O-E)^2}{E}$
Layering	29	16	13	169	10.56
	6	19	13	169	8.89
Lining	43	28	15	225	8.03
	16	31	15	225	7.25
Cattle bones	45	43	2	4	0.09
	47	49	2	4	0.08
Dog bones	29	30	1	1	0.03
	34	33	1	1	0.03
Pig bones	22	15	7	49	3.26
	9	16	7	49	3.06
Horse bones	18	24	6	36	1.50
	34	28	6	36	1.28
Sheep bones	14	14	0	0	0.00
	16	16	0	0	0.00
Deer bones	22	25	3	9	0.36
	31	28	3	9	0.32
Bird bones	6	9	3	9	1.00
	13	10	3	9	0.90
Oyster shells	18	19	1	1	0.05
	22	21	1	1	0.05
Human bones	24	19	5	25	1.31
	16	21	5	25	1.19
Weapons	4	12	8	64	5.33
	22	14	8	64	4.57
Armour	2	10	8	64	6.40
	19	11	8	64	5.81
Pots	49	33	16	256	7.75
complete	22	38	16	256	6.73
Pots	22	30	8	64	2.13
comp-broken	41	33	8	64	1.93
Votives	27	22	5	25	1.13
	19	24	5	25	1.04
Tools	31	30	1	1	0.03
	34	33	1	1	0.03
Querns	6	12	6	36	3.00
	19	13	6	36	2.76
Ashes	10	6	4	16	2.66
	3	7	4	16	2.28
Jewelry	16	19	3	9	0.47
	25	22	3	9	0.40
Coins	18	19	1	1	0.05
	22	21	1	1	0.05

$X^2=103.79$

df=20 alpha=0.01=37.56

Table 3.11
CHI-SQUARE: IRON AGE SHAFTS - KENT vs ROMAN CIVILIAN SHAFTS

Artifact Categories	O	E	O-E	$(O-E)^2$	$\frac{(O-E)^2}{E}$
Layering	17	24	6	36	1.50
	29	22	6	36	1.63
Lining	33	40	7	49	1.22
	43	36	7	49	1.36
Cattle bones	33	42	9	81	1.92
	45	36	9	81	2.25
Dog bones	33	33	0	0	0.00
	29	29	0	0	0.00
Pig bones	17	21	4	16	0.76
	22	18	4	16	0.88
Horse bones	33	27	6	36	1.33
	18	24	6	36	1.50
Sheep bones	17	17	0	0	0.00
	14	14	0	0	0.00
Deer bones	17	21	4	16	0.76
	22	18	4	16	0.88
Bird bones	33	21	12	144	6.85
	6	18	12	144	8.00
Oyster shells	17	19	2	4	0.21
	18	16	2	4	0.25
Human bones	25	26	1	1	0.03
	24	23	1	1	0.04
Weapons	8	6	2	4	0.66
	4	6	2	4	0.66
Armour	8	5	3	9	1.80
	2	5	3	9	1.80
Pots	25	39	14	196	5.02
complete	49	35	14	196	5.60
Pots	66	47	19	361	7.68
comp-broken	22	41	19	361	8.80
Votives	8	19	11	121	6.36
	27	16	11	121	7.56
Tools	25	30	5	25	0.83
	31	26	5	25	0.96
Querns	8	7	1	1	0.14
	6	7	1	1	0.14
Ashes	25	19	6	36	1.89
	10	16	6	36	2.25
Jewelry	17	18	1	1	0.05
	16	15	1	1	0.06
Coins	8	14	6	36	2.57
	18	12	6	36	3.00
					$X^2=89.20$

df=20 alpha=0.01=37.56

Table 3.12
CHI-SQUARE: IRON AGE SHAFTS - OTHERS vs ROMAN CIVILIAN SHAFTS

Artifact Categories	O	E	O-E	$(O-E)^2$	$\frac{(O-E)^2}{E}$	
Layering	33	34	1	1	0.02	
	29	28	1	1	0.03	
Lining	56	55	1	1	0.01	
	43	44	1	1	0.02	
Cattle bones	44	49	5	25	0.51	
	45	40	5	25	0.62	
Dog bones	22	28	6	36	1.28	
	29	23	6	36	1.56	
Pig bones	11	18	7	49	2.72	
	22	15	7	49	3.26	
Horse bones	33	28	5	25	0.89	
	18	23	5	25	1.08	
Sheep bones	11	14	3	9	0.64	
	14	11	3	9	0.81	
Deer bones	22	24	2	4	0.16	
	22	20	2	4	0.20	
Bird bones	11	9	2	4	0.44	
	6	8	2	4	0.50	
Oyster shells	11	16	5	25	1.56	
	18	13	5	25	1.92	
Human bones	44	38	6	36	0.94	
	24	30	6	36	1.20	
Weapons	11	8	7	49	6.12	*
	4	7	7	49	7.00	
Armour	11	7	4	16	2.28	*
	2	6	4	16	2.66	
Pots	33	46	13	169	3.67	
complete	49	36	13	169	4.69	
Pots	55	43	12	144	3.34	
comp-broken	22	34	12	144	4.23	
Votives	11	21	10	100	4.76	
	27	17	10	100	5.88	
Tools	22	29	7	49	1.68	
	31	24	7	49	2.04	
Querns	11	9	2	4	0.44	
	6	8	2	4	0.50	
Ashes	33	24	9	81	3.37	
	10	19	9	81	4.26	
Jewelry	22	21	1	1	0.04	
	16	17	1	1	0.05	
Coins	11	16	5	25	1.56	
	18	13	5	25	1.92	
					$X^2=80.86$	

df=20 alpha=0.01=37.56

* These figures are slightly misleading, as weapons and armour are extremely rare in both categories of shafts.

Table 3.13
CHI SQUARE: IRON AGE SHAFTS - KENT vs ROMAN MILITARY SHAFTS

Artifact Categories	O	E	O-E	$(O-E)^2$	$\frac{(O-E)^2}{E}$
Layering	17	12	5	25	2.08
	6	11	5	25	2.27
Lining	33	25	8	64	2.56
	16	24	8	64	2.66
Cattle bones	33	40	7	49	1.22
	47	40	7	49	1.22
Dog bones	33	34	1	1	0.02
	34	33	1	1	0.03
Pig bones	17	8	9	81	10.12
	9	18	9	81	4.50
Horse bones	33	34	1	1	0.03
	34	33	1	1	0.03
Sheep bones	17	17	0	0	0.00
	16	16	0	0	0.00
Deer bones	17	24	7	49	2.04
	31	24	7	49	2.04
Bird bones	33	23	10	100	4.34
	13	23	10	100	4.34
Oyster shells	17	20	3	9	0.45
	22	19	3	9	0.47
Human bones	25	21	4	16	0.76
	16	20	4	16	0.80
Weapons	8	15	7	49	3.26
	22	15	7	49	3.26
Armour	8	14	6	36	2.57
	19	13	6	36	2.76
Pots	25	24	1	1	0.04
complete	22	23	1	1	0.04
Pots	66	54	12	144	2.66
comp-broken	41	53	12	144	2.71
Votives	8	14	6	36	2.57
	19	13	6	36	2.76
Tools	25	30	5	25	0.83
	34	29	5	25	0.86
Querns	8	14	6	36	2.57
	19	13	6	36	2.76
Ashes	25	14	11	121	8.64
	3	14	11	121	8.64
Jewelry	17	21	4	16	0.76
	25	21	4	16	0.76
Coins	8	15	7	49	3.26
	22	15	7	49	3.26
					$X^2=96.93$

df=20 alpha=0.01=37.56

Table 3.14
CHI-SQUARE: IRON AGE SHAFTS - OTHERS vs ROMAN MILITARY SHAFTS

Artifact Categories	O	E	O-E	$(O-E)^2$	$\frac{(O-E)^2}{E}$
Layering	33	20	13	169	8.45
	6	19	13	169	8.89
Lining	56	38	18	324	8.52
	16	34	18	324	9.52
Cattle bones	44	48	4	16	0.33
	47	43	4	16	0.37
Dog bones	22	29	7	49	1.68
	34	27	7	49	1.81
Pig bones	11	10	1	1	0.10
	9	10	1	1	0.10
Horse bones	33	35	2	4	0.11
	34	32	2	4	0.12
Sheep bones	11	14	3	9	0.64
	16	13	3	9	0.69
Deer bones	22	28	6	36	1.28
	31	25	6	36	1.44
Bird bones	11	13	2	4	0.30
	13	11	2	4	0.36
Oyster shells	11	17	6	36	2.11
	22	16	6	36	2.25
Human bones	44	31	13	169	5.45
	16	29	13	169	5.82
Weapons	11	17	6	36	2.11
	22	16	6	36	2.25
Armour	11	16	5	25	1.56
	19	14	5	25	1.78
Pots complete	33	29	4	16	0.55
	22	26	4	16	0.61
Pots comp-broken	55	48	7	49	1.02
	41	48	7	49	1.02
Votives	11	16	5	25	1.56
	19	14	5	25	1.78
Tools	22	29	7	49	1.68
	34	27	7	49	1.81
Querns	11	16	5	25	1.56
	19	14	5	25	1.78
Ashes	33	19	14	196	10.31
	3	17	14	196	11.52
Jewelry	22	25	3	9	0.36
	25	22	3	9	0.40
Coins	11	17	6	36	2.11
	22	16	6	36	2.25
					$X^2=108.36$

df=20 alpha=0.01=37.56

Formal Characteristics: Depth of Shafts

How deep should a ritual shaft be? The answer can be very simple and obvious: deep enough to serve the purpose and no deeper (to avoid wasting the time and energy of digging unnecessarily). Wells are a different matter; they must reach water level and are unlikely to go much deeper. However, the difficulty of identifying wells by content has already been encountered and, lacking any reliable method to separate shafts and wells, they will continue to be considered together.

The subjectivity in deciding how deep to dig a shaft, alluded to above, means that there may be traditional depths to which shafts are dug. Different kinds of shafts and different kinds of sites may (though need not) require different depths. This being the case, and with shaft depth usually recorded, the average depth and distribution of depths in each of the four groups was determined.

The distribution of depths and mean and median depth for each group is illustrated in Figure 3.3.

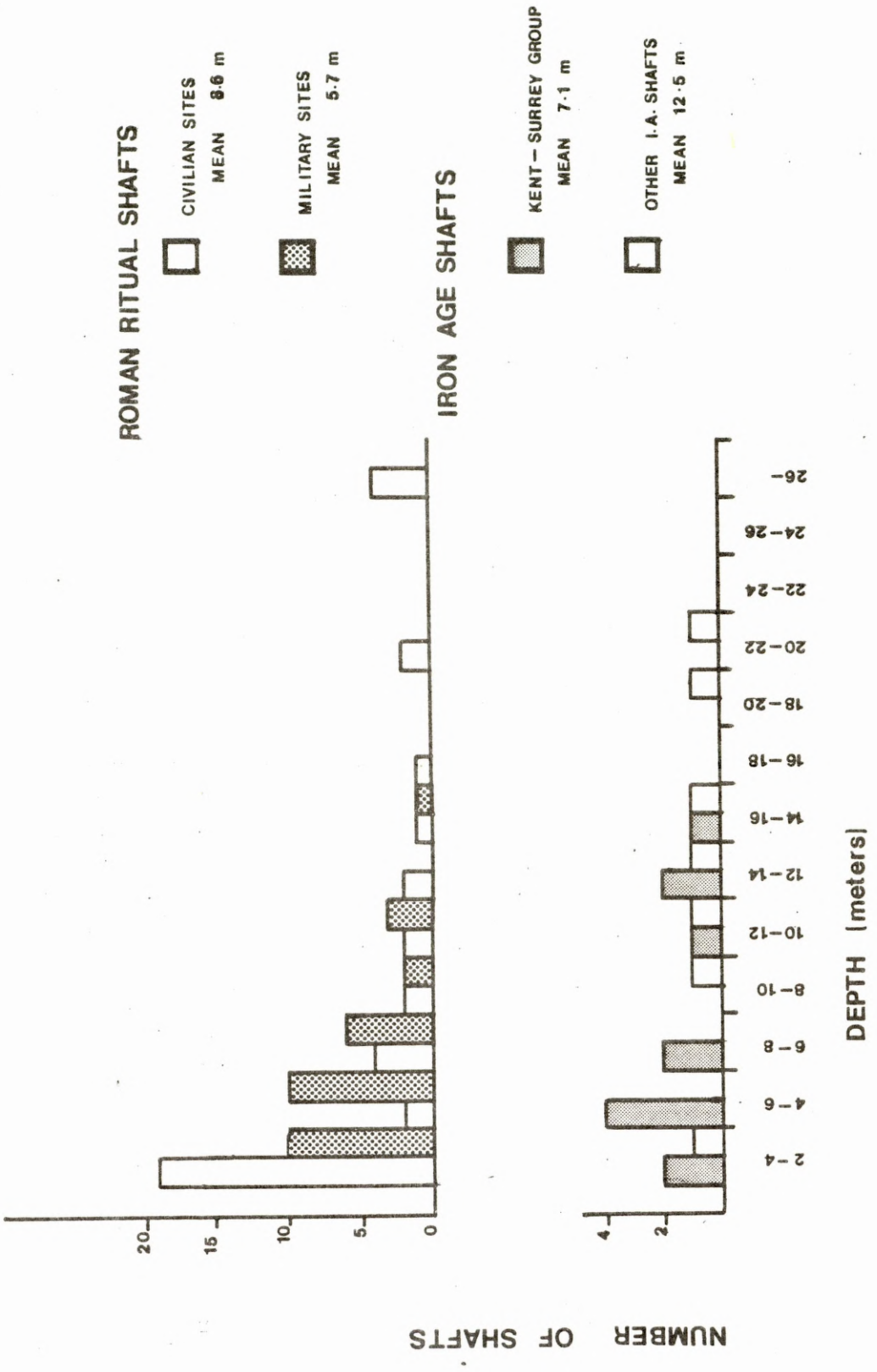
It is clear that the four groups of shafts do differ slightly in terms of depth. In the Iron Age, the Kent group of shafts is shallower than the remaining Iron Age sites, and Roman military shafts are slightly shallower than civilian shafts.

DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

Although it is theoretically reasonable for ritual shafts belonging to different social groups to vary in depth, the variation found between the four groups studied is difficult to explain. Two of the groups, Roman civilian shafts and the Iron Age "remainder" shafts, have very wide ranges of depths. This suggests the possibility of different functions being represented - wells are one obvious alternative. Unfortunately, there are few depths at which many shafts occur that might represent the modes of different functions. An exception to this is the concentration of Roman shafts (of both sub-groups) in the 2.5-4 metre depth range. The contrast of this concentration with the less clustered Iron Age shafts may suggest a possible explanation. Deeper shafts can be used over a longer time because their greater depth can accommodate more deposits, and may be dug with this end in mind. Conversely, shallow shafts fill up more quickly and require repeated replacement. It is interesting to note that the shallowest group of shafts (the Roman military group) also manifests a deliberate placement of contents less frequently (see below), suggesting that less care may have been taken in the deposition of the filling. If this trend from deeper shafts to shallower shafts, and from deliberately layered fill to less structured deposits, is real, then it has interesting implications for the ritual behaviour behind the shafts. For example, it may indicate that the digging of ritual shafts was less of an event (in terms of manpower and effort) and occurred relatively more frequently, and concomitantly, the careful placement of artifacts in the shafts became less common than the alternative of simply throwing or dropping the object into the shaft. This does not necessarily imply any differences in the reverence with which such deposits were made.

In order to understand how the groups differ, and whether the differences are significant in archaeological and ritual terms, a more concise method of describing the groups and their differences must be used.

Figure 3.3: DEPTHS OF IRON AGE AND ROMAN SHAFTS



Principal Elements of Ritual Shafts

It is possible to define a limited number of artifact categories as "principal elements" in a group of shafts. To these principal elements may be added a variety of other artifacts whose presence is less diagnostic of the group. Principal elements of a group of shafts are, therefore, those categories which occur in either (a) most shafts in the group, or (b) a minority of shafts, but whose presence is significant in distinguishing one group of shafts from another group. Those artifact categories which occur in most shafts of a group are easily picked out of the frequency charts (above). The preceding chi-square tests indicate which categories contribute most to the differences between groups and whose presence is therefore diagnostic of one group. These categories may be recognised by their relatively large contribution to the chi-square statistic, in the form of relatively large numbers in the right hand column of each chi-square test.

Iron Age Shafts: The Kent/Surrey Group

The group of twelve shafts that cluster in Kent and Surrey may be characterised by eight principal elements. These include:

1 Lining.
2 Cattle bones.
3 Dog bones.
4 Bird bones.
5 Human bones.
6 Pots, complete.
7 Pots, complete but broken.
8 Ash deposits.

Iron Age Shafts: The Remainder

The nine shafts that are spread across lowland England, around the Kent/Surrey cluster, may be characterised by eight principal elements:

1 Layers.
2 Lining.
3 Cattle bones.
4 Horse bones.
5 Human bones.
6 Pots, complete.
7 Pots, complete but broken.
8 Ash deposits.

Comparison

From these two lists of principal elements, it is clear that the two groups of Iron Age shafts are similar but distinct. They have six elements in common but each group has two other diagnostic elements. The first of these is restricted to the Kent/Surrey group in comparison with all other groups - bird bones. The second element is dog bones, which, in an Iron Age context, occur only in shafts of the Kent/Surrey group, though they reappear as a common element in both groups of Roman shafts. The remainder of the Iron Age shafts are distinguished by the deliberate layers of deposits and horse bones, both of which reappear in Roman civilian and Roman military shafts respectively.

Roman Shafts - Civilian Group

The shafts from Roman civilian sites contain twelve principal elements, including:

1 Layers.
2 Lining.
3 Cattle bones.
4 Dog bones.
5 Human bones.
6 Pots, complete.
7 Ash deposits.
8 Tools.
9 Votives.
10 Pig bones.
11 Oysters.
12 Coins.

(Two of these elements, human bones and ashes, occur only sporadically.)

Roman Shafts - Military Group

The thirty-six shafts from Roman military sites are characterised by twelve elements. These include:

1 Cattle bones.
2 Dog bones.
3 Horse bones.
4 Pots, broken.
5 Tools.
6 Votives.
7 Deer bones.
8 Oysters.
9 Coins.
10 Querns.
11 Weapons.
12 Armour.

Comparison

Roman shafts in general can be easily distinguished from Iron Age shafts by the presence of six categories which are common in Roman shafts, but almost totally absent from the Iron Age. These six elements are: tools, votives, deer and pig bones, oysters and coins. Human bones and ash deposits, which are rare in Roman contents, occur only in civilian shafts and so serve to distinguish civilian from military shafts. In addition, military shafts are generally the only shafts to include querns, weapons and armour, to further strengthen this distinction.

Discussion

There are seven of the principal elements which occur frequently in all four groups identified. The lining of the shaft sides is most likely due to the use of the shaft as a well (a feature which would occur on all types of sites), but this is unprovable as yet. The presence of deliberately layered and organised artifacts is surely the result of certain ritual behaviour which, because of the greater amount of artifactual material (including artifacts <u>per se</u> and ecofacts, such

as layers of gravel or silt), probably represents a group activity. The remaining five elements are probably the depositions of individuals or groups and represent the most frequently used subjects for ritual deposition. Both complete and deliberately broken pots probably represent the dedication of either vegetable matter such as food, or the pot itself, or both. The last three are animal remains of species which are particularly appropriate for ritual votive offerings - cattle, because they served as a standard measure of wealth, and horse and dog, because each has clear affiliations with the supernatural in Celtic mythology (an extended discussion is found in chapter eight, and the appropriateness of sacrificing animals that are symbolic of the supernatural is discussed in chapter nine).

The fact that these seven elements are found in shafts in both Iron Age and Roman contexts, and including Roman military contexts where non-British Celts were involved, indicates that they probably do not represent votives to a particular deity. Instead, they probably represent the more ordinary, general type of votive offering which could be made by a variety of peoples on a variety of occasions. They may, in fact, be associated with a certain deity or a particular function, but there is not yet sufficient evidence to support such a conclusion.

Iron Age shafts are distinguished from Roman shafts by the occurrence of two other principal elements. These are ash deposits, arguably the result of a burnt offering, and human remains. These are widely found in Iron Age shafts, and both persist to occur sporadically in shafts of Roman date, but only on civilian sites. The presence of human remains is of particular interest because it does continue into Roman times. The practice of human sacrifice was prohibited in Imperial Rome and this prohibition may be correlated with the Roman repression of the Celtic religious class of Druids (Chadwick 1966, 34-39, 70-73). The presence of human remains in Roman ritual shafts is, therefore, unlikely to represent human sacrifice. The human remains in Iron Age shafts are indistinguishable from those found in Roman ritual shafts, and are therefore also unlikely to indicate human sacrifice in the preceding Iron Age.

Alternative explanations to account for human remains (rarely complete bodies, and most frequently skulls and long bones) require some form of two-stage disposal-of-the-dead practices with the retention of some body parts for ritual purposes, practices which are now known to have been widespread in Celtic Britain (see chapter four).

In addition to ash deposits and human remains, which are found generally in Iron Age shafts, the Iron Age shafts grouped in western Kent and Surrey show a strong tendency to include deposits of bird bones. This element is very distinctive to this Kent/Surrey cluster of sites and arguably represents a regional cult preference in terms of either a particular deity or some other belief which was much less common (though present) in the rest of lowland England.

In the Roman period, several of the seven basic elements decline noticeably in frequency of appearance. As previously mentioned ash deposits and human remains are present but rare, and only in civilian contexts. Lining of shafts is less common, especially in military sites, cattle are less common in civilian sites, and pots, complete but broken, are much less common in both types of Roman site. Pots deposited complete and unbroken are more common in Roman shafts than in the Iron Age, effectively belying the suggestion above that less care was taken in the process of placing objects in the fill of shafts.

The major change in ritual shafts in the Roman period is the appearance of a number of new types of artifacts. The most frequent of these are iron tools (usually bronzesmiths', ironsmiths' or carpenters' tools) and votive objects (usually stone altars or dedications to gods on metal sheets). Occurring with less frequency, but still often enough to be dramatic, are pig bones, oyster shells and coins. These five categories are common to shafts of all sites in the Roman period. Since all five were available for ritual deposit in the Iron Age but were not used (or used very rarely), their sudden appearance and common use in the Roman period must represent a widening in the definitions of objects suitable for offerings.

Roman military sites contain all of the same artifact categories as civilian sites, but also include three other diagnostic principal elements. These are quern stones, weapons and armour. The presence of weapons and armour in military shafts is not surprising, nor is their absence in civilian shafts. However, the relative absence of weapons in these contexts in a warlike, heroic society such as the Celts is perhaps noteworthy. This highlights a change or widening in the nature of objects thought suitable for offerings in shafts between the Late Iron Age and the Roman period. Iron Age ritual deposits are all of more or less natural produce; deposits of meat of the prime domestic animals, and possibly deposits of agricultural produce, appear in the complete pots. These sorts of offerings continue, but in the Roman period are supplemented by material objects of wealth, and often relatively personal items of wealth. Coins are literally wealth, while tools, jewelry, votives, weapons and armour are valuable material items which are more personal in nature. The Iron Age emphasis would appear to be on fertility and the natural world, to which the Roman world added concepts of wealth and the individual. The implications of such a change in behaviour, and therefore in belief, must await the evidence of further chapters.

SUMMARY

This chapter has presented the evidence for one aspect of Celtic ritual behaviour - the use of shafts and wells for ritual offerings. In the wider sphere of Celtic Europe, there are traces of beliefs about pits, caves and wells serving as focal points for the supernatural occurrences in the accounts of early Roman observers of the Celtic world, as well as more detailed evidence from the Celts' own mythology (both of these subjects are considered in detail in other chapters). Further, there is archaeological evidence for shafts with ritual deposits in the widespread Celtic viereckschanzen sites as well as a variety of other contemporary sites, though this evidence is not, as yet, well understood.

Within this context of a widespread Celtic tradition, this chapter focuses on 102 shafts of Iron Age and early Roman date for which there is evidence of ritual deposits. Through analysis of the contents of the shafts, it has been possible to separate two Iron Age groups which share a basic inventory of votive offerings, but differ in their geographic location, choice of depth, and preferences for some objects for offerings. Two different groups of Roman shafts also emerge from the analysis, not surprisingly a civilian group (of Celtic derivation) and a military group. The Roman shafts differ from the Iron Age predecessors by the appearance of a new, extended range of objects deposited, as well

as the disappearance of a few items which were favoured in the Iron Age.

Although the evidence is less than ideal, it has been possible to formulate an impression of the nature and role of ritual shafts in Celtic religion. In the Iron Age, judging from the greater average depth and greater prevalence of care in the placement of votives, it is suggested that both the digging of shafts, and their gradual filling with votives over a period of time in repeated ritual ceremonies, involved a large investment of time and manpower. Also, in the Iron Age, the votives are all simple, impersonal items which can be closely linked to concepts of natural and domestic fertility. In the Roman period, there is a change in both the shaft and the votives. The shafts become shallower and the votive fill less carefully placed, suggesting that these aspects of the votive rituals have been de-emphasised. The votives also change; the simple natural fertility items continue, but decrease in popularity, while there is a sudden appearance and surge of popularity of more personalised material objects of wealth. In the simplest terms, the shift is from emphasis on natural fertility affecting a group, to an emphasis on individuals and material prosperity.

Conclusions such as these, drawn only from the evidence presented in this chapter, probably go beyond what the evidence will support. Corroboration of the nature of pagan Celtic religion, and the changes wrought under Roman rule that produced a Romano-Celtic religion, is sought from other aspects of ritual behaviour and belief which appear in subsequent chapters.

CHAPTER 4

HUMAN MORTUARY RITUALS

In 1932, Cunnington noted that for all the evidence then available about the lives of the Celts in the British Iron Age, there was paradoxically no evidence that they died (1932, 31). Aside from a handful of skeletons suggestive of accidental or careless disposal, the cremation burials at Aylesford and Swarling, and a few inhumations from east Yorkshire, there were very few known burial sites. This situation remained unchanged for three decades and was formalised by F R Hodson (1964, 205) as a defining characteristic - a negative type-fossil - of the materially prolific, insular "Little Woodbury Culture". In the meantime, human remains had begun to be found, in the form of scattered, apparently unrelated, burials and parts of bodies. Eventually, Whimster (1977, 1981) could define a series of burial traditions, all very limited in time and space. Best known were the intrusive Yorkshire Arras Culture, and the later "Belgic" or Aylesford-Swarling cremation tradition. Less well-known were the very local traditions of the Cornish cist inhumations, and the Dorset inhumation traditions. However, much of southern Britain for most of the Iron Age was characterised by a wide scatter of bodies on the bottom, or in the filling, of disused storage pits on occupation sites: a "Pit-Burial Tradition" (see Figure 4.1; cf Whimster 1981, 190-198, Figures 4, 7, 10, 12, 15, 24, 29, 31, 32). Even this greatly underestimated the complexity of Iron Age mortuary practices; Wilson (1981) documented conclusively the widespread occurrence of parts of human bodies, found in a variety of contexts on Iron Age sites across much of southern Britain, in addition to the pit-burials of complete inhumations of Whimster's tradition. The situation has clearly changed dramatically in the last 50 years, and Iron Age burials now resemble an embarrassment of riches rather than the poverty that confronted Hodson and Cunnington.

Human mortuary rituals are universally religious rituals, embodying beliefs of cosmology and eschatology and serving multiple functions, ranging from rites of passage and rituals of sanctification to the addition of departed spirits to the ranks of the supernatural world. Thus the variety of material remains, preserved in the archaeological record, presents a particularly rich source of information on a wide range of Celtic religious beliefs and social patterns.

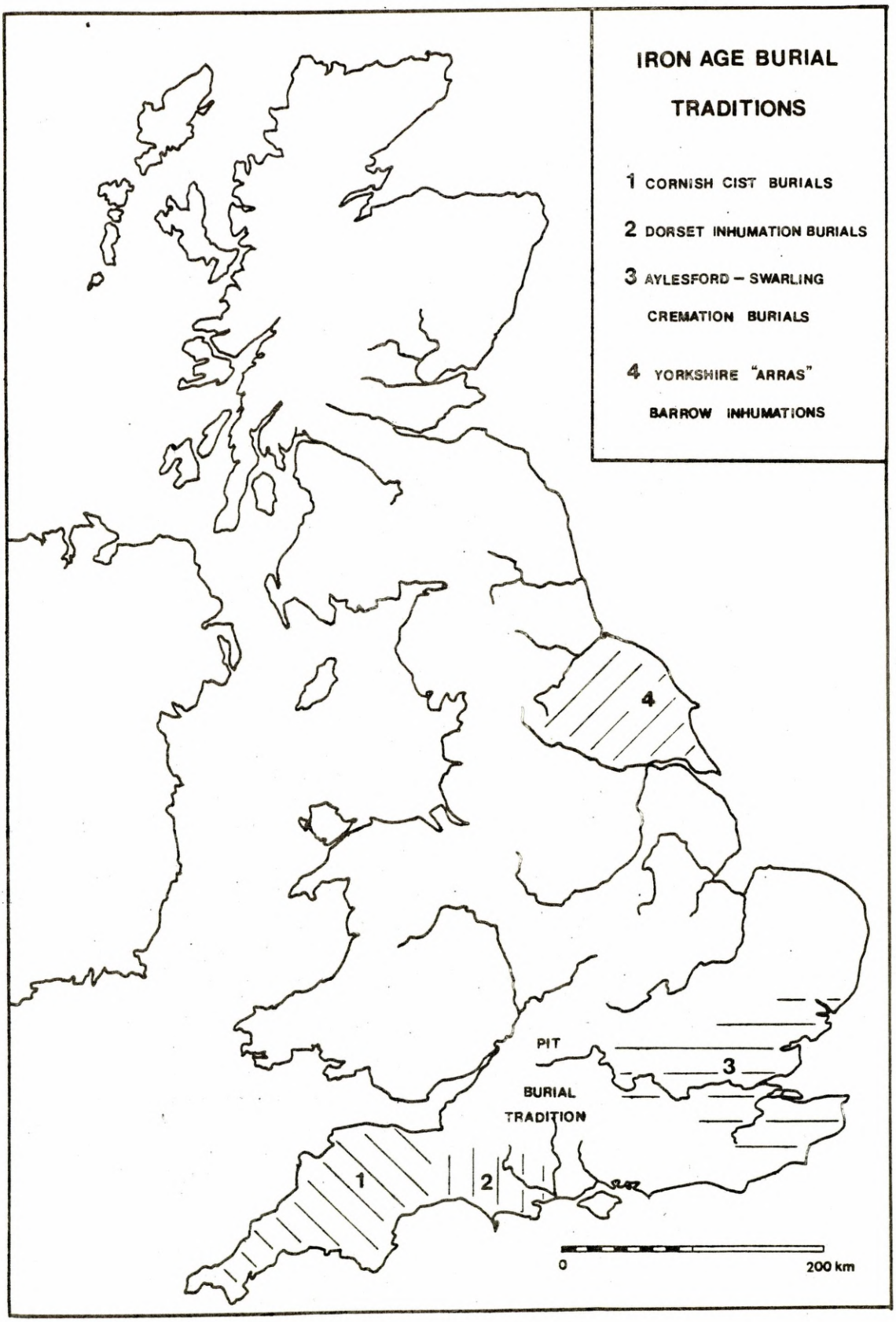


Figure 4.1: IRON AGE BURIAL TRADITIONS
(from Whimster 1981, Figures 4, 7, 15, 24, 29, 31, 52)

THE EVIDENCE

Definition of the Evidence

There are two sources of information about Celtic mortuary practices. The first of these is a short passage in Diodorus Siculus (v 28, Tierney 1960, 250), which refers to the Celtic practice of cremation and links the ritual to a Celtic belief in an otherworld (see chapter seven for extended discussion of this aspect). This statement corresponds well with the archaeology of the late La Tene period on the continent, where extensive cremation cemeteries are known, but in Britain it can only be related to the relatively late, and possibly intrusive, Belgic culture of the southeast (Whimster 1981, 147-167; Rodwell 1976; Birchall 1965) which also practised cremation. Thus, the Celtic ethnographies can shed little light on the Celtic treatment of the dead in Iron Age Britain.

The second source, which must serve as the basis for the present discussion, is the archaeological evidence which Whimster (1981) and Wilson (1981) have admirably documented. Like all archaeological evidence, this is directly related to behaviour and only indirectly reflects belief. Lacking any useful direct historical analogies like that noted above, interpretation of the belief behind the behaviour will have to rely upon general comparative analogies from ethnologic literature.

The archaeological evidence utilised here is intended to supplement the initial work of Whimster and of Wilson. A total of twenty-eight sites - ten hillforts and eighteen settlements - were selected on the basis of relatively good quality excavation and publication. The selection of these sites was not, therefore, by random sampling, but the biases in the selection procedure (quality of excavation and publication) are not linked in any way to the cultural practices of the inhabitants. In reference to Iron Age ritual practices, the site sample can be considered a representative one, and will be so treated in the analysis which follows.

The sites used in this study (see Figure 4.2) were selected to complement current knowledge of the Iron Age. This has necessitated a slight bias towards central southern Britain, since this is probably the best understood area. A few sites were selected in the Welsh Marches and Fenlands to counter this, and to test the existence of a culture area boundary between central southern Britain and the limestone highlands of the north. Sites were also chosen to reflect a variety of social groups, and therefore include a size range from small farmsteads to hillforts. The third criterion for selection was that the site must have been fairly widely excavated (the presence of human remains was not a criterion for selection; six of the selected sites did not produce human remains). All occurrences of human remains from these sites were then compiled to form the data set for this study.

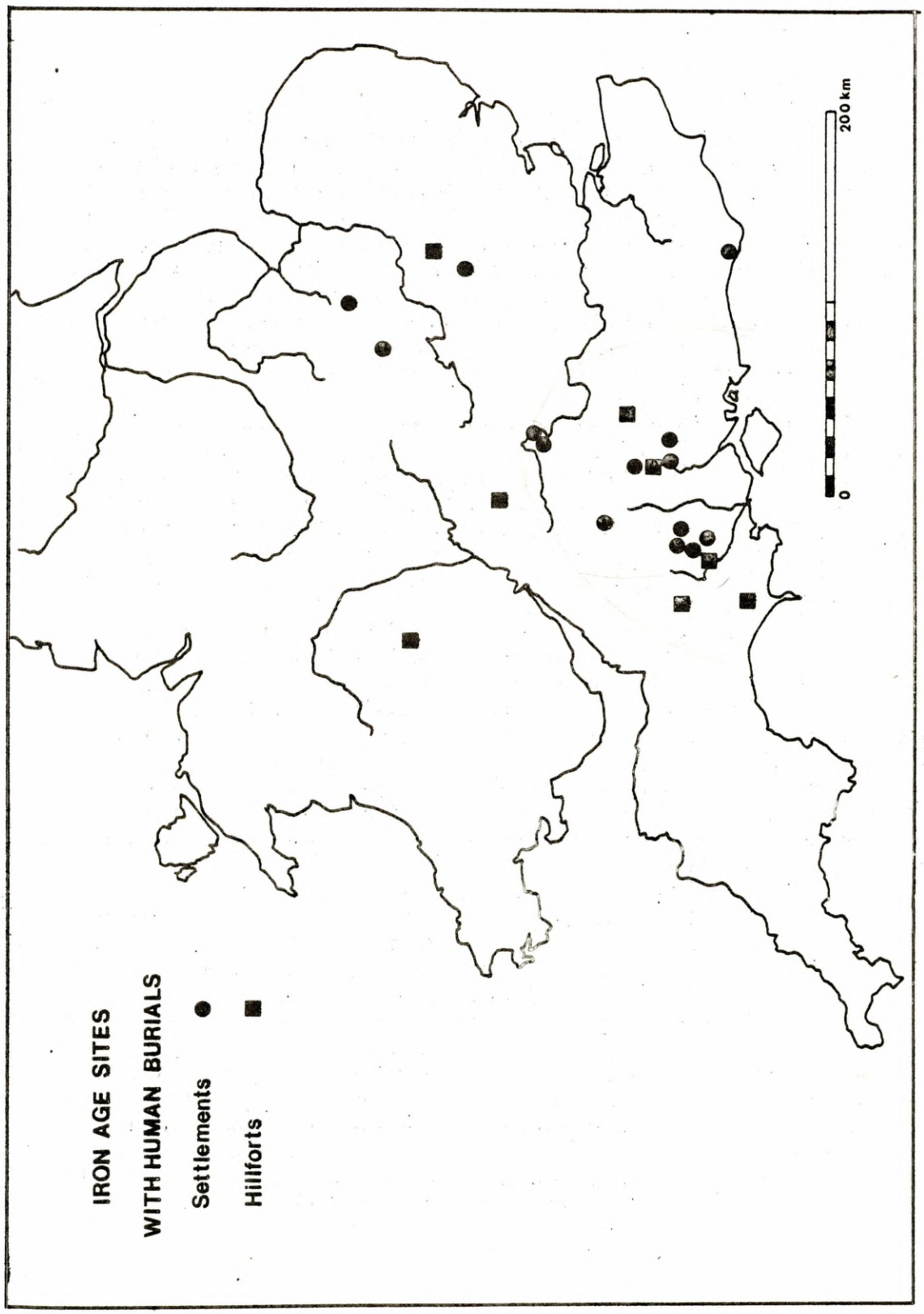


Figure 4.2: IRON AGE SITES WITH HUMAN REMAINS IN PITS

KEY TO FIGURE 4.2

All Cannings Cross, Wilts	SU 080 634
Appleford, Oxon	SU 521 936
Ashville, Oxon	SU 483 973
Barley, Aldwick, Herts	TL 398 388
Bishopstone, Sussex	TQ 467 007
South Cadbury, Somerset	ST 628 252
Croft Ambrey, Here & Worcs	SO 445 668
Danebury, Hants	SU 323 376
Fengate, Northants	TL 206 988
Fifield Bavant, Wilts	SU 001 255
Gussage-All-Saints, Dorset	ST 998 101
Hod Hill, Dorset	ST 857 106
Little Somborne, Wilts	SU 389 328
Maiden Castle, Dorset	SY 669 885
Old Down Farm, Hants	SU 356 465
Salmonsbury, Glos	SP 173 208
Swallowcliffe Down, Wilts	ST 968 254
Tollard Royal, Wilts	ST 942 197
Twywell, Northants	SP 952 787
Wandlebury, Cambs	TL 495 533
Winklebury, Hants	SU 613 529
Winnall Down, Hants	SU 498 303

A total of twenty-two sites of the sample of twenty-eight produced human remains - a total of 449 deposits of human remains. These deposits, presented in the gazetteer in Appendix IV, range in nature from complete skeletons to single bones, and virtually every stage of completion between the two extremes is represented. This diversity has been standardised by the use of six categories of deposit, based upon the number and completeness of individuals represented in the deposits, criteria drawn from Wilson (1981, 128) and Walker (1984, 442-463). The six categories are as follows:

1 Single complete inhumations. Deposition of one complete individual, with all bones in correct articulated sequence, in a single context.

2 Single partial inhumations. Deposition of a single individual skeleton with either some body parts missing or not in proper articulation in one context. Skull and limb bones are the most frequently missing elements.

3 Multiple partial inhumations. Deposition of two or more individuals, neither of which is complete nor in correct articulation, in one context.

4 Articulated limbs. Deposition of a single human limb with constituent bones in correct articulation; usually with part of torso (eg the pelvis) also present. This is a very small, poorly documented category which is reported from only a few of the best excavated and reported sites, and based on their consistent appearance on these sites the presumption is made that they were present on other sites but improperly noted or unrecorded.

5 Skulls. Deposition of a human skull. The mandible is usually but not necessarily present, but the rest of the cranium and maxilla must be intact.

6 Individual bones. Deposition of a single human bone or fragment of a bone identifiable as human. It is often difficult to distinguish between deliberate and accidental (stray) deposits. The very few examples of human bone fragments which show traces of working or use (cf Wilson 1981, 129-130) are included in this category.

The 449 deposits divided into these six categories derive overwhelmingly from only two kinds of contexts. Most of the remains are from the ubiquitous pits originally used for grain storage (Bersu 1940, Reynolds 1974, Gent 1983) and later used for rubbish disposal; the human remains most often occur on the bottom of the pits, before the pit was filled. The second context is the ditches which enclose most Iron Age sites, with human remains included in the fill. There are, in addition, a few deposits from other contexts, including post holes, shallow scoops or hollows, and either under or within ramparts on hillforts.

The deposits range in date from the seventh century BC to the early first century AD. Most of the deposits are difficult to date accurately, especially those from the first half of the range, because they lack datable diagnostic artifacts in close association. Because of this difficulty in close dating, the deposits are divided into three periods - Early Iron Age, Middle Iron Age and Late Iron Age. Less than 30% of the deposits can be confidently attributed to the four centuries of the Early Iron Age, while just over 30% are dated to the Middle Iron Age and 40% belong to the less than two centuries of the Late Iron Age. This apparent increase in depositions is considered in greater detail below.

ANALYSIS

There are nine aspects of the evidence by which the 449 deposits may be characterised. This allows the deposits to be grouped and reduced to a manageable number based on shared characteristics. These nine aspects are logically distinct but closely interrelated, making analysis far from straightforward. The nine aspects are:

1 segment of population represented by deposits;
2 age of individuals in deposits;
3 sex of individuals in deposits;
4 burial category into which deposits fit;
5 type of site upon which deposits occur;
6 date of deposits;
7 context of deposits;
8 location of contexts on sites;
9 frequency of deposits through time.

Each of the nine aspects will be discussed separately, and where close correlation occurs with other aspects, the correlation will be noted and discussed. A more complete synthesis of the results, however, will be presented in the following section in a format more amenable to interpretation.

Population Represented

The determination of the number of individuals represented in the 449 deposits is as difficult to achieve as it is important to attempt. A minimum of 212 individuals are present, this being the number of complete and partial skeletons in the sample. A further twenty-one individuals are probably represented by articulated limbs and skulls which do not belong to any known "partial individual". The remaining 216 single bones represent a minimum of forty-three individuals, but could easily represent several times that number; there is simply no way to form even an approximate estimate. However, even if a maximum estimate is made of 300 (233 known and 67 estimated from the 216 single bones), the total is far too small a number to represent the total human populations of the twenty-two sites over a period of seven centuries, especially when several of the sites are large, densely populated hillforts such as Danebury, Maiden Castle and South Cadbury. Clearly, only a minority sector of the population is represented.

The size of the minority represented cannot be determined with accuracy, but it can be estimated within broad limits. It is, after all, valuable to know if the minority represented is more likely to be 25% of the population or just 5%. Estimation of this requires first the number of individuals represented; the difficulty of this estimation has just been discussed. Secondly, and equally difficult to arrive at, is an estimate of the population of a site during its period of occupation. Archaeological evidence is rarely adequate to this task. At Danebury, however, it has been possible to make a loose approximation of a population at any one time during the last phase of occupation (second

to first century BC) as likely to be about 250 people (Cunliffe 1983, 106). During this period, at least seventeen individuals (Walker 1984, 442-463), and more probably twenty-five individuals, are represented in deposits of human bones in the 35% of the fort excavated (or an estimated 72 individuals for the entire site). During a 200 year period, a relatively stable population of 250 would leave at least 1,250 dead, and possibly as many as 1,700 dead (allowing an average life expectancy of about thirty-five to forty years). Therefore, at a conservative estimate, the 72 individuals for which some trace probably remains represent only 6% of all deaths. Given the many assumptions made during these calculations, it is probably sufficiently accurate for present purposes to estimate that perhaps about 5% of the Iron Age population is represented by surviving traces in the area of central southern Britain studied here. The implication of this is that from 90% to 95% of the Iron Age population disappeared without a trace.

Age Structure

The determination of the age of an individual at the time of death by examination of skeletal remains is fairly well understood (Brothwell 1981, 64-71), but can rarely give precise ages. The greatest accuracy is achieved with adolescents and young adults, while other age groups are less reliable (Brothwell 1981, 64). The methods used to estimate age-at-death have been improved consistently in recent years, rendering estimations from early excavation reports unreliable. Accepting that age estimations are, at best, only approximations, and that many published accounts contain dubious estimates, a simple series of three age groups has been used in this analysis:

1 Infants and children. This group includes all remains ranging from neonatal infants to children up to age twelve years.

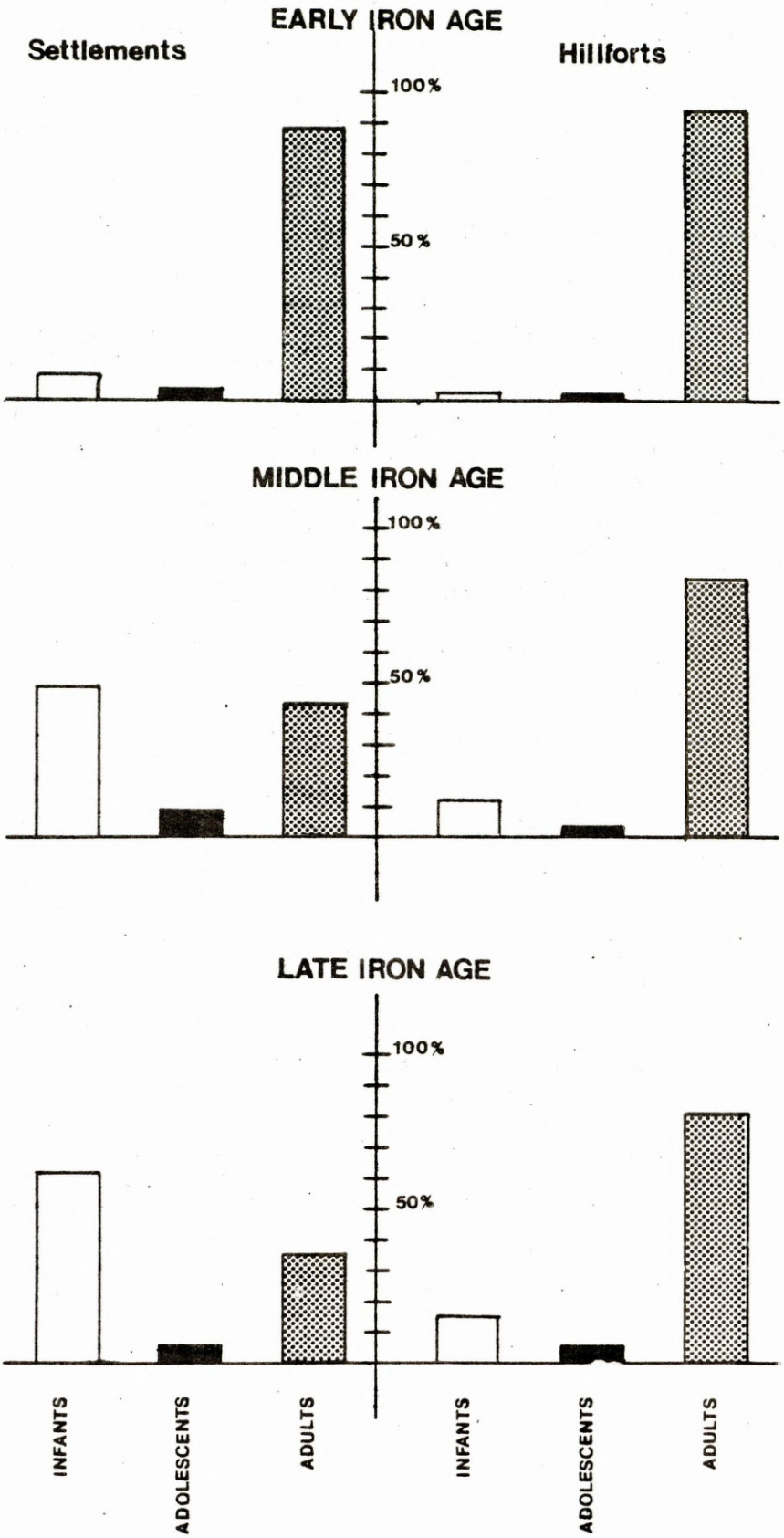
2 Adolescents. This group includes all remains with estimated ages between twelve and eighteen years.

3 Adults. All remains aged eighteen years and over.

The age structure of the minority of the Iron Age population for which remains are known and can be "aged" is represented in Figure 4.3. Here, the relative proportions of infants, adolescents and adults differentiated by the type of site (settlement and hillfort) and time period (Early Iron Age, Middle Iron Age, Late Iron Age) are given. Two trends are immediately clear. In the Early Iron Age, the remains are overwhelmingly of adults, with infants and adolescents very rare. Through time, the preponderance of adults drops, only slightly on hillforts but very dramatically on settlements. Concomitantly, infants become progressively more common, most especially on settlements. In all periods, adolescents are rare, though slightly more common on settlements than on hillforts.

This distribution of ages at death does not, in general, reflect a "normal" or random distribution. If this distribution is compared with that found in a contemporary Iron Age cemetery in France (St Urnel en Plomeur, Brittany: Janssens 1970, 62; Giot & Cogne 1951), or with life tables for modern primitive societies (Moore, Swedlund & Armelagos 1975, Figs 9, 10, 11), several clear differences emerge. For all periods on hillforts, adults are far too common (81-96% compared with 35-40% in a "normal" distribution) and infants and adolescents commensurately too

Figure 4.3: AGE STRUCTURE OF HUMAN REMAINS
IN ALL BURIAL CATEGORIES DURING THE IRON AGE



few. The same pattern occurs on settlements in the Early Iron Age and Middle Iron Age, although by the Late Iron Age the distribution more closely approximates normal (61% infant, 5% adolescent, 34% adult). This nearly normal age distribution is due to the unusually large number of human remains from the site of Gussage-All-Saints (Wainwright 1979); if this site is typical in this respect, it would appear that by the first century BC an approximately random sample of some 5% of the population on settlement sites received mortuary rituals which have left some archaeological trace.

Differential Treatment of Males/Females

The determination of the sex of an individual by skeletal attributes is most effective when a large series of skeletal remains is available for comparison, particularly skulls and the pelvis, which contain the most diagnostic features (Brothwell 1981, 59-64). In the sample of Iron Age skeletal remains used here, these criteria are met in categories one, two, three and five, the first three usually including skull and/or pelvis, and category five including skulls alone. The following analysis is based upon remains in these four categories for which a determination of sex has been made (a number of deposits are as yet "unsexed").

The relative proportion of males and females through time on settlements and hillforts (Figure 4.4a) indicates that on hillforts the two sexes are fairly evenly balanced, except in the Middle Iron Age when the preponderance of males over females exceeds 60% to 40%. By contrast, settlement sites show a very even balance of males and females throughout the Early Iron Age and Middle Iron Age, and then shifts to a very marked increase in the proportion of females.

The relative proportions of males and females can be seen in greater detail in Figure 4.4b, where the distribution of the two sexes in each of the four burial categories (1, 2, 3, 5) is shown. Several interesting points emerge. First, the dramatic change to more females than males on settlements in the Late Iron Age occurs principally in category one, complete single inhumations. A similar shift is seen on hillforts in category one, which in the Early Iron Age and Middle Iron Age is predominantly male, but in the Late Iron Age has a marked majority of females. Secondly, it would appear that category two (single partial inhumations) occurs only on hillforts and includes more females than males throughout the Iron Age. Similarly, category three (multiple partial inhumations) appears to occur only on hillforts, but only during the Early Iron Age and Late Iron Age and, in both cases, the majority of individuals are male. Burial category five (skulls) occurs rarely on settlements (only two cases are known, one of the Early Iron Age and one of the Late Iron Age). However, it is common on hillforts, where the majority of skulls are those of males.

Figure 4.4: PROPORTIONS OF MALES AND FEMALES IN BURIAL CATEGORIES

a) Proportions of Males and Females Overall

	Settlements			Hillforts		
	EIA	MIA	LIA	EIA	MIA	LIA
Males	50%(1)	53%(8)	33%(5)	58%(11)	64%(7)	46%(18)
Females	50%(1)	47%(7)	66%(10)	42%(8)	36%(4)	54%(21)

b) Proportions of Males and Females by Category

Category		Settlements			Hillforts		
		EIA	MIA	LIA	EIA	MIA	LIA
One	Males	0	53(8)	36(5)	55(6)	80(4)	28(5)
	Females	100(1)	47(7)	64(9)	45(5)	20(1)	72(13)
Two	Males	-	-	-	0	25(1)	33(1)
	Females	-	-	-	100(2)	75(3)	66(2)
Three	Males	-	-	-	80(4)	-	64(7)
	Females	-	-	-	20(1)	-	36(4)
Five	Males	100(1)	-	0	100(1)	100(2)	71(5)
	Females	0	-	100(1)	0	0	29(2)

Figures given are %ages of "sexable" remains in each category.
Figures in brackets are actual numbers of remains.

Burial Categories

The relative popularity of each of the burial categories (as expressed by a percent of all deposits, on each type of site, during each of the three periods of the Iron Age) is shown in Figure 4.5. The Early Iron Age is clearly characterised by the prominence of category six (single bones) on both types of sites. This is particularly true of settlements, which have only a few examples of categories one and five. Hillforts, though clearly dominated by category six, also include a significant minority of deposits distributed among categories one to five, especially category one. The Middle Iron Age is characterised by a polarisation of deposits. On settlements, there is a very dramatic increase in the number of deposits of category one and a consequent decrease in category six. Hillforts demonstrate the same trend, though less dramatically, and interestingly, there are no deposits in categories three and four (though the consistent rarity of such deposits may mean that this absence is due to sample bias). By the Late Iron Age, deposits on settlements are overwhelmingly complete inhumations (category one), continuing the shift begun in the Middle Iron Age. On hillforts, the change in burial deposits is less clear cut. Category six does become much less common, but category one also becomes slightly less common. Instead of a simple shift from category six to one, as on settlements, there is also an increase in the number of deposits in categories two to five, especially in category three (multiple partial inhumations). In all periods, categories two to five are very rare on settlement sites and appear to be characteristic of hillforts, where they do occur in consistently small numbers.

It should be clear that characteristics such as age groups, sex and burial categories do not vary independently, but are instead closely related. In other words, each category of deposit does not include equal proportions of each age group, or of both sexes, on both types of sites, during each period. This means that the trends discussed above oversimplify the reality of the situation.

A combination of the foregoing information is presented in a more complete (but also more complicated) format in Figures 4.6 and 4.7. A comparison of these two Figures and Figure 4.5 shows clearly that the trend is for human remains on settlements to occur as single bones (category six) in the Early Iron Age, but as complete inhumations in the Late Iron Age. This shift includes the appearance of numbers of infants (which rarely occur in any category other than as complete inhumations) as well as a change for most adult remains to also occur as complete inhumations, females more numerous than males. Adolescents are always very rare, occurring in the Early Iron Age as single bones (category six) but occurring more frequently as complete inhumations and partial inhumations in the Middle Iron Age, and in complete inhumations and single bones in the Late Iron Age.

Hillforts present an altogether more complicated distribution of human remains in the various categories. During the Early Iron Age, most human remains occur as single bones, but with a significant minority in the other categories. Nearly 20% occur as complete inhumations (equal male and female), with a few female adults in category two (single partial inhumation), several adults (mostly male) in category three (multiple partial inhumation), a few articulated limbs (category four, impossible to "sex"), and several adult male skulls (category five). Infants and adolescents are very rare, occurring only as single partial inhumations (category two). The effects of poor preservation and excavation may be at work here; some of these few

Figure 4.5: RELATIVE FREQUENCY OF EACH BURIAL CATEGORY ON HILLFORTS AND SETTLEMENTS

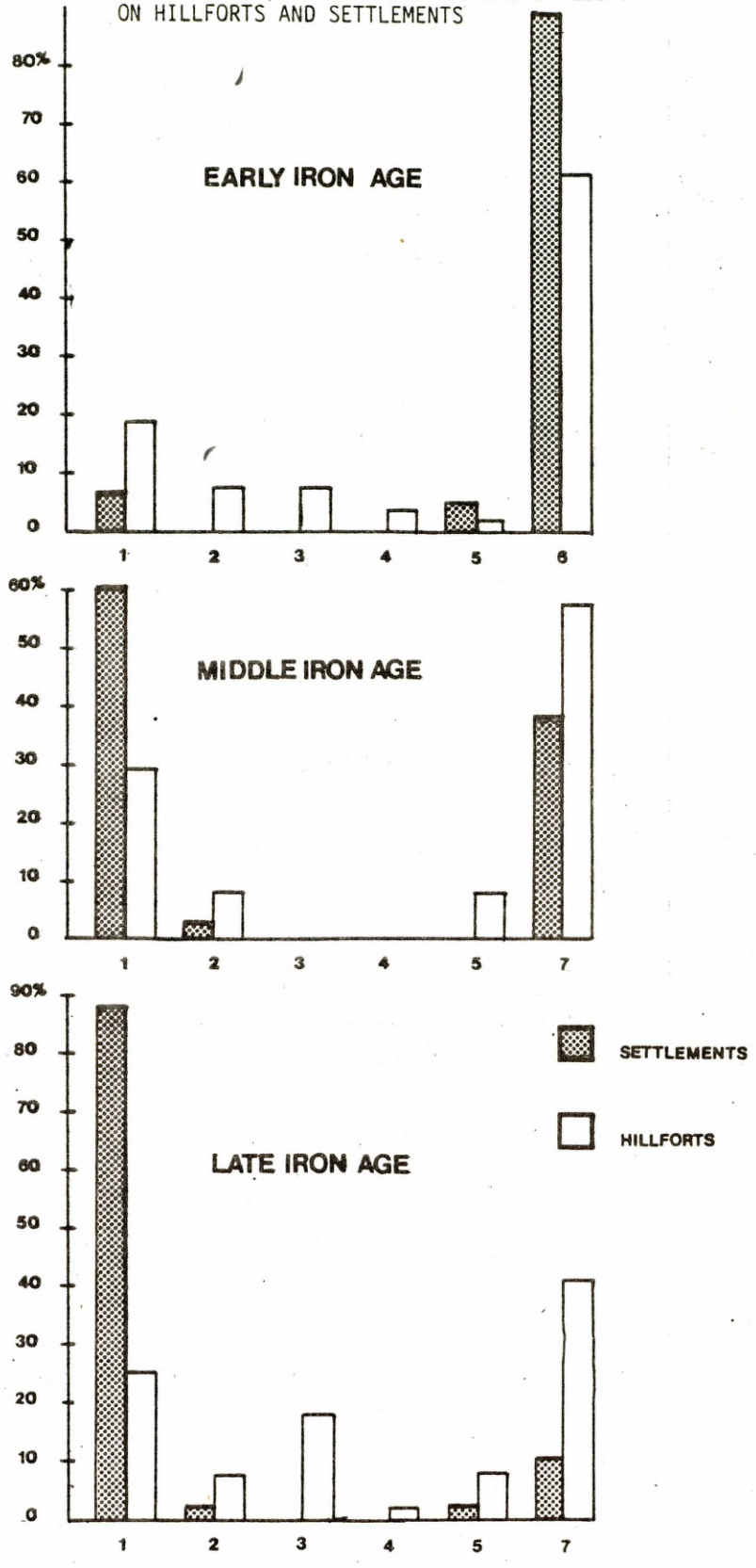


Figure 4.6: COMPARISON OF BURIAL CATEGORIES AND AGE GROUPS ON SETTLEMENT SITES DURING THE IRON AGE

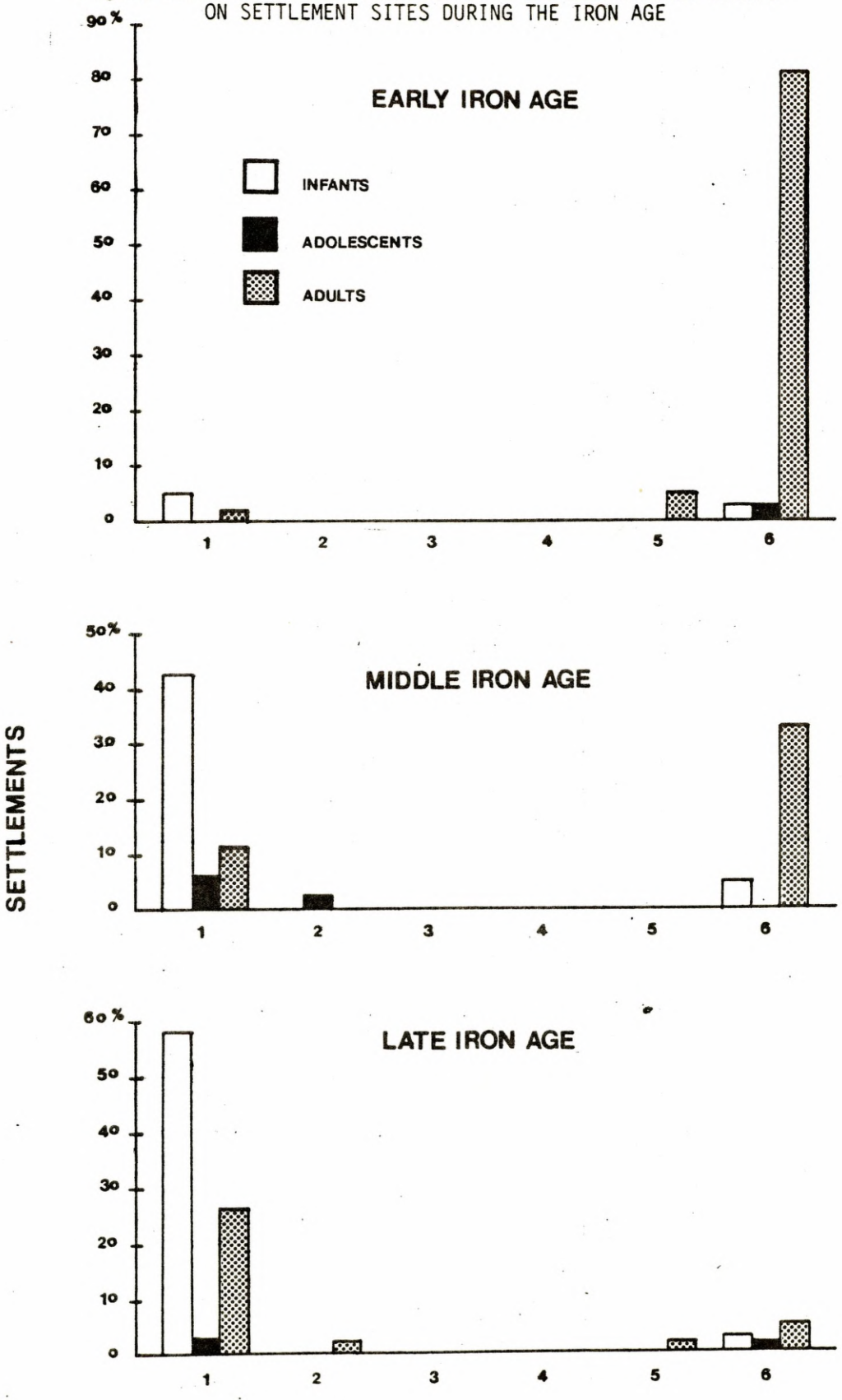
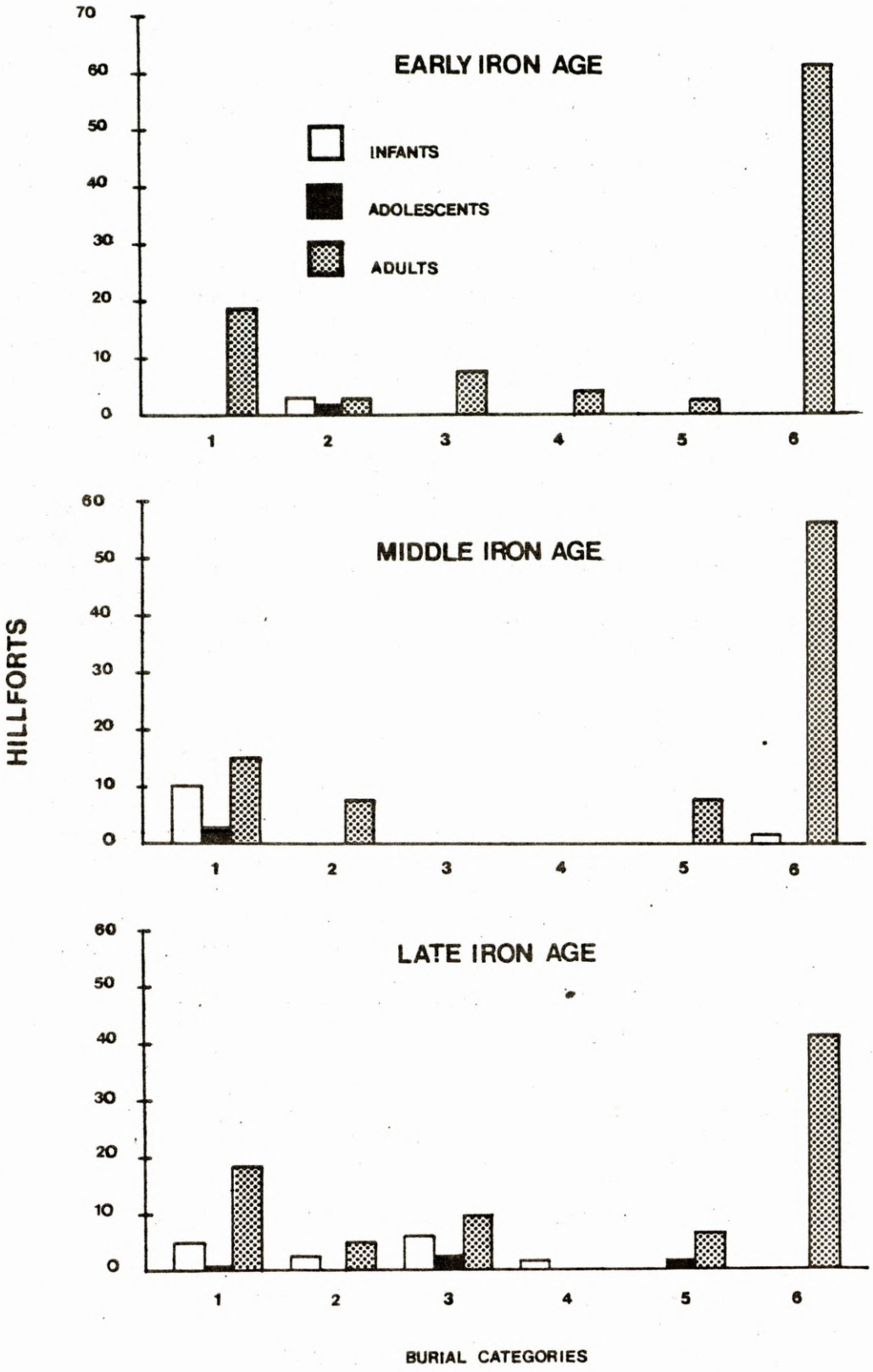


Figure 4.7: COMPARISON OF BURIAL CATEGORIES AND AGE GROUPS ON HILLFORTS DURING THE IRON AGE



examples could be disturbed examples of single complete inhumations. The sample is too small to be sure.

During the Middle Iron Age, the predominance of single (adult) bones drops, just as on settlements, if less rapidly. However, the proportion of single complete burials, which was 18% in the Early Iron Age (all adult), rises to 28% in the Middle Iron Age. Most of these are still adult, though less predominantly than previously, and the appearance of infants and adolescents as complete single inhumations is much less marked than on settlements. Categories three and four do not occur, while categories two and five (single partial inhumations and skulls) are slightly more common, with continuing majorities of female and male adults respectively.

By the Late Iron Age, category one is less frequent than in the Middle Iron Age, a reversal of the trend on settlement sites. This is due primarily to the drop in the numbers of infants and adolescents - adults are slightly more common and most are now female. Categories two, three and four again occur, though in the Late Iron Age there are several deposits of children aged ten to twelve (therefore counted here as "infants and children") in these three categories. The adults in category two (single partial inhumations) are male. Category five again includes mostly adult male skulls, though one adolescent skull and two adult female skulls are also known - the appearance of female and adolescent skulls where previously only adult male skulls are known may be a "real" phenomenon, or possibly a result of difficulty in accurate ageing and sexing of skulls. Category six, single bones, again only includes adult bones, and the drop in the frequency of this category between the Early Iron Age and Middle Iron Age is repeated.

Contexts of Deposits on Sites

The question of where deposits were placed in relation to contemporary living areas in the Iron Age sites is extremely difficult to resolve. One major difficulty is the rarity with which either pits or house structures can be dated accurately enough to suggest strict contemporaneity. With most archaeological features dated with an error margin of up to a century by present techniques, no real resolution is possible. On a very general level, however, some interesting features about the places chosen for the deposition of human remains may be discussed.

Wilson was able to make two generalisations from her evidence. The first is that the burials are not randomly distributed within the occupied areas of sites but, instead, are clustered together in apparently prescribed locations away from dwellings (1981, 143). This observation would appear to apply to both settlement and hillfort sites. The second general feature of Wilson's evidence was that in the Early Iron Age, human remains occurred more frequently in perimeter locations (eg enclosure ditch fills) than in the interior of a site. By the Late Iron Age, the majority of human remains are from pits in the inside of sites, for both settlements and hillforts (1981, 142, 144). The suggestion is also made, though not documented, that this shift in location may be associated with a change in mortuary rituals, much as has been noted above.

The analysis of the human remains from Danebury (Walker 1984, 457-459) also indicates that at least some of the remains (categories one to three in the present schema) occur in a prescribed, or at least localised, area within the occupation zone. The distribution of single

Figure 4.8: CONTEXTS OF HUMAN REMAINS

	SETTLEMENTS		HILLFORTS	
	Interior	Perimeter	Interior	Perimeter
EARLY IRON AGE	66%	34%	Biased Sample	
Category 1	5%	2%		
2	0	0		
3	0	0		
4	0	0		
5	5	0		
6	56	32		
MIDDLE IRON AGE	85%	15%	86%	14%
Category 1	56%	4%	19%	10%
2	2	0	7	0
3	0	0	0	0
4	0	0	0	0
5	0	0	7	0
6	27	11	53	4
LATE IRON AGE	90%	10%	91%	9%
Category 1	78%	8%	18%	7%
2	0	2	6	2
3	0	0	18	0
4	0	0	1	0
5	2	0	7	0
6	10	0	41	0

bones (category six) is much wider, and may correlate with the zones of posthole structures (Walker 1984, 457). There was apparently no discernible change in the location of contexts from perimeter to interior locations through the Iron Age, as found by Wilson above.

This would appear to be suggestive, though not conclusive, evidence to support the intuitive presumption that the deposition of human remains did not occur randomly across the occupied areas of Iron Age sites.

Convincing confirmation for these observations is found in the evidence considered here. The suggested trend for human remains to appear in increasing numbers in contexts in the interior of sites is very definite (see Figure 4.8), particularly on settlements where the proportion of deposits in the interior rises from 66% to 90%.

Unfortunately, the sample for hillforts in the Early Iron Age is biased by the relative number of deposits known from several hillforts whose interiors have been extensively excavated, but defenses only sampled (eg Danebury, Winklebury, Hod Hill). However, the close congruence between settlements and hillforts during the Middle Iron Age and Late Iron Age suggests that the same trend can be projected back into the Early Iron Age on hillforts - in other words, the trend on all sites is for deposits to occur in increasing numbers in the interior of sites.

Furthermore, as Wilson clearly suspected (1981, 141-143), the shift from perimeter to predominantly interior contexts is associated with the change in the prevalence of the different burial categories. As can be seen in Figure 4.8, there is a decrease in the number of deposits of single bones (category six) from the Middle Iron Age to Late Iron Age. On settlements, the increase in the number of complete inhumations (category one) occurs mostly in interior contexts, though there is a slight increase in the frequency of inhumations in enclosure ditches as well. The decrease in occurrence of deposits of single bones on settlements applies to both interior and perimeter contexts until the Late Iron Age, when such deposits still occur in interior contexts, but are completely absent from perimeter ditches. This correlation implies that the shift in mortuary rituals from those resulting in deposits of single bones to rituals leaving complete inhumations is associated with a change in the customary loci of deposits (and possibly with other aspects of the rituals as well) from outside, but near sites, to inside the occupation zone.

The work of Wilson (1981, 141-144) and Walker (1984, 442-463) indicates that deposits of human remains are not distributed randomly but, instead, tend to be clustered together in possible customary areas. Wilson found these areas to be away from domestic areas, while at Danebury, the inhumations (categories one, two and three) may have been associated with roughly contemporary occupation.

The following nine sites from among the twenty-eight used in this study have been sufficiently widely excavated and completely published to allow testing of the propositions proposed above (Winklebury, Hod Hill, Ashville, Gussage-All-Saints, Little Somborne, Old Down Farm, Twywell, Winnall Down and Danebury). Plans of these sites, approximately phased and with the location of human remains marked, are presented below.

Locations of Deposits on Sites

Ashville (Figures 4.9 a,b; 4.10 a)

The small number of human remains makes the recognition of "groups" or "clusters" of deposits difficult, but in each phase, the contexts seem likely to be away from contemporary domestic areas.

Gussage-All-Saints (Figure 4.11 a,b)

The early remains from Gussage are very clearly located away from the only known house, and most of them (category six) are from the enclosure ditch and pits near the ditch. There appears to be a grouping of remains from the area just to the north of the east-facing entrance complex. During the later period, the more numerous remains are more scattered, though again, most are away from the presumed house site (only five infant burials in the immediate environs). There is a very

clear tendency for the remains to cluster to the southwest of the house gully, in and around a polygonal-shaped ditched enclosure, possibly a paddock. During this phase, there are also several complete inhumations (category one) in pits which are close to the presumed perimeter of the site.

Old Down Farm (Figures 4.12 a,b; 4.13 a,b)

During the Early Iron Age at Old Down Farm, the human remains are scattered across the interior of the site. One infant (category one) and some adult bones (category six) are about ten metres from two known house sites; strict contemporaneity is doubtful and the site interior is large enough that proximity of remains to houses is at best uncertain. There are no clear groupings of remains. In the Middle Iron Age, the deposits of human remains are again not clustered at all. No house site is known, so that proximity is unprovable. During the Late Iron Age, although no clustering of deposits is obvious, all are located away from the presumed domestic area of the site.

Twywell (Figure 4.14 a)

At Twywell, the three burials are not particularly closely clustered, but are to the south of the domestic area. The adult male inhumation (category one, IV HB 138, Appendix IV) is in a pit located very close to the enclosure ditch.

Little Somborne (Figure 4.10 b)

This one-phase site is unusual in that all three deposits (two complete burials and a few fragmentary bones) are located in pits very close to the known round houses. The close proximity is very striking.

Winnall Down (Figure 4.14 b,c)

During the Early Iron Age, the single bones are from the enclosure ditch, while a single complete burial is in the interior, though away from most of the contemporary domestic remains. During both the Middle Iron Age and the Late Iron Age periods (not shown), the numerous deposits of human remains are grouped together near the south edge of the site. Most of the unphased burials are in the area of the known Middle Iron Age deposits (HB 172-174, 188, 189 in Appendix IV) and are for that reason considered here as Middle Iron Age in date. Burials HB 163-167, also likely to date to the Middle Iron Age, are separate from the other Middle Iron Age burials, but are likewise grouped together. Nearly all the Middle Iron Age and Late Iron Age deposits are away from the contemporary domestic areas.

Hod Hill (Figure 4.15 a,b)

The human deposits from this site, with the exception of a rampart burial (HB 80, Appendix IV), are associated with two penannular "horse shoe" enclosure ditches. Wilson speculates a ritual function for the structures (1981, 143), associated with mortuary rituals. They are certainly grouped together and not apparently associated with domestic rubbish.

Winklebury (Figure 4.16 a,b)

The human remains from Winklebury all apparently date to the Middle Iron Age. Those deposits which can be provenanced are from two groups; the larger is associated with a rectilinear, ditched enclosure. A smaller group is located about thirty metres to the south. The larger group is located away from the domestic areas. The second, smaller group is found in the fill of domestic features, pits and gullies, and so is possibly more closely associated with domestic activities.

Danebury (Figures 4.17, 4.18)

The human remains at Danebury show some distribution patterns. Single bones tend to occur in the areas of the four-post granaries, while both complete and partial inhumations are more frequently found in the area of dense pits to the north of the main trackway. There are a few cases of human remains found within circular structures, but strict contemporaneity could not be established. Articulated limbs and skulls also occur in the zone of granaries and are approximately contemporary with the granaries. It is possible that the complete inhumations are more closely clustered, and more closely associated, with the occupation zone (cf Walker, 1984, 457).

Discussion of Contexts

Interpretation of any association between human remains and domestic areas is restricted by the fact that the site plans conflate (unavoidably) features which reflect behaviour over a period of time, that in some cases is two or three centuries. Strict contemporaneity is therefore impossible to demonstrate except in exceptional circumstances.

In spite of this difficulty, at least five of the sites show some degree of clustering of deposits. In two cases, the cluster may relate to domestic areas; in the other three, the burials are separated from dwellings. Thus, there is some evidence to support the contention that burials were grouped together deliberately, but only ambiguous indications that burial areas correlate to dwelling or domestic areas.

KEY TO FIGURES 4.9 TO 4.18

● = Infants and Children

▲ = Adolescents

■ = Adults

The burial category is indicated by the numeral in brackets.

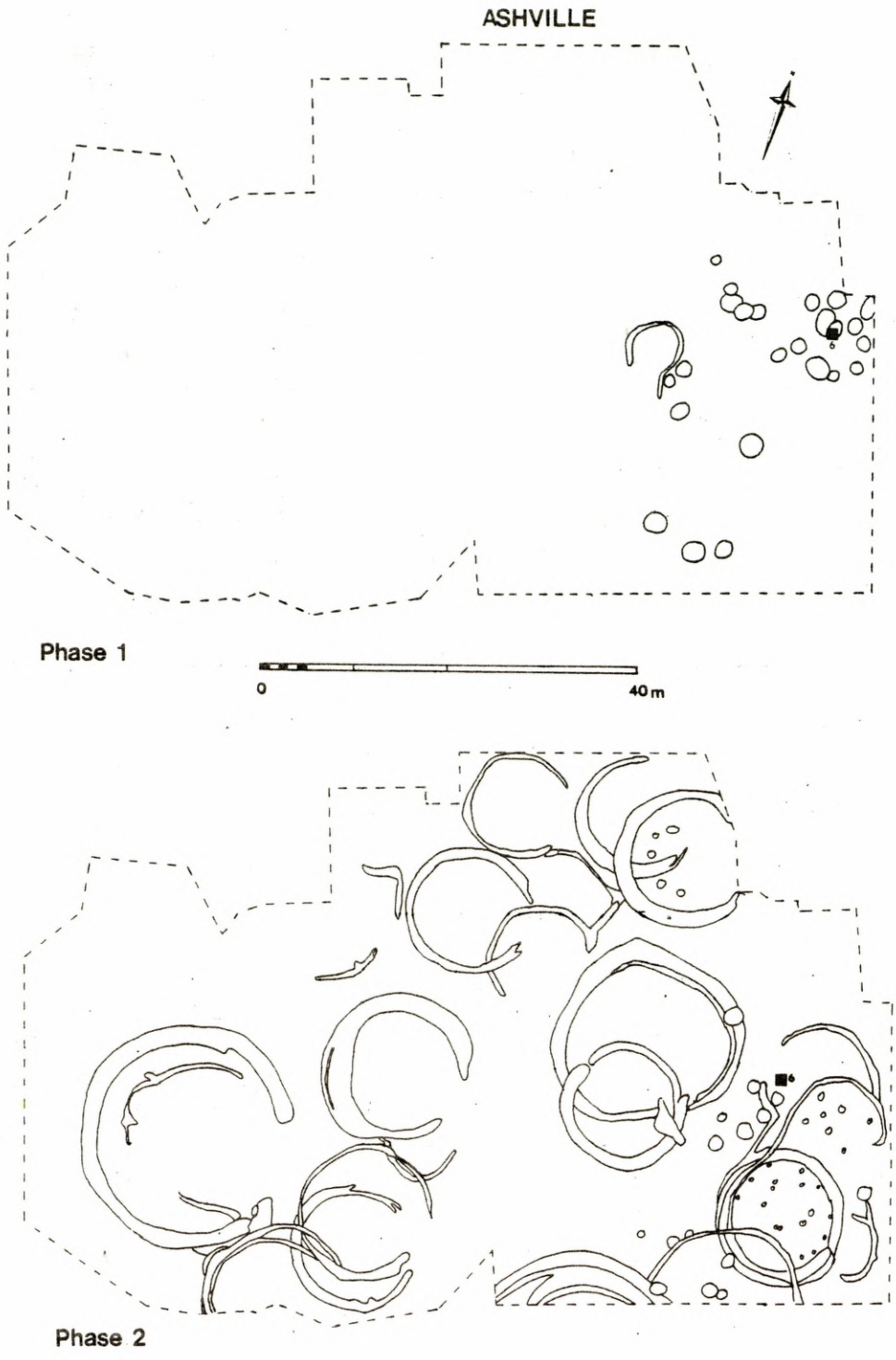
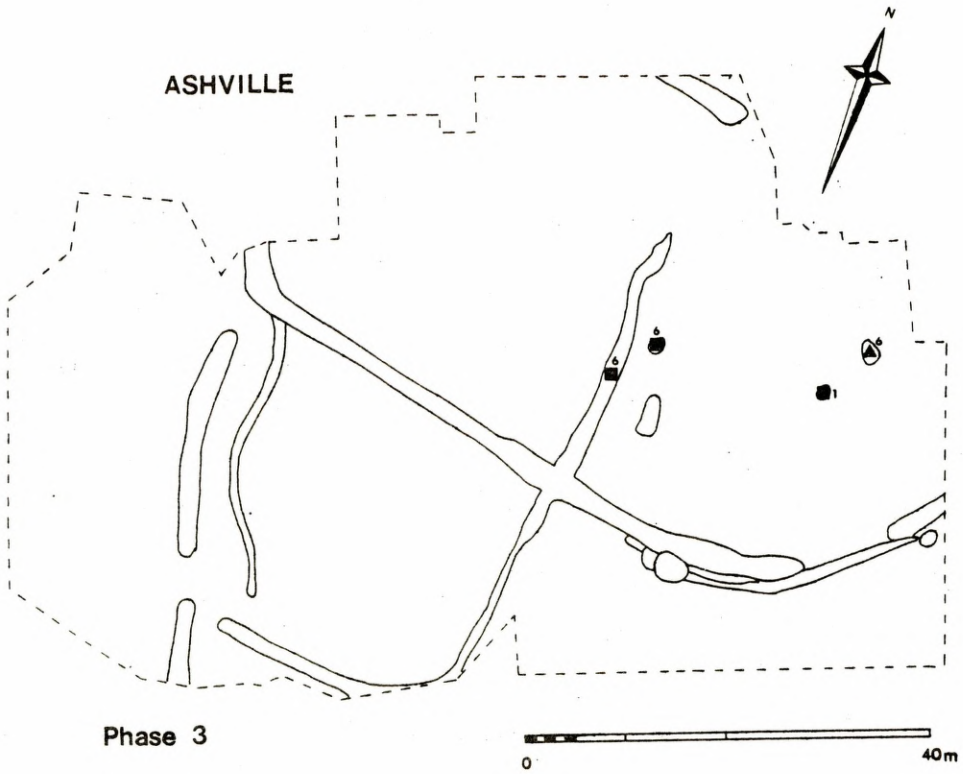


Figure 4.9: LOCATION OF HUMAN REMAINS AT ASHVILLE IN PHASES 1 & 2
(after Parrington 1978, Figs 3, 4, 5, 6)



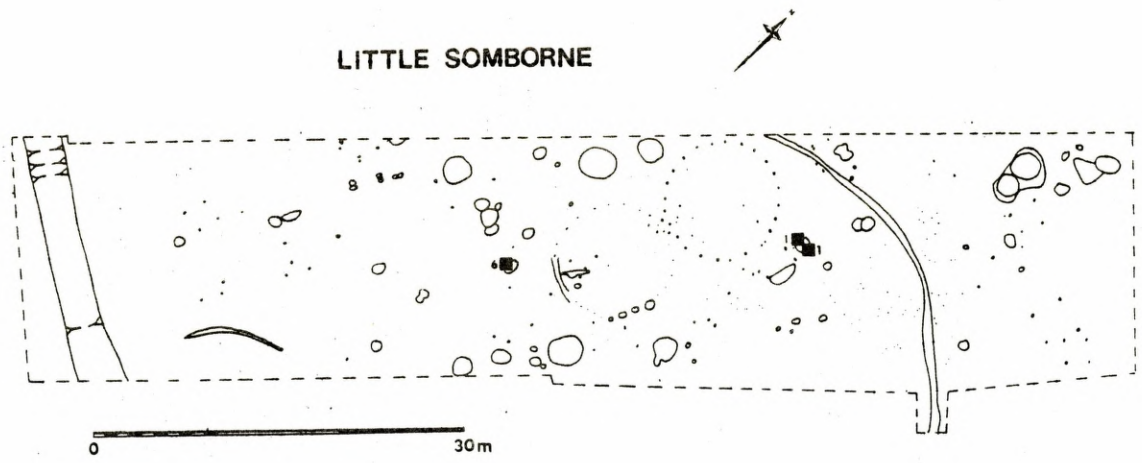
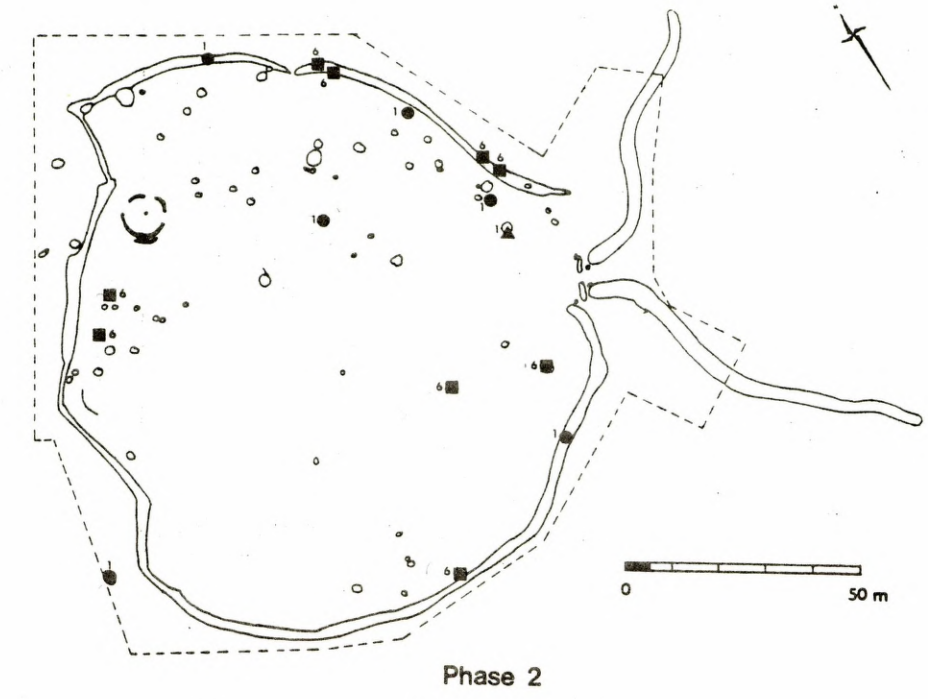


Figure 4.10: LOCATION OF HUMAN REMAINS AT ASHVILLE, PHASE 3 (after Parrington 1978) AND LITTLE SOMBORNE (after Neal 1980, Fig 4)



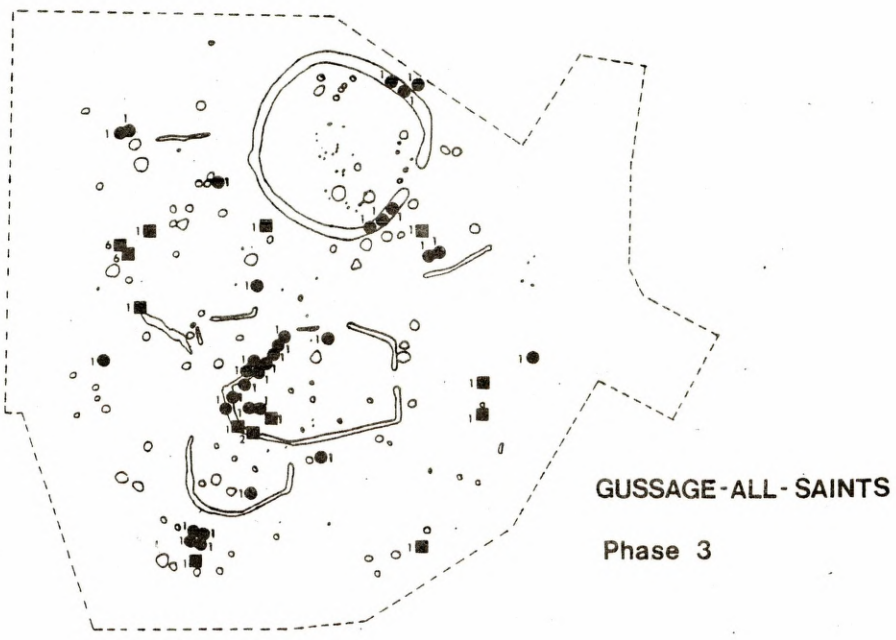
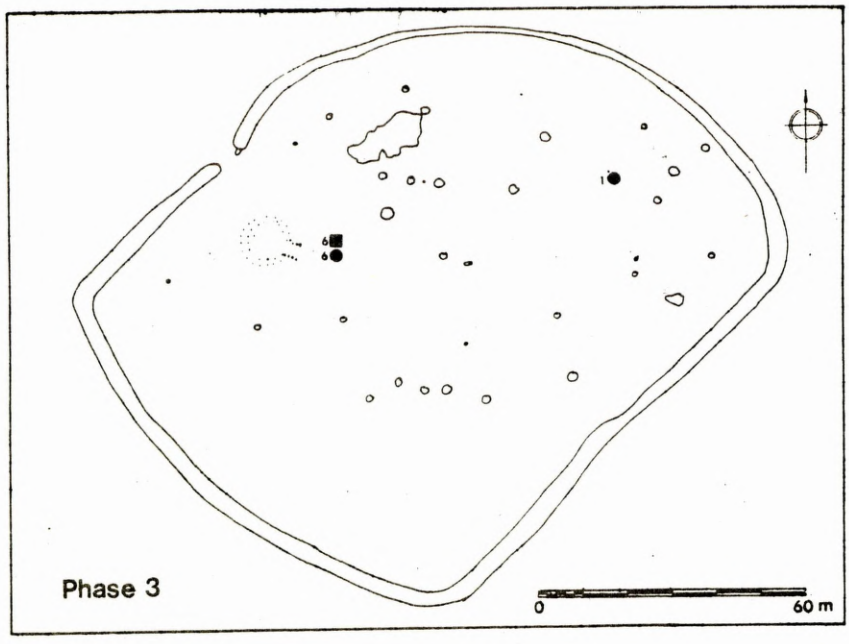
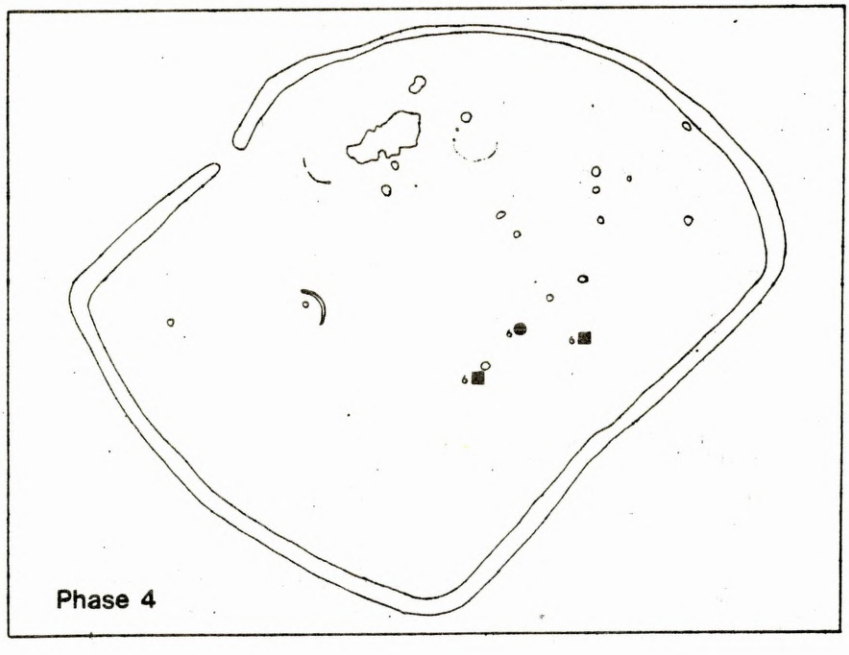


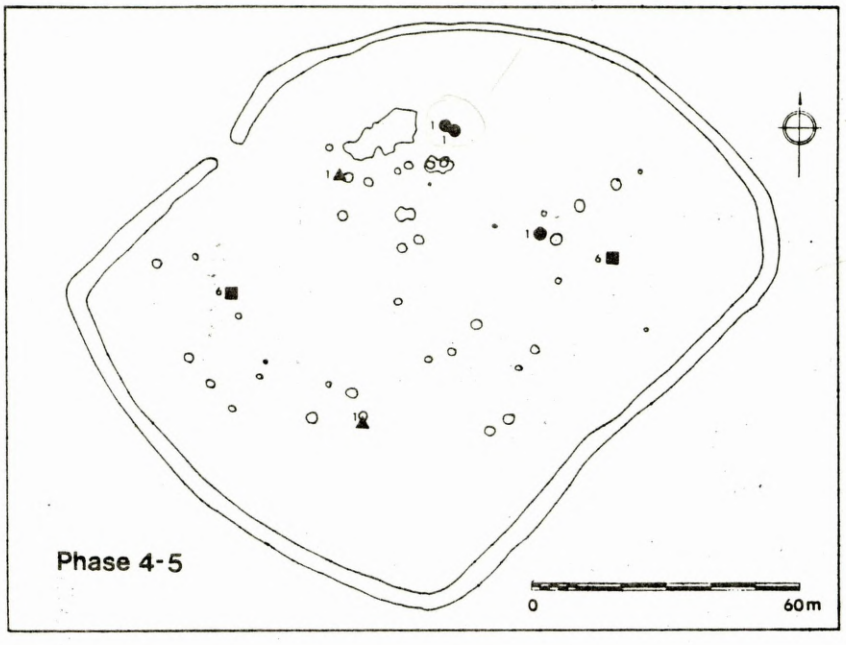
Figure 4.11: LOCATION OF HUMAN REMAINS AT GUSSAGE-ALL-SAINTS
(after Wainwright 1979, Figs 3, 4, 16, 17, 19)





OLD DOWN FARM

Figure 4.12: LOCATION OF HUMAN REMAINS AT OLD DOWN FARM, PHASES 3 & 4
(after Davies 1981, Figs 2, 18)



OLD DOWN FARM

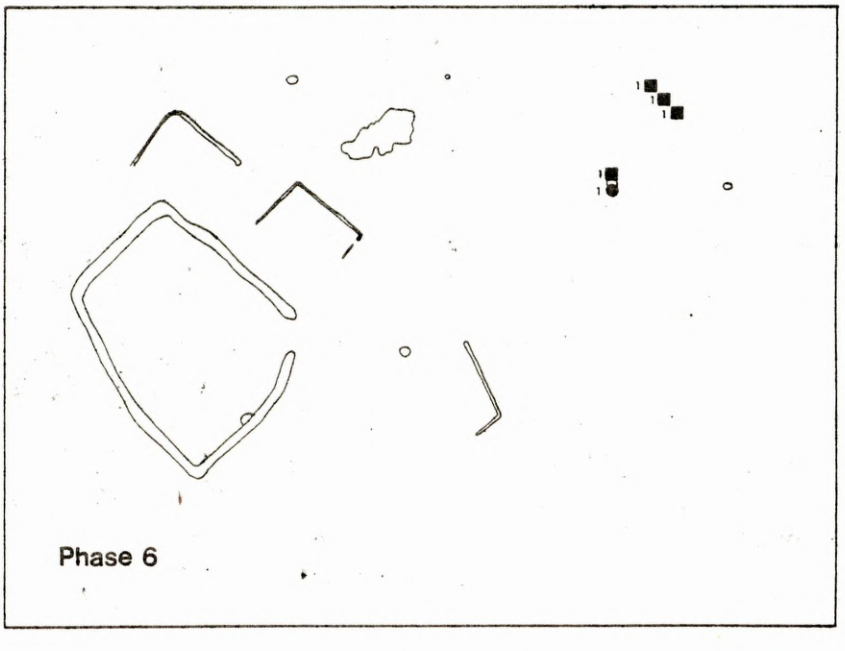


Figure 4.13: LOCATION OF HUMAN REMAINS AT OLD DOWN FARM, PHASES 4-5 & 6
(after Davies 1981, Figs 26, 34)

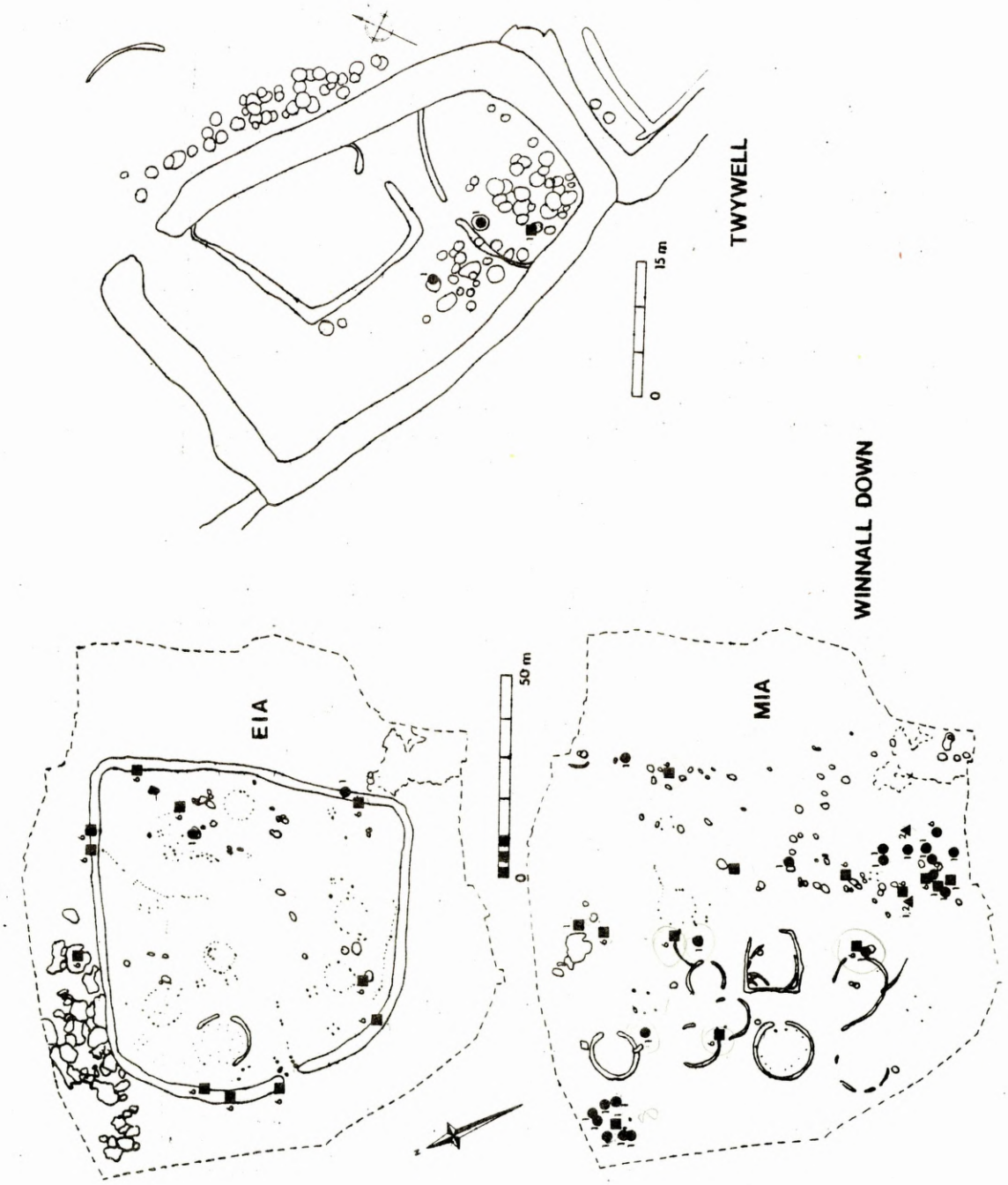


Figure 4.14: LOCATION OF HUMAN REMAINS AT TWYWELL (after Jackson 1975, Figs 3, 4) AND WINNALL DOWN (after Fasham, 1978, Fig 6; pers comm)

Figure 4.15: LOCATION OF HUMAN REMAINS AT HOD HILL
(after Richmond 1968, Fig 2)

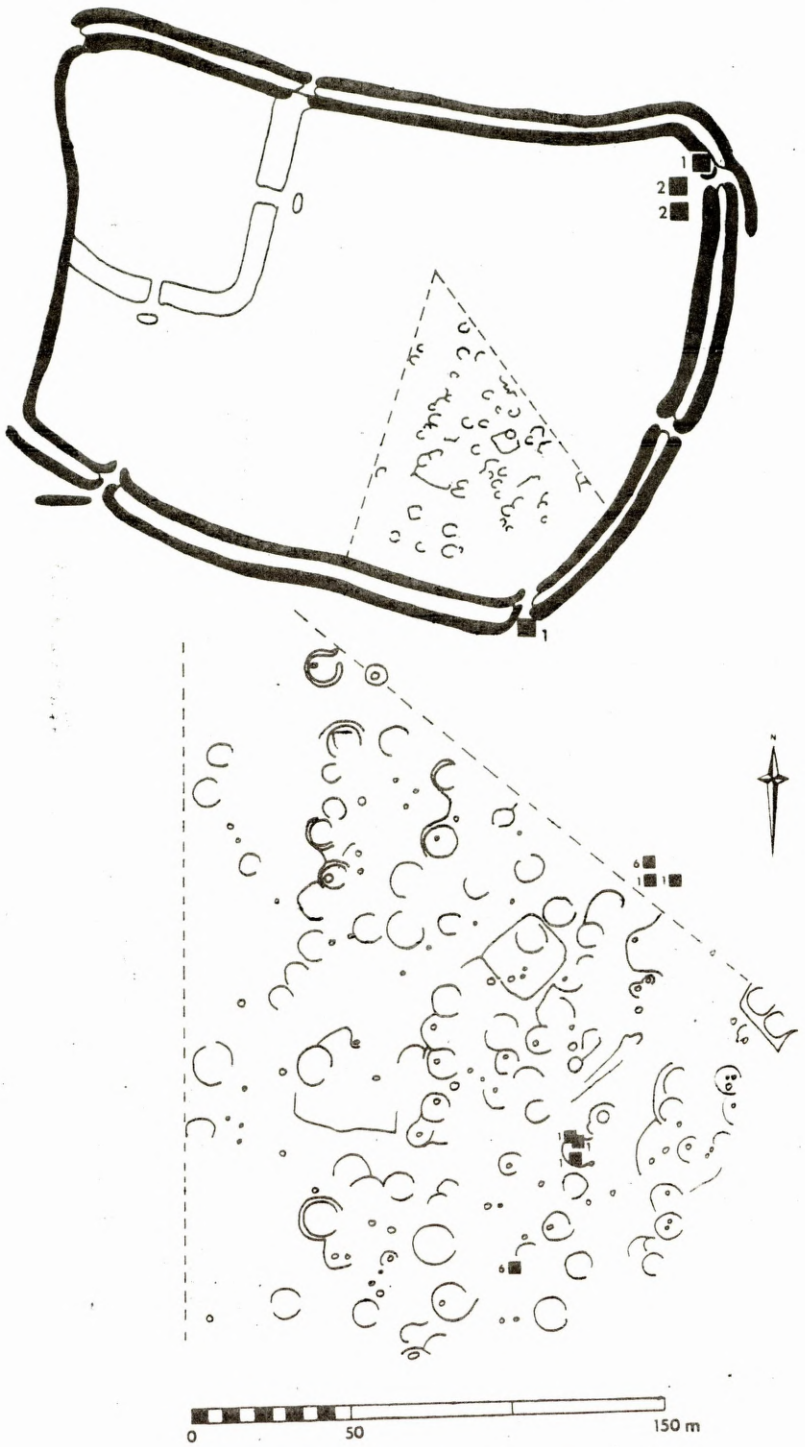


Figure 4.16: LOCATION OF HUMAN REMAINS AT WINKLEBURY
(after Smith 1977, Figs 3, 4)

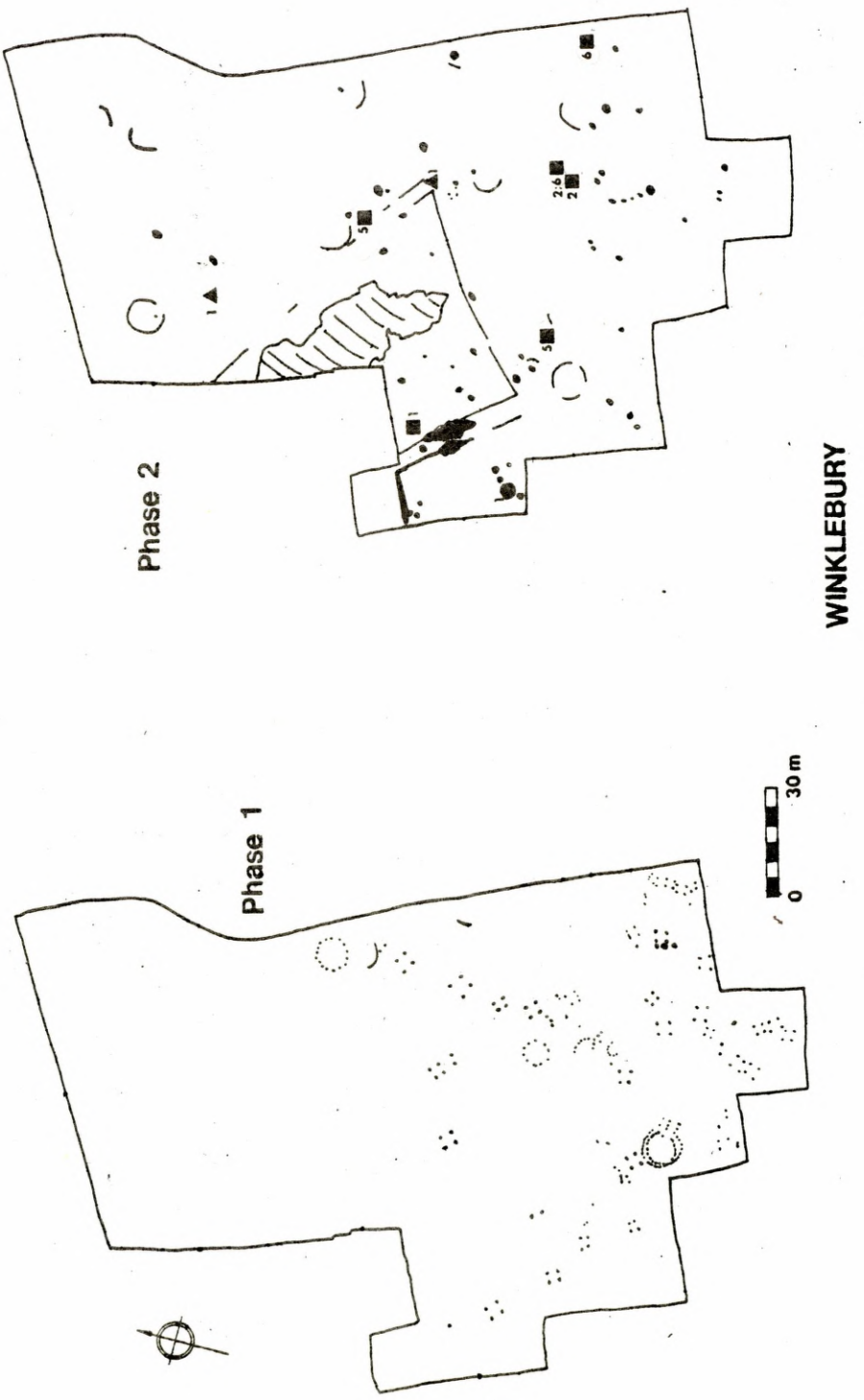
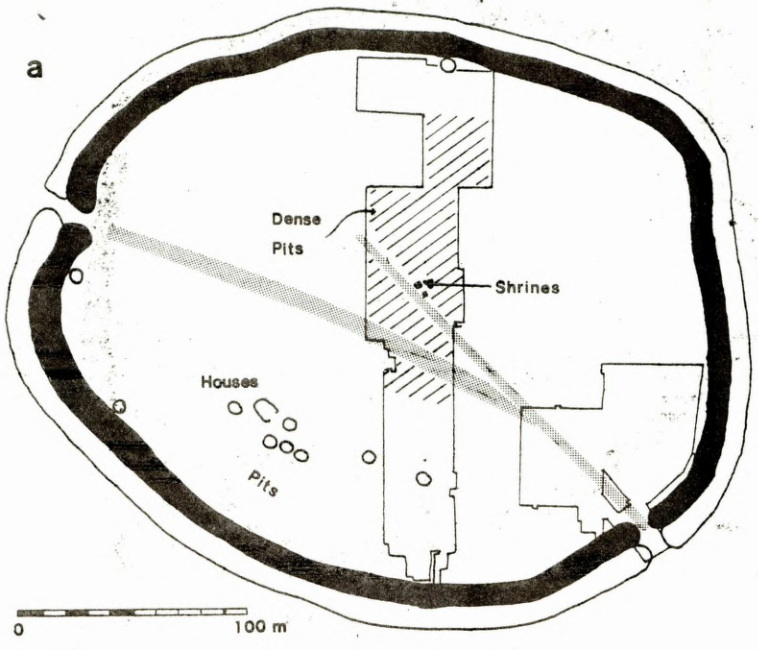
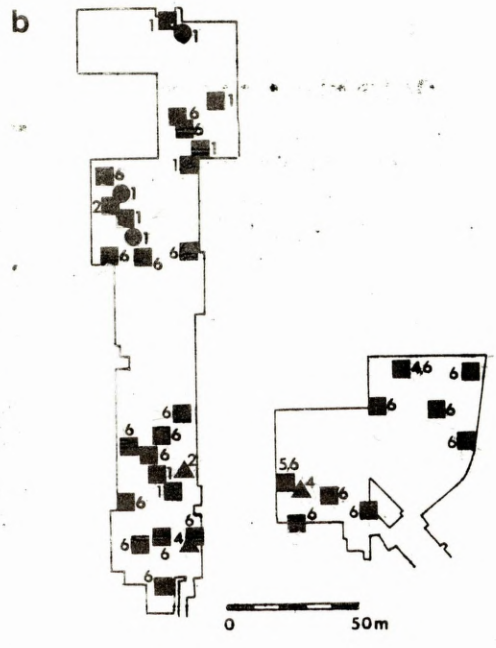


Figure 4.17: HUMAN REMAINS AT DANEBURY, EARLY IRON AGE
(after Cunliffe 1983, Fig 30; Walker 1984, Figs 8.6, 8.7, 8.8, 8.9)





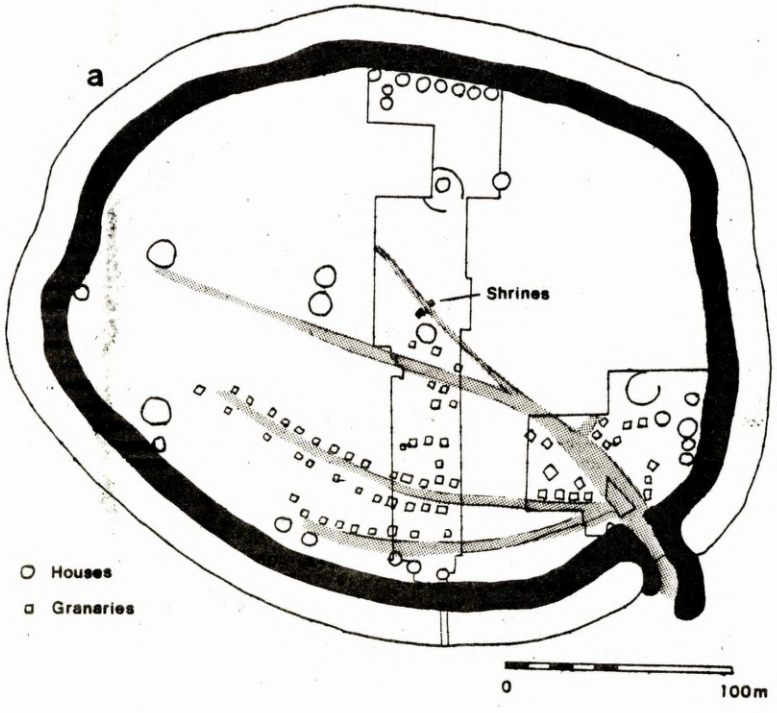
DANEBURY - EIA

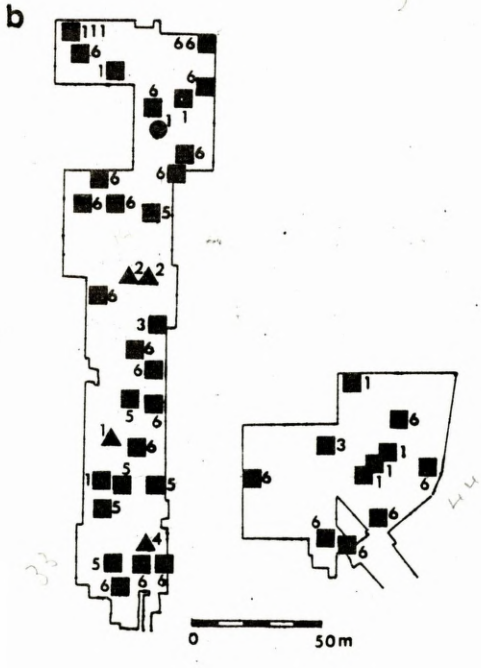
a Occupation zones

b Human remains

(phases 1 - 5)

Figure 4.18: HUMAN REMAINS AT DANEBURY, MIDDLE IRON AGE
(after Cunliffe 1983, Fig 31; Walker 1984, Figs 8.6, 8.7, 8.8, 8.9)





DANEBURY - MIA

a Occupation zones
b Human remains
(phases 6-8)

Frequency of Deposits of Human Remains Through Time

It was demonstrated at the beginning of analysis that the mortuary rituals under discussion were applied to only a minority - probably a very small minority of the population. The last point of analysis is to determine, if possible, whether the frequency or rate of depositions changes through time.

The prime difficulty in gauging the frequency of depositions is to determine what exactly should be measured. The actual number of deposits is unsuitable for several reasons. First among these is that not all periods are equally represented in remains on both types of sites; there are simply too few well-excavated sites for the Early Iron Age to make any realistic comparison with the comparatively well-excavated Late Iron Age.

What is needed is to standardise the number of deposits by comparing the number of deposits with some other feature, which is closely linked to either population, or relative amounts of domestic activity, implying that people are present. This would allow the numerically less well documented Early Iron Age to be compared, at least in general terms, with the better documented Middle and Late Iron Ages. Walker (1984, 456-457) and Cunliffe (1983, 164) suggest that the number of storage pits, in which most of the deposits occur, is an appropriate index. The rate of deposition would therefore equal the number of human deposits, in contexts datable to a phase, divided by the number of storage pits, with a period of use datable to that phase. This method of standardising the number of deposits assumes a more or less direct correlation between the number of pits and the number of people likely to have been present. This assumption may not be realistic. For example, the role of four post structures as granaries disrupts the correlation, perhaps most particularly in areas other than the chalk uplands, where pits are most efficient and most common. The only logically viable alternative would be to use the number of houses dated to each phase, but Iron Age house structures are even less well known than are pits and granaries, probably due to the inconsistent preservation of traces of house construction. Even the well-excavated site at Gussage has traces of only a couple of structures - too few to account for the domestic activity which can be documented by other artifacts in other contexts (most evidence of structures was probably destroyed by deep ploughing). In spite of the limitations inherent in using storage pits, there is no currently available alternative.

From the twenty-eight sites used in the study thus far, a subsample of eight sites which have an unusually complete publication (in order to determine the frequency of deposits through time) was selected. These eight sites are:

Settlements	Hillforts
Ashville (Parrington 1978)	Danebury (Walker 1984)
Gussage (Wainwright 1979)	Winklebury (Smith 1977)
Little Somborne (Neal 1980)	
Old Down Farm (Davies 1981)	
Twywell (Jackson 1975)	
Winnall Down (Fasham, pers comm)	

The total number of pits excavated on each of the two groups of sites during the three phases of the Iron Age is as follows:

	Settlements No of Pits	Hillforts No of Pits
EIA	232	544
MIA	327	313
LIA	232	161
Total	791	1018

The number of deposits of human remains on these sites during each of the three periods (derived from the gazetteer in Appendix IV) is shown in Figure 4.19. Using the formula above (numbers of human deposits divided by number of pits), the following results are obtained:

	% of Pits Containing Human Deposits	
	Settlements	Hillforts
EIA	8%	10%
MIA	20%	15%
LIA	22%	37%

This indicates that the number of deposits of human remains increased through time when compared with the number of pits present on site. The increase is most dramatic between the Early Iron Age and the Middle Iron Age on settlement sites, and between the Middle Iron Age and the Late Iron Age on hillforts, though this latter change is based on evidence from only one site, Danebury. This result confirms the observations made by Walker (1984, 456-457) that the relative frequency of deposition of human remains in pits increases through the Iron Age to a peak in the last century before the Roman conquest.

Figure 4.19: NUMBER OF DEPOSITS OF HUMAN REMAINS

	SETTLEMENTS	HILLFORTS
EARLY IRON AGE		
Category 1	3	8
2	0	3
3	0	0
4	0	3
5	0	1
6	29 (in 16 deposits)	40
Total	32 (in 19 deposits)	55
MIDDLE IRON AGE		
Category 1	46	10
2	2	3
3	0	0
4	0	0
5	0	4
6	24 (in 17 deposits)	31
Total	72 (in 65 deposits)	48
LATE IRON AGE		
Category 1	44	6
2	1	3
3	0	2
4	0	1
5	0	5
6	5	42
Total	50	59
	Sites: Ashville Gussage Little Somborne Old Down Farm Twywell Winnall Down	Sites: Danebury Winklebury

SUMMARY OF RESULTS

The results of the foregoing analysis can be briefly, if broadly, summarised. The first point to be made is that all of the human remains known represent only a small minority sector of the probable Iron Age population, possibly a minority of about 6% or less. This minority received a variety of different mortuary rituals, represented by the various categories of remains, ranging from complete inhumations to single bones. Further analysis revealed some of the characteristics of the people who received mortuary rituals.

In all periods of the Iron Age on hillforts, and in the Early Iron Age on settlements, the remains are heavily biased toward adults. This bias shifts during the Middle Iron Age on settlements to a preponderance of infants, and by the Late Iron Age begins to approach a "normal" distribution of ages at death. In all periods, on both types of site, there are too few adolescents. There is no apparent consistency in the proportion of sexes, with females being more numerous in the Late Iron Age on both hillforts and on settlements, but males more frequent otherwise.

There is a marked change in the frequency with which some of the mortuary rituals were applied. This change, from most remains being single bones in the Early Iron Age to complete inhumations in the Late Iron Age, is most apparent on settlements, but a less dramatic version of the same change occurs on hillforts. This shift from category six to category one is associated with the increase in the number of infants, and also with the increase in the number of females relative to males, since there are more females than males in category one.

The shift in mortuary rituals thus represented is correlated with change in the locations favoured for deposition of the remains. This takes the form of a change from depositions near the perimeter of a site to deposition in the interior. One noticeable subgroup here is a series of complete inhumations that occur in all periods on hillforts, located in ramparts. An intuitive study of the locations of deposits on some sites indicates that deposits are frequently grouped together rather than scattered randomly; this seems most true for the complete inhumations. Associations between the locations of deposits and domestic areas are inconsistent, with both mutual exclusivity on some sites and close integration on others (notably Hod Hill, Danebury, Little Somborne and Twywell - all concerning complete inhumations).

The final point is that there appears to be a consistent increase in the frequency with which deposits were made. This is measured by comparing the number of deposits with the number of storage pits of the same site and phase, based on the assumption that the number of pits is associated (probably indirectly) with the population of the site. This increase is most apparent between the Early Iron Age and Middle Iron Age on settlement sites, and between the Middle and Late Iron Age on hillforts.

This summary of the results of analysis indicates that several burial groups may be defined by the characteristic features of the human remains deposited. The first group of human remains is the result of rituals culminating in the deposition of single complete bodies (category one). This group is, in some ways, the most complex of all. In the Early Iron Age it is rare, but when it occurs it is on hillforts

and applied to adults (male and female in more or less equal proportions). By the Middle Iron Age, it occurs far more frequently than previously on settlements and, to a lesser extent, also occurs more frequently on hillforts (Figures 4.6 and 4.7). In both cases, males outnumber females, especially on hillforts. Much of the increase in single complete inhumations on settlements in the Middle Iron Age is due to the deposition of infants in large numbers, though both adolescents and adults are also present. By the Late Iron Age, this category is less common on hillforts, though still applied most frequently to adults, and now females greatly outnumber males. On settlements, the category is even more common than in the Middle Iron Age, with an age distribution more closely approximating "normal". As on hillforts, most of the adult inhumations are now female, rather than predominantly male, as in the Middle Iron Age. Throughout the Iron Age, most complete single inhumations occur in interior contexts, mostly in pits.

The second group of remains may perhaps represent not a mortuary ritual per se, but deposits following other, possibly sacrificial, propitiatory or apotropaic rituals. This is a numerically small, but consistent, series of inhumations of adults under the ramparts of hillforts, in all phases of the Iron Age. Even when, in the Late Iron Age, other human remains have disappeared from such perimeter contexts, these inhumations persist (see Figure 4.8 above).

The third group of human remains is also primarily a hillfort phenomenon, involving the deposition of parts of bodies either singly, in groups, or in the form of articulated limbs (categories two, three and four). This is a small but variable group; its polymorphism probably indicates that more than one ritual is involved. It occurs almost entirely on hillforts, and relatively more frequently in the Early and Late Iron Age periods. Most of the remains are of adults; females are more common in category two, and males in category three. In the Late Iron Age period, there is a noticeable occurrence of children aged ten to twelve and adolescents in these three burial categories. The relatively small number of deposits in these categories may be the result of "historical" events such as a massacre. There is some evidence that they occur during two periods of relative social stress, circa 400 and 100 BC (further discussion in chapter ten).

A fourth ritual is represented by the occurrence of single skulls - nearly all of adult males - in pits. These deposits are again restricted to hillforts and rarely occur on settlements.

The fifth mortuary ritual is that characterised by the occurrence of single human bones (category six) in a variety of contexts, usually scattered widely across occupation sites. This rite was most common in the Early Iron Age, when it accounts for most of the human remains on both hillfort and settlement sites. On settlements, its use dropped consistently and dramatically through the Middle and Late Iron Ages, but on hillforts, even though it declines in popularity, it is always the most common category for human remains. This category is overwhelmingly composed of adult bones, and so this rite was apparently rarely applied to children and only occasionally to adolescents. The presence of single bones with no traces of active dismemberment implies that the causative rituals included some form of secondary manipulation of the corpse after the flesh had decomposed. The predominance of skull bones and long bones (more from the right side of the body than the left: Walker 1984, 454; and confirmed in the present study) indicates some consistent features of the selection process, and makes a random process very unlikely.

The first burial group (complete single inhumations in rubbish pits) and the last discussed (single bones) are almost complementary in occurrence and individuals represented. It is possible that these two mortuary rituals are two alternatives applied to a single social group, and that the changes noticed in the use of the two rituals during the Iron Age reflect changes in social preferences for the rites to be used in any particular instance.

INTERPRETATIONS

The interpretation of archaeological evidence for mortuary rituals has become much more rigorous in the past two decades. The seminal works on the subject are by Saxe (1970), Binford (1971) and Brown (1971), with elaboration by Goldstein (1976, 1981), Tainter (1973, 1975, 1978) and also O'Shea (1984).

The original research of Saxe (1970), Binford (1971) and Goldstein (1976), using general comparative analogies based upon large samples of ethnographically known societies, indicates that three aspects of an individual's "social persona" are almost universally designated by variations in mortuary ritual: age, sex and social status (Binford 1971, 14). Adults are treated differently from juveniles, men are treated differently from women, and kings, chiefs and village elders are treated differently from common folk. This latter aspect, whereby social status is mirrored in mortuary ritual, has seen the greatest theoretical development, for example, by Goldstein (1976, 1981), Saxe (1980) and Tainter (1975, 1978).

The applicability of these developed theories to the present evidence from the British Iron Age is, however, dubious at best. All of the works cited demonstrate clearly that age, sex and status will be marked in the mortuary rituals applied to the majority of the population - they all pertain to normative mortuary rites. The present evidence, on the other hand, clearly represents a small minority. What mortuary rituals were applied to the majority of the Iron Age population, and how age, sex and status were marked, is presently unknown and possibly unknowable.

The presence of at least several completely different mortuary rituals in use by the same social group is not unusual (Ucko 1969, 270). The problem is to find what kinds of small minorities consistently receive very distinctive mortuary rituals. At least three different minorities are possible.

The first is that of a political elite. This seems unlikely to be the case here, however, for several reasons. First, elite mortuary rituals are usually elaborated versions of the common rite (cf Tainter 1978). Secondly, elites are frequently accorded burial in a special, restricted place (Goldstein 1976). Neither of these two applies to the burials discussed here. Thirdly, elite status, if achieved, should apply to adults only, and if ascribed should result in a more or less normal distribution of ages at death. The former could apply to the first burial group (category one) which includes only adults, while the latter could also apply to burial group one, but only on settlements and only in the Late Iron Age. Finally, the multiplicity of burial rituals discussed here is unlikely to apply to an elite, as members of an elite usually all receive the same basic rite. Thus, it is unlikely that the Celtic elite is represented by the known human remains.

The second minority sector of a population for whom unique mortuary rituals may be postulated are the victims of human sacrifice. That the Celts did practice human sacrifice is unarguable - the comments of Mediterranean observers (see chapter seven) can leave no doubt on the point. There are, however, virtually no societies studied ethnographically that could be used to supplement the meagre information found in the classical literature. One of the few ethnographically known societies to practice human sacrifice are the Maori of New Zealand. Although the use of a single ethnographic source for an analogy is of dubious reliability, it is perhaps worth noting that the sacrificial victims were nearly always captured enemy warriors, and that the ritual was performed by order of a chief in order to magnify the impact and prestige of major ritual ceremonies. The victims subsequently received a non-normative disposal rite (Donne 1927, 139; Best 1952, 75; Schwimmer 1966, 64).

The attribution of complete inhumations under hillfort ramparts (burial group two, above) to human sacrifice is perfectly reasonable. The victims were nearly all adult, they occur on elite sites, and the context of disposal (ramparts) are all consistent with votive foundation sacrifices and burial.

This explanation cannot, however, be extended to apply to all of the single complete inhumations, for two reasons. First, there is a high proportion of infants in this category of deposit, and infants appear to be uncommon victims for sacrifice. Secondly, this category occurs commonly on small rural farmsteads - a social context in which human sacrifice would be very unlikely. Another explanation must be found.

The third minority sector is suggested by Binford (1971, 14, 17, 19-20) and O'Shea (1984, chapter six) as those whose lifestyle or death was in some manner abnormal. These individuals are probably best described as outcast and unclean in a ritual and social sense. Unclean or outcast lifestyles typically include witches and witchdoctors, violent criminals, religious heretics or those involved in ritually prescribed occupations. Unclean deaths may include death by drowning, murder, suicide, lightning, death of warriors outside of the social group's territory, or death in childbirth (for an extended discussion see chapter nine).

A classic ethnographic example of this sort of minority rite is found among the Asante where many of these groups receive distinctive mortuary rituals, sometimes involving mutilation, and ultimately deposition in village refuse middens (Rattray 1959, 59-60; Ucko 1969, 271; McLeod 1981, 36-39).

In general, outcast groups receive mortuary rituals which differ from the normative rites in three respects. First, a non-normative treatment of the body is accorded to such individuals; secondly, the mode of disposal of the remains differs from the norm; and thirdly, the place of disposal is always away from the normal place and is frequently associated with village refuse (Binford 1971, 20-23; O'Shea 1984, chapter six). All of the three characteristics are found in the archaeological evidence. Furthermore, a deviant or outcast sector of society will rarely match the distribution of ages or sexes that would be expected of other social groups. This too is true of the archaeological evidence. Lastly, the disposal of deviant individuals is frequently a somewhat idiosyncratic event (reflecting the relative rarity of occurrence), and several different rites (variation of a

single theme) may be employed by a single social group. This could explain the alternate use of burial categories one and six throughout the Iron Age. Thus, a series of unclean and outcast statuses, inevitably a small minority of the population, appear to be the most appropriate subjects for most of the mortuary rituals known archaeologically from the Iron Age.

The third burial group, the partial bodies in categories two, three and four, almost certainly represent a separate ritual sequence. This mortuary ritual was practised only on hillforts and usually applied to adults, although adolescents also occur occasionally. The number of individuals represented in this group is sufficiently small that historic events (eg plague, massacre) and idiosyncratic disposal measures could be adequate explanation. However, the restriction to hillforts and consistency in the membership of this group suggest a deliberate but rare practice, for which human sacrifice is a plausible alternative.

The fourth burial group is also restricted to hillforts. This group consists of the single adult male skulls that occur in pits. This practice may be correlated with the comments of Roman observers (see chapter seven) and events in Celtic myths (see chapter eight) about martial headhunting and the use of skulls as trophies of martial prowess. This is probably the original source of such skulls. Their final deposition is probably less a mortuary ritual than a votive or apotropaic treatment of the symbolically potent skulls of enemy dead.

CONCLUSIONS

The analysis of human remains from Iron Age occupation sites has shed considerable light on Celtic mortuary rituals in particular, and on some aspects of Celtic religion and society in general. Unfortunately, there can be no certainty about the mortuary rituals applied to the vast majority (perhaps up to 94%) of the Iron Age population. They have vanished without trace. However, the extensive use of exposure, or excarnation, in the mortuary rituals of the remaining minority may suggest that exposure at a distance from settlements, without any observable secondary manipulation of the remains, may explain the fate of the ordinary Celts in central southern Britain.

The fate of the aberrant Celt is a very different matter. The one-twentieth of the population for which evidence survives received very different mortuary rituals. A few individuals were almost certainly sacrificed and buried beneath the ramparts of hillforts during construction - perhaps where their spirit would serve to strengthen the physical defences of the site. An additional small number of individuals may likewise have been sacrificial victims (categories two, three and four), whose bodies were exposed within hillforts and then deposited in pits, where the bodies were left exposed for a further period before they were finally buried (cf Wilson 1981, 148). The well known and accepted Celtic propensity for taking heads as trophies in war is represented by single skulls (almost all adult males, appropriate for warrior status) which may have ended their ritual life as votive offerings in pits, with motivation similar to the rampart burials. Finally, most of the members of this one-twentieth of the population received yet another mortuary ritual. In the early period in general, but on hillforts in slowly decreasing numbers, these people were

probably exposed and disposed of without trace, except for the retention or manipulation of certain symbolically representative bones (mainly skulls and long bones of the right side of the body), which eventually were scattered and deposited in a wide variety of contexts. During the Middle Iron Age, this custom was rapidly replaced on settlements (and more slowly on hillforts) by the burial of the entire body before exposure had led to disarticulation. These individuals are probably best explained as social deviants, whose lifestyle or death was in some sense ritually unclean.

During the Middle Iron Age, an intrusive social group settled in east Yorkshire, which practised a different mortuary ritual for the majority of their population. The resulting inhumations within square ditched enclosures of the Arras culture are by now well known (Whimster 1981, 75-128).

The Late Iron Age in the extreme southeast, especially in Kent and the Essex-Hertfordshire area, also witnessed the dominance of a normative mortuary ritual, this time involving cremation and deposition of the ashes in urns in cemeteries. This Aylesford-Swarling, or "Belgic", culture is possibly an intrusive group, or more probably, represents the adoption of burial customs from Gaul by indigenous groups (Whimster 1981, 147-166; Rodwell 1976; Birchall 1965).

The dramatic appearance, and widespread adoption, of complete inhumation, in increasing numbers throughout the Middle and Late Iron Ages in southern Britain, may ultimately result in the indigenous development of two traditions of inhumation as a normative, majority rite. In the extreme southwest, a cist-burial tradition appears in the second century BC (the beginning of the Late Iron Age in the chronology used here). Slightly later, in Dorset, a tradition of inhumation in flat graves also appears in the first century BC (Whimster 1981, 37-74).

The great fluidity of mortuary customs suggested here, though possibly surprising, should not be regarded as unlikely. Most social groups do, in fact, utilise several mortuary rituals simultaneously (Binford 1971; Ucko 1969, 275), and mortuary rituals can come and go out of fashion with startling rapidity (Kroeber 1927, 308-314; Ucko 1969, 273; Binford 1971, 10-11). This fluidity also indicates that mortuary rituals do not necessarily correlate directly with other beliefs; for example, a change from excarnation to inhumation for a minority need not imply any change in the conception of an "otherworld". For this reason, no direct judgements about Celtic beliefs about the otherworld or men's souls should be made from the archaeological evidence (but see the discussion in chapter nine below).

The preceding analysis has discussed the mortuary rituals of only a small minority of the Celtic population, and serves as a very useful indicator of the complexity of both Celtic religious thought and the Celtic social system. Clearly, a variety of detailed status positions were defined, and each received its own peculiar disposal rituals. Many, if not most, of these statuses were defined by both religious and secular codes of thought. The Celtic vernacular literature (chapter eight) provides a plethora of statuses and lifestyles - both transitory and more permanent, to lend credence to the ethnographically derived suggestions above. These include, in particular, the "fiana" hunter class, and anyone dying while in violation of his personal taboos, or gessa. That such complexity is visible in connection with only a minority of the population must surely indicate that the balance of society was equally complex, and equally regulated, by religious codes of thought and behaviour.

CHAPTER 5

ANIMAL DEPOSITS AND CELTIC ANIMAL SACRIFICE

The human burials discussed in the previous chapter include both complete and incomplete bodies placed in disused storage pits on occupation sites. Animal remains, usually single bones representing refuse from butchery and cooking practices, are a frequent element in the fill of these pits. However, not all of the animal remains represent mundane, everyday activities: the deposition of whole and partial animal bodies is a rare and uneconomic practice, but one which was consistently performed. This chapter discusses the practices which may be behind the apparently deliberate burial of animals in disused storage pits of Iron Age sites.

The presence of animal bones is almost a defining characteristic of habitation sites. These are assumed to be the waste products of meals - they show evidence of butchery and cooking, and are usually either single bones or bone fragments. The recognition of animal remains which, in contrast, represent entire animals, and give every indication of deliberate deposition (burial?), has been a very recent and none too common event - good examples are at Twywell where two pigs and a dog were buried (Harcourt, in Jackson 1975), at Tollard Royal where a horse was buried (Wainwright 1968), and Winklebury (Smith 1977) and Old Down Farm (Davies 1981), each with many deposits. The only attempt to study these burials of remains consistently is that of A Grant (1984a, 533-548; 1984b). As provocative as Grant's analysis and conclusions are, they need to be put in the general context of similar practices on a wide range of Iron Age sites. This chapter provides a survey of such deposits (following Grant [1984a, 533], referred to as "Special Animal Deposits") on Iron Age occupation sites.

THE EVIDENCE

Definition of the Evidence

The same sample of twenty-eight sites used for the study of humar mortuary rituals was used as the basis of this study of animal deposits. Only twenty-one sites produced evidence for special animal deposits (see Figure 5.1), several of which produced only one or two examples (eg Maiden Castle [Wheeler 1943, 370], Little Woodbury [Bersu 1940, 59]). This does not mean that such deposits were not present, but rather were not recognised and adequately reported. For example, Wheeler (1943, 53) refers to whole and partial animal burials, but does not report them in

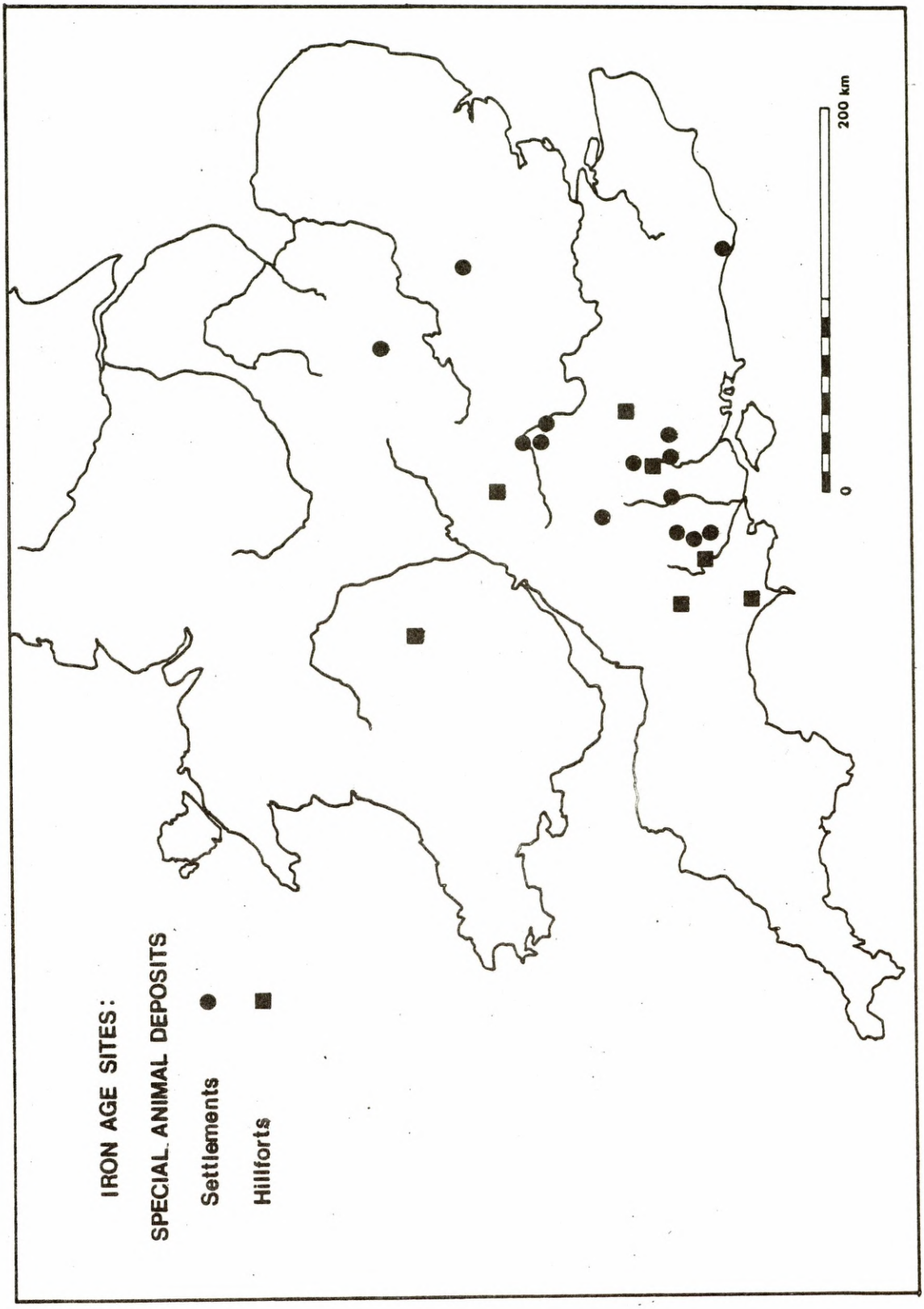


Figure 5.1: IRON AGE SITES WITH SPECIAL ANIMAL DEPOSITS

KEY TO FIGURE 5.1

All Cannings Cross, Wilts	SU 080 634
Appleford, Oxon	SU 521 936
Ashville, Oxon	SU 483 973
Barley, Herts	TL 398 388
Bishopstone, Sussex	TQ 467 007
South Cadbury, Somerset	ST 628 252
Croft Ambrey, Here & Worcs	SO 445 668
Danebury, Hants	SU 323 376
Farmoor, Oxon	SP 443 053
Gussage-All-Saints, Dorset	ST 998 101
Hod Hill, Dorset	ST 857 106
Little Somborne, Hants	SU 389 328
Little Woodbury, Wilts	SU 150 279
Maiden Castle, Dorset	SY 669 885
Old Down Farm, Hants	SU 356 465
Salmonsbury, Glos	SP 173 208
Swallowcliffe Down, Wilts	ST 968 254
Tollard Royal, Wilts	ST 942 197
Twywell, Northants	SP 952 787
Winklebury, Hants	SU 613 529
Winnall Down, Hants	SU 498 323

detail. Such omissions from many of the earlier excavations may well reflect the assumption of the excavator that animal bones represent only the remains of food and nothing more. A glance at some of the more recent excavations, where a more critical attitude was used (eg Old Down Farm, Twywell, Winklebury, Winnall Down, Danebury etc), indicates that animal deposits are probably a very common feature of Iron Age occupation sites.

The twenty-one sites used in this survey have produced a total of 428 special animal deposits. These are presented in detail in the gazetteer in Appendix III. Adopting the classification system used by Grant at Danebury (1984a, 533), these were divided into three classes on the basis of the amount of the animal present in the deposit. The three classes are as follows:

A Complete or partial animal skeletons, probably in articulation when found, and usually showing no evidence of butchery. The degree of articulation is sometimes uncertain, due to the skill of the original excavator and/or the completeness of the report. Examples of what were probably just samples of bones have been omitted. Likewise, the evidence for a lack of butchery is not always conclusive, and indeed some unbutchered animals were beheaded - for example the horse in Pit 321 at Danebury (Grant 1984a, 534, Fig 9.30). Nevertheless, when the skeleton is more likely to have been in articulation, the degree of butchery must have been minimal. Any single example in the gazetteer may be questioned, on either account of articulation or butchery, but, taken as a class of features, they are remarkably consistent. The burials at a few sites, especially Winnall Down (Fasham, pers comm) and Winklebury (Smith 1977), indicate that partial burials may, in fact, represent a separate class from complete animals, but because this distinction was not drawn on many sites, complete and partial burials are combined here.

B Skulls. Complete or nearly complete skulls, some of which lack mandibles, or horn cores in the case of cattle. Complete mandibles of horses occur (but rarely of other species), and consequently are included here.

C Articulated limbs. In this class a considerable amount of the animal was clearly dismembered and butchered, but these limbs did not have their meat removed, to judge from the absence of knife marks on these bones. Grant notes that these deposits are of two types - upper limbs which carry much meat, and lower limbs which have little meat on the bones. Grant (1984, 539) admits that the second category does not necessarily represent a special deposit, because it does not represent the deposition of meat. This is true. However, when many animals are skinned, it is customary to cut off the lower limbs from the rest of the body, and the skin may be left attached to these extremities. It is suggestive that most of the examples from Danebury of this second class are from sheep - and thus may represent the deposition as a sheepskin, soon after the animal was skinned. In this case these deposits represent just as much of a loss as a loss of meat. Therefore all such articulated limbs are considered in this study.

The species that appear in these three classes of deposits are, not surprisingly, the five major domestic animals of the Iron Age: cattle, sheep, horses, pigs and dogs. There are also a very few examples of

domestic goat and cat. There are even a few deposits of bird bones, nearly all ravens, and unique to Winklebury, a deposit of a red deer and twelve foxes (see gazetteer III, AB 74). In order to ensure consistency and comparability of the special animal deposits with the results of the preceding chapters, the very general three period chronology is used. The Early Iron Age represents the seventh to fifth centuries BC, the Middle Iron Age the fourth to second centuries BC, and the Late Iron Age the last century BC and first half of the first century AD. Although a few sites and phases can be more accurately dated than this, many sites and phases, especially of the Early and Middle Iron Age, can not. Thus, this general chronological framework allows for the inclusion of much more evidence, and should be sufficient for general conclusions to be drawn.

As implied in the introduction to this chapter, the special animal deposits occur in the grain storage pits, so common on Iron Age occupation sites. Most were placed on the bottom of the pit before it was finally filled with domestic rubbish and loose soil, the remainder being placed in the pit while it was being filled up. There are, in addition, a few examples from house gullies and ditches, or from the enclosure ditches that surround sites.

ANALYSIS

The special animal remains studied here are very unlikely to be the result of normal, economically motivated practices of exploiting domestic animals. This can be established on the basis of two points.

The first point is that there are simply too few animals represented to be the result of everyday, or even annual, activities. With a maximum of some four hundred animals represented on twenty-eight sites over a five hundred year period, they must be the result of relatively uncommon behaviour.

The second point is that the special animal deposits do not accurately represent the general animal populations of the sites, as reflected by the numbers of each species derived from other animal remains. If, for example, the behaviour that resulted in special animal deposits were a part of the normal exploitation of each species, then each species should be equally represented in special animal deposits, and in animal remains in general. This is not the case.

Comparison of Species in Minimum Number of Individuals and Special Animal Deposits

The relative prominence of each species on selected hillforts and settlements (chosen for the completeness of their published accounts) is shown in Figure 5.2a. The sites of Ashville (Parrington 1978), Twywell (Harcourt, in Jackson 1975), Winklebury (Smith 1977) and Danebury (Grant 1984a, 533-543) all include published estimates for the Minimum Number of Individuals (MNI) of each species represented by the faunal remains. The sites of Little Somborne and Old Down Farm do not have published minimum numbers of individuals; there is, however, sufficient detailed information (numbers of bone fragments of each species, and numbers of particular bones) to derive the estimated figures for the minimum number of individuals used here. By making the assumption that these sites are

Figure 5.2: MINIMUM NUMBER OF INDIVIDUALS AND SPECIAL ANIMAL DEPOSITS

a) SETTLEMENTS

	Estimated MNI				Total	%
	Ashville	Twywell	Little Somborne	Old Down Farm		
Cattle	41	8	24	60	133	20
Sheep	102	20	34	200	356	54
Horse	8	3	9	30	50	8
Pig	24	8	10	36	78	12
Dog	6	6	5	29	46	6

a) HILLFORTS

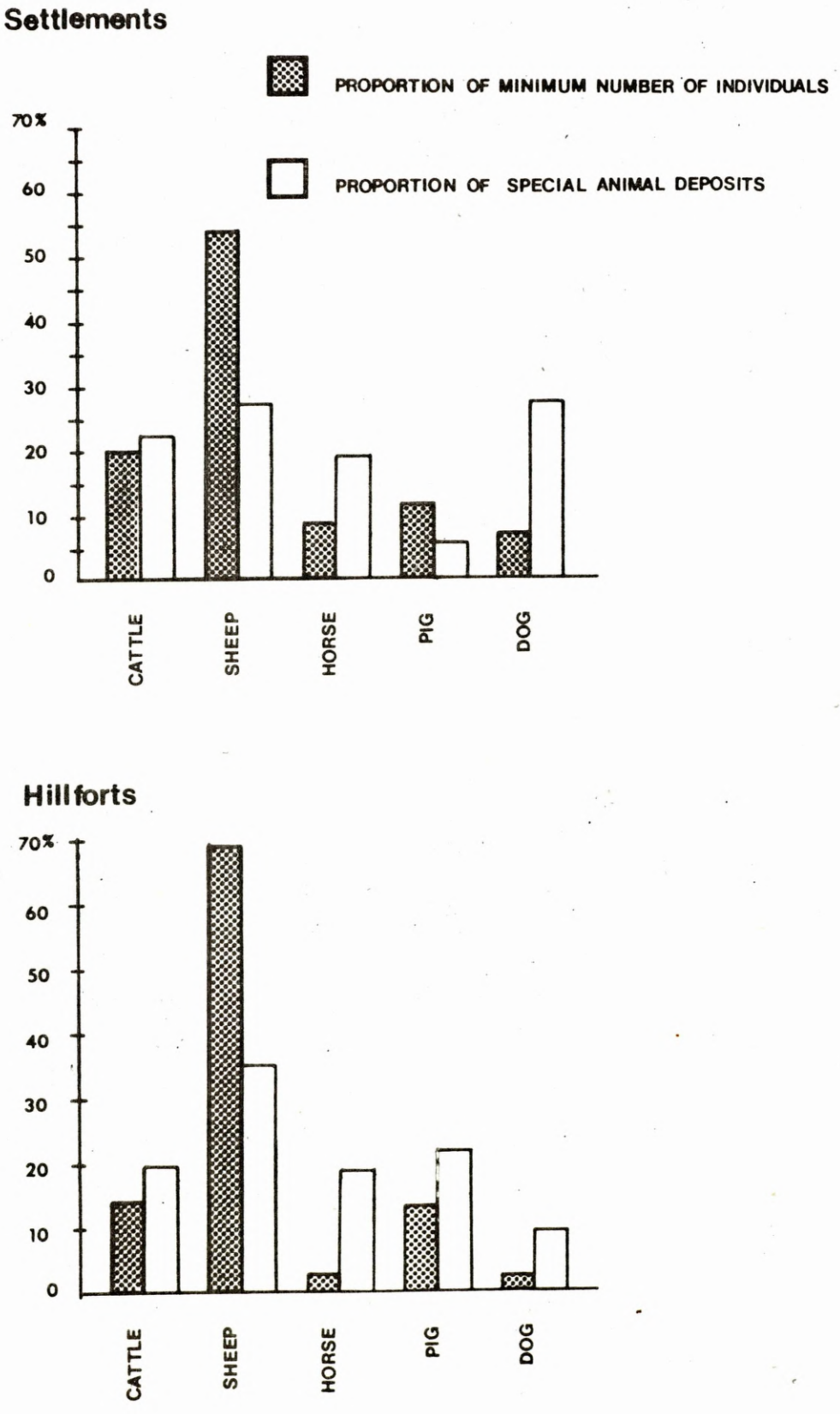
	Estimated MNI		Total	%
	Danebury	Winklebury		
Cattle	137	65	202	14
Sheep	815	170	985	68
Horse	34	13	47	3
Pig	154	38	192	13
Dog	24	4	28	2

---

b)

	SETTLEMENTS		HILLFORTS	
	No of Deposits	% of Total	No of Deposits	% of Total
Cattle	29	22	48	18
Sheep	36	27	93	35
Horse	23	18	46	18
Pig	7	5	55	21
Dog	36	27	20	8
Total	131		262	

Figure 5.3: COMPARISON OF OCCURRENCE OF SPECIES IN SPECIAL ANIMAL DEPOSITS AND AS MINIMUM NUMBER OF INDIVIDUALS



roughly representative of settlements and hillforts in general, the relative numbers of each species in general (Figure 5.2a) and in special animal deposits (Figure 5.2b) may be compared.

The comparison of the number of each species in the animal population in general (based on MNI), and in the special animal deposits (SAD), using evidence from all phases of the Iron Age, is presented graphically in Figure 5.3. It is clear that the species are not equally represented in the general animal population and the special deposits. Cattle occur more frequently in the special deposits (especially on hillforts) than their numbers elsewhere on site would indicate. Sheep are very dramatically under-represented in the special deposits - occurring only half as frequently as they occur in general. Horses occur twice as often in special animal deposits as in general. Pigs occur less frequently in settlement special animal deposits than on settlements in general, but are more frequent in hillfort special animal deposits than on hillforts generally. Dogs are, like horses, over-represented in special animal deposits, especially on settlement sites. The inescapable conclusion is that the selection process that led to special animal deposits was quite different from that applied to the animal population of each species in the normal course of animal husbandry.

This conclusion could be further tested by comparing the age and sex structure of the animals in special animal deposits and the animal population in general. If a discrepancy were found, it would be obvious that the special animal deposits are the result of activities outside normal husbandry. Unfortunately, such detailed evidence is not yet generally available. A further useful test would be to examine the special animal deposits for evidence of pathology, because it is just possible that the special animal deposits represent diseased animals. Such information is currently unavailable, but this suggestion appears unlikely for three reasons. First, it seems an unreasonable act to bring diseased animals into the settlement area for disposal. Secondly, why are only part of the animals disposed of in this manner, instead of the whole carcass? Thirdly, diseased animals could be expected to occur in rough proportion to the number of each species present. Such is clearly not the case on the Iron Age sites.

This brief discussion should make it clear that the special animal deposits are the result of activities that are relatively uncommon, though consistently practised, and that utilise domestic animals, but are nonetheless outside the sphere of ordinary, economic animal husbandry.

Following the same procedure used in the chapter on human mortuary rituals (above), the special animal deposits may be characterised by four aspects. These are:

a the species involved (cattle, sheep, horse, pig, dog);

b the category of the deposit (complete animal, skull, limb);

c the chronological period (Early, Middle, Late Iron Age);

d the type of site on which it occurs (hillfort, settlement).

(See Figures 5.4 and 5.5 for the numbers of deposits of each category.)

Figure 5.4: SPECIAL ANIMAL DEPOSITS ON HILLFORTS

7th - 5th Century BC

Category	A	B	C	Total
Cattle	11	13	3	27
Sheep	10	20	7	37
Horse	2	12	2	16
Pig	16	14	0	30
Dog	3	4	0	7
Total	42	63	12	117

4th - 2nd Century BC

Category	A	B	C	Total
Cattle	5	17	0	22
Sheep	19	36	4	59
Horse	3	19	9	31
Pig	9	16	1	26
Dog	6	7	0	13
Total	42	95	14	151

1st Century BC - 1st Century AD

Category	A	B	C	Total
Cattle	17	0	0	17
Sheep	4	0	0	4
Horse	1	0	0	1
Pig	3	2	0	5
Dog	1	1	0	2
Total	26	3	0	29

Figure 5.5: SPECIAL ANIMAL DEPOSITS ON SETTLEMENTS

7th - 5th Century BC

Category	A	B	C	Total
Cattle	1	12	0	13
Sheep	12	2	0	14
Horse	0	5	3	8
Pig	0	0	0	0
Dog	1	2	0	3
Total	14	21	3	38

4th - 2nd Century BC

Category	A	B	C	Total
Cattle	0	2	9	11
Sheep	9	4	5	18
Horse	1	1	6	8
Pig	6	1	0	7
Dog	20	3	2	25
Total	36	11	22	69

1st Century BC - 1st Century AD

Category	A	B	C	Total
Cattle	1	2	2	5
Sheep	2	0	2	4
Horse	4	3	0	7
Pig	0	0	0	0
Dog	7	1	0	8
Total	14	6	4	24

Species Preferences Through Time

In Figure 5.6 the relative proportion of the special animal deposits, that belongs to each species on settlements and hillforts, in each chronological period, is presented in histogram form. This makes it clear that several changes occurred through the Iron Age in the relative numbers of each species chosen for whatever activity resulted in special animal deposits. The use of cattle decreased from the Early to the Middle Iron Age on both types of sites, but then increased again in the Late Iron Age, especially on hillforts (though in the Late Iron Age, the total number of special animal deposits is relatively small, and consequently changes may be exaggerated by sample bias). Sheep decrease steadily in numbers on settlements, while on hillforts they increase in numbers from the Early to the Middle Iron Age, and then drop radically in the Late Iron Age. Horses drop in numbers on settlements during the Early to Middle Iron Age and then increase slightly, while on hillforts they remain constant in the Early and Middle Iron Age, and then drop in the Late Iron Age. Pigs are always rare in special animal deposits on settlement sites (although they were present and eaten on settlement sites), occurring only during the Middle Iron Age. Pigs are always more common on hillforts, especially in the Early Iron Age. Dogs are always present as special animal deposits in excess of their relative presence on sites, but this is especially true of the Middle and Late Iron Age on settlement sites, where they are far more prominent than on hillforts.

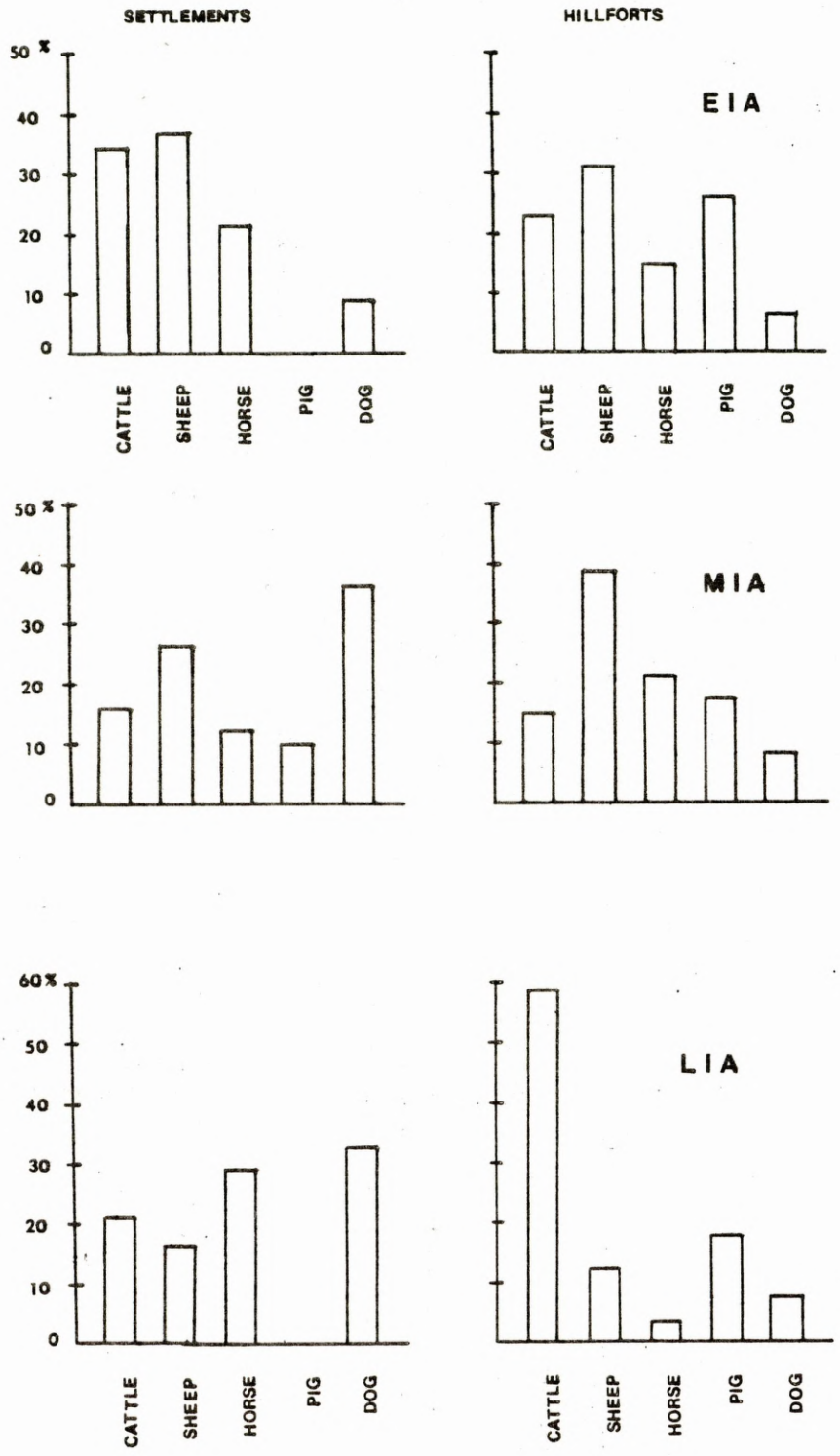
Category Preferences Through Time

The relative numbers of each of the three categories of animal deposits are presented in Figure 5.7 for each type of site, in each period. Category A, the deposition of complete or nearly complete animals, increases consistently through the Iron Age on settlements. On hillforts, category A decreases slightly from the Early to the Middle Iron Age, and then increases in numbers very sharply in the Late Iron Age. Category B, the deposition of skulls, decreases slightly in numbers from the Early to Middle Iron Age, and then increases in the Late Iron Age. The deposition of skulls on hillforts increases in numbers from the Early to Middle Iron Age, and then, in turn, drops sharply in the Late Iron Age. Category C, the deposition of articulated limbs, always a rarity, increases in numbers from the Early to Middle Iron Age on settlements, and then drops again in the Late Iron Age. On hillforts, the deposition of articulated limbs becomes less frequent through the Iron Age, and disappears completely in the Late Iron Age.

Species and Category Preferences Correlated

It is clear that there were a number of changes in the selection processes used during the Iron Age in whatever activity resulted in special animal deposits. (Much of the complexity of these changes is lost, due to the necessarily general level of analysis used here.) It is equally clear that changes in the numbers of animals of different species through time, and changes in the categories of deposits in which they occur, are not independent. On the contrary, they are, in fact, very closely interrelated. This is illustrated in Figures 5.8 and 5.9 below.

Figure 5.6: RELATIVE PROPORTION OF SPECIAL DEPOSITS REPRESENTED BY EACH ANIMAL SPECIES



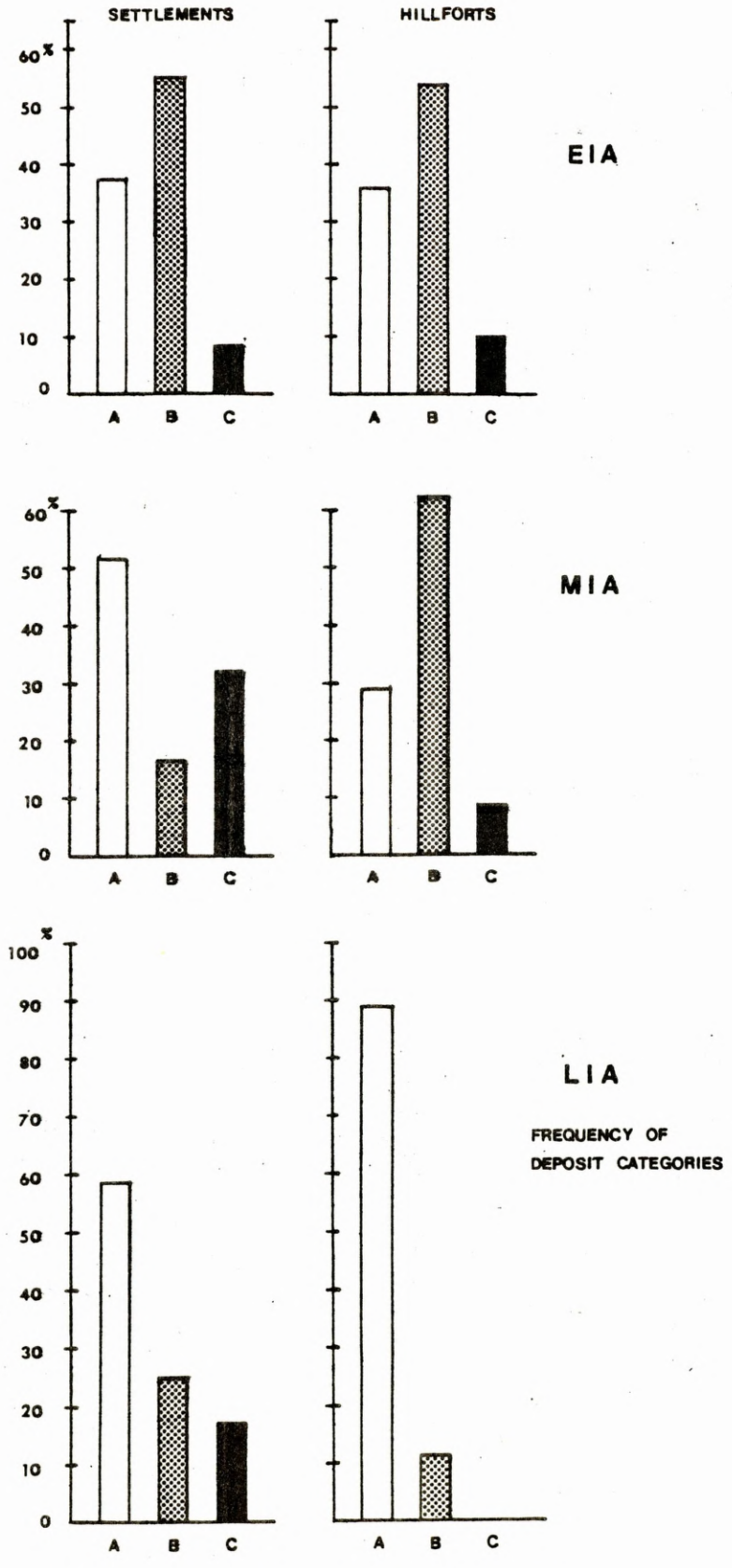


Figure 5.7: RELATIVE FREQUENCY OF EACH CATEGORY OF SPECIAL ANIMAL DEPOSIT

Figure 5.8: CORRELATION OF SPECIES AND DEPOSIT CATEGORIES
IN THE EARLY AND MIDDLE IRON AGE

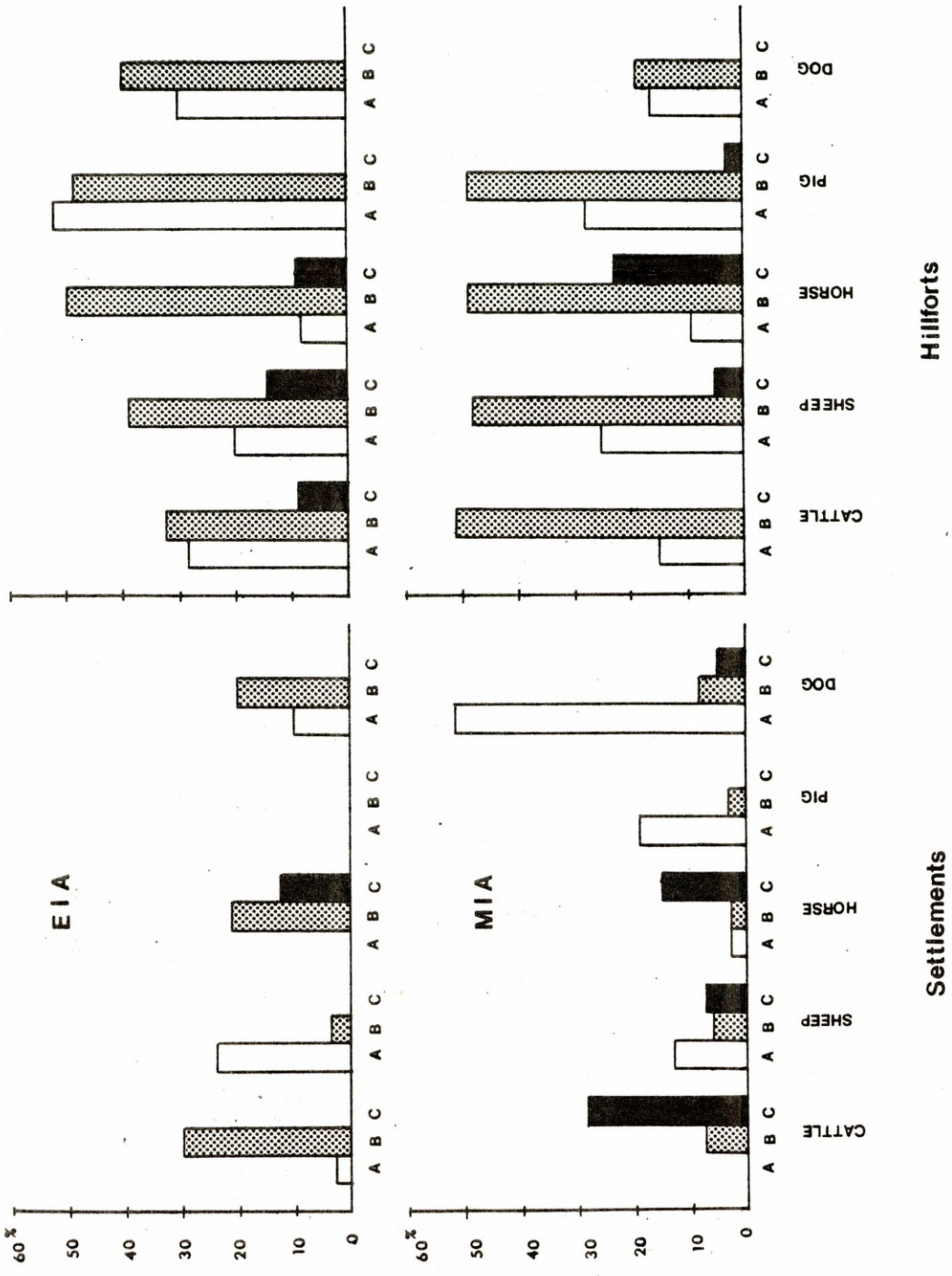
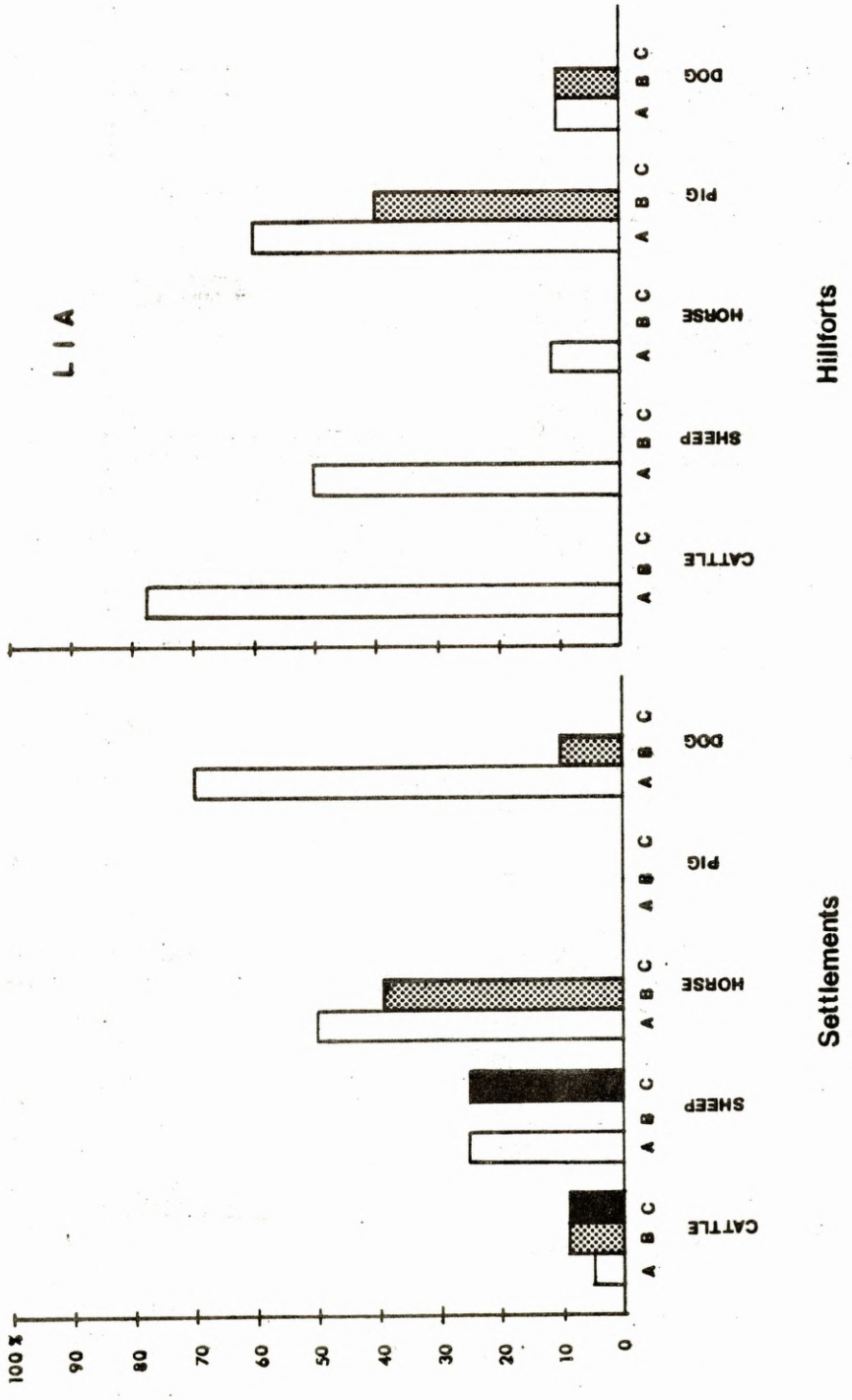


Figure 5.9: CORRELATION OF SPECIES AND DEPOSIT CATEGORIES IN THE LATE IRON AGE



Early Iron Age (Figure 5.8)

During the Early Iron Age, approximately three-quarters of all the known special animal deposits occur on hillforts. On hillforts, all species, except pigs, occur most often as skulls (category B). Pigs occur most often as complete burials (category A). Cattle and dogs also have a large minority of complete burials. On settlement sites, cattle, horse and dog occur as skulls, as on hillforts. Sheep, however, more frequently appear as complete burials. There is a noticeably large number of horse articulated limbs (category C) on settlements. There are no pig special deposits on settlements in the Early Iron Age.

Middle Iron Age (Figure 5.8)

During the Middle Iron Age, when most special animal deposits still occur on hillforts (66% of the total), all species occur most frequently as skulls. This is particularly true of cattle, sheep, horse and pigs. Dogs occur as complete burials almost as frequently as single skulls, and there is a large minority of horse special deposits as articulated limbs.

On settlement sites, cattle and horse occur most often as articulated limbs, while sheep and pig occur usually as complete burials. Less than one-third of all the special animal deposits of these species during the Middle Iron Age are on settlement sites. Contrasting with this is the fact that two-thirds of all the dog special deposits in the Middle Iron Age occur on settlements, where they are overwhelmingly complete burials.

Late Iron Age (Figure 5.9)

The information available for special animal deposits during the Late Iron Age is less reliable than for the two previous periods, especially on hillforts. This is because the two best studied hillforts (Danebury and Winklebury) were not occupied in the last century BC. The only major hillfort that was occupied in this period, and for which reasonably detailed evidence is available, is South Cadbury, and its many special animal deposits are all complete burials of juvenile animals, associated with the Iron Age shrine complex (III AB 20-22). These may not be representative of special animal deposits on hillforts in the Late Iron Age in general. Therefore, the following discussion is provisional, and the observations suggested should be checked against more and better evidence, when such becomes available.

The known special deposits from Late Iron Age contexts in hillforts are nearly all complete burials - of cattle, sheep, horse and pig. As in the Middle Iron Age, there are nearly as many pig skulls (category B) as complete burials. Dogs occur equally often as complete burials and skulls. There are no articulated limbs known for any species.

On settlements, horses and dogs occur most often as complete burials, though horse skulls are also very common, (as in the Middle Iron Age, dogs are more common on settlements than on hillforts). There are no pig special deposits in Late Iron Age contexts on settlement sites. Sheep occur equally commonly as complete burials and as articulated limbs. Cattle are less common than in the earlier periods, and appear equally as skulls and articulated limbs.

The Late Iron Age special deposits show little continuity in their nature from the Middle Iron Age, especially on hillforts, but also on settlements. These changes on hillforts could be due to inadequate evidence. Changes on settlements can not easily be explained this way,

though indeed there are fewer of them known, which allows greater scope for sample bias. It is more likely that the changes in special animal deposits on settlements in the Late Iron Age reflect wide changes in the ritual behaviour which resulted in such deposits.

Non-Domestic Animals in Special Deposits

All of the special deposits examined so far, and in fact nearly all the deposits known, are of animals of the five major domesticated species. A reason for this absence of wild animals in deposits is suggested below. There are, however, a very few examples of non-domesticated animals in special deposits.

A unique special deposit from Winklebury contains a red deer stag and twelve foxes (III AB 74). This is the only example of either deer or fox, and the only example of wild mammals in deposits, and thus must be considered anomalous.

One other wild species is, however, found consistently, albeit in small numbers, in special animal deposits. This is the raven. Bird bones were, in general, quite rare at Danebury, but the majority of those present were of ravens (Grant 1984a, 540, Tables 83-86). Ravens were far more common in the special deposits than their numbers in a general avian population would suggest. A raven was also found with spread wings on the bottom of a pit at Winklebury, which also contained the complete burial of a pig (III AB 75). (At Danebury, the association between ravens in special animal deposits, with at least one other animal species present, occurred far more often than is likely to occur by chance [Grant 1984a, 540].)

The number of ravens in special animal deposits is too small for any analysis, but suggests that they may be a feature on some Iron Age sites. The friable nature of bird bones means that good preservation and excavation techniques will be required for recovery.

Contexts and Locations of Special Animal Deposits

In general, it can be said that the special animal deposits are found in the same contexts as the human remains discussed above, that is, the pits and ditches found on Iron Age sites. This generalisation is, however, misleading. There are 428 special animal deposits in the evidence studied here (gazetteer III). Over 99% of these come from contexts in the interior of sites. Only three deposits (all complete burials, of horse, dog and sheep [III AB 62, 63, 64]) are derived from the enclosure ditches of sites, at Tollard Royal in this instance. The deposits found in interior contexts are nearly all from pits (97% of the total), with only eight deposits from gullies or ditches. These are from the ends of penannular house gullies (at Hod Hill, III AB 101; Salmonsbury, III AB 103; Farmoor, III AB 27). The remaining five are from ditches that may have served to demarcate animal paddocks (Winklebury, III AB 71; Appleford, III AB 3; Ashville, III AB 14, 15). Nearly all of these examples from gullies or ditches belong to the Late Iron Age.

Thus it is clear that special animal deposits, unlike human remains, are always found in the interior of occupation sites, and almost never appear around the perimeter of sites. This pattern is true for all periods of the Iron Age, and does not change through time.

The possible correlation between the placement of special animal deposits and other features indicative of domestic activity (eg house gullies, pits etc) is illustrated in the following site plans. The sites used include several of those involved in the study of human remains, with the exception of Winnall Down, for which some information of provenance is unavailable. The sites used, with the plans for each, are listed below.

Ashville	Figures 5.10 a,b; 5.11 a.
Gussage-All-Saints	(incomplete evidence for SAD) Figure 5.12.
Little Somborne	Figure 5.11 b.
Old Down Farm	Figures 5.13, 5.14.
Twywell	Figure 5.15 b.
Winnall Down	Figure 5.15 a.
Winklebury	Figure 5.16 a,b.

Special animal deposits appear to be located near to either houses or animal paddocks/pens in nine of the twelve phases planned below: all three phases at Ashville, Gussage (although the evidence for SAD is incomplete), Little Somborne, phases four and four/five at Old Down Farm, Twywell, Winklebury and Hod Hill. Of the three phases where no association between special animal deposits and domestic areas is found, all at Old Down Farm, in one phase no houses are known (phase five). Only in phases two to three and six are special animal deposits located away from known house structures.

Although the evidence here is far from conclusive, the fact that in three-quarters of the phases planned special animal deposits, and either houses or paddock gullies, are closely associated, is very convincing. There are, however, only four instances where special animal deposits appear to be grouped together, as well as located near domestic activity - the two earlier phases at Ashville, phases four and four/five at Old Down Farm, and at Twywell. Elsewhere, the deposits are more widely scattered. The implications of these two aspects of distribution may be that the deposits are the results of household activities, and that there may not have been very much continuity between one deposit and another, or simply that there were few specific prescriptions for where the activity occurred.

KEY TO FIGURES 5.10 TO 5.16

▲= Cattle

▼= Sheep

■= Horse

● = Pig

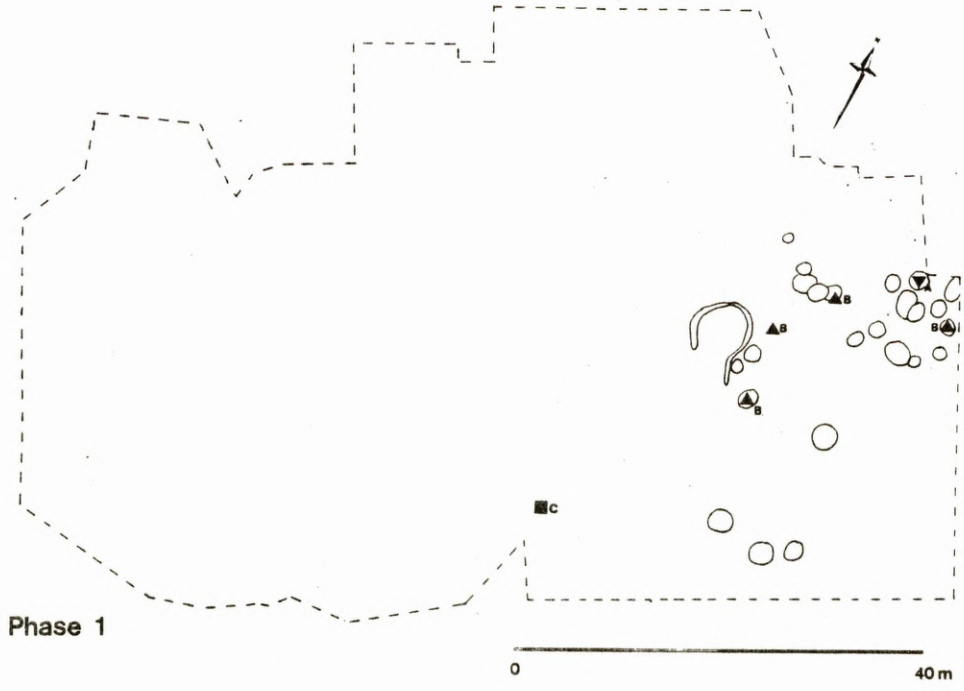
★ = Dog

A = Burial Category A

B = Burial Category B

C = Burial Category C

Numerals in brackets indicate number of individuals present.



ASHVILLE

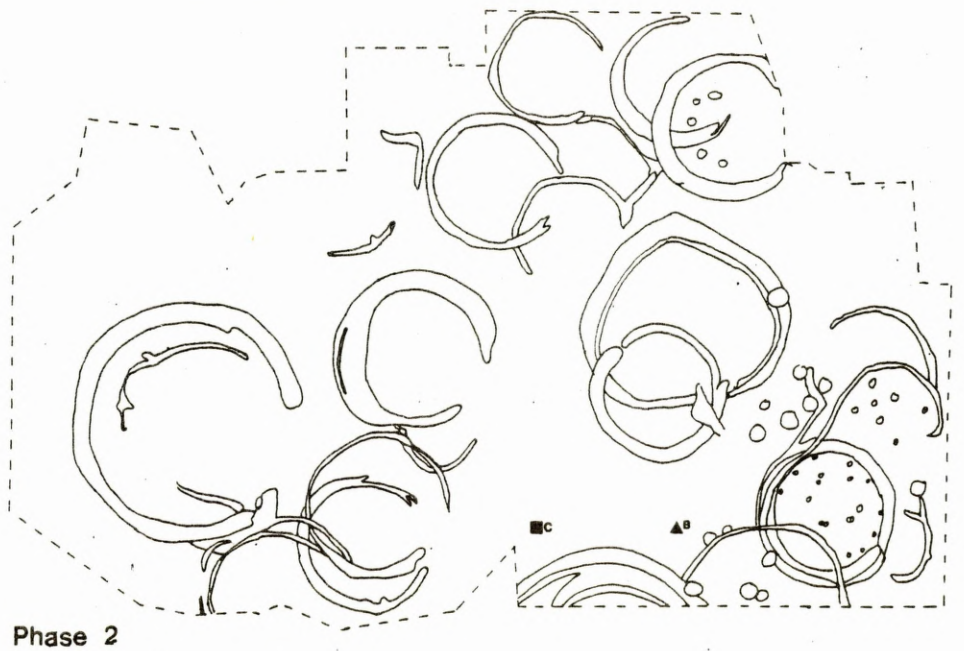
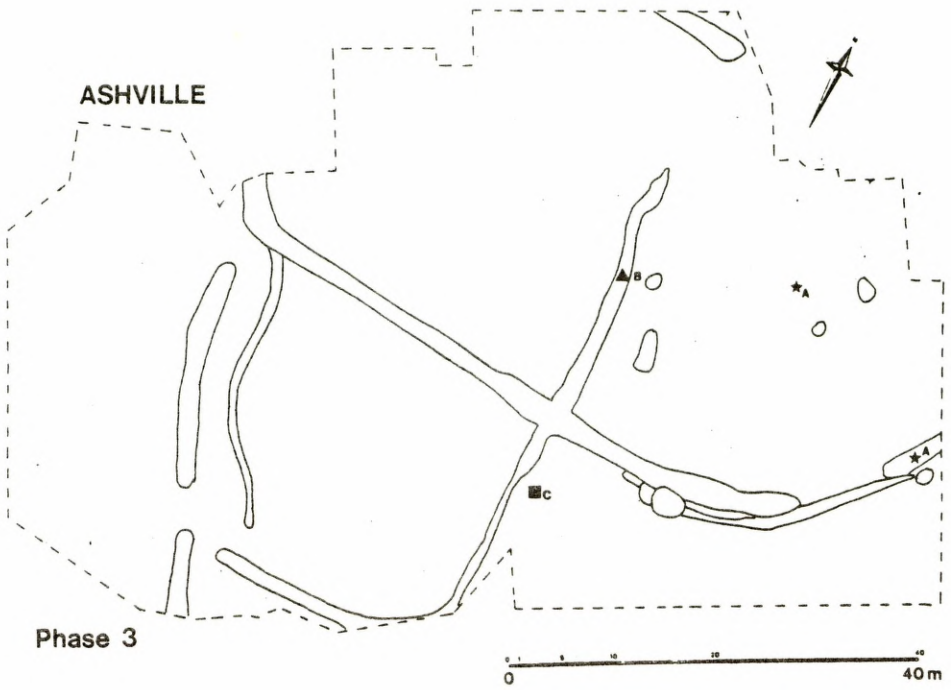


Figure 5.10: LOCATION OF SPECIAL ANIMAL DEPOSITS AT ASHVILLE IN PHASES 1 & 2 (after Parrington 1978, Figs 3, 4, 5, 6)



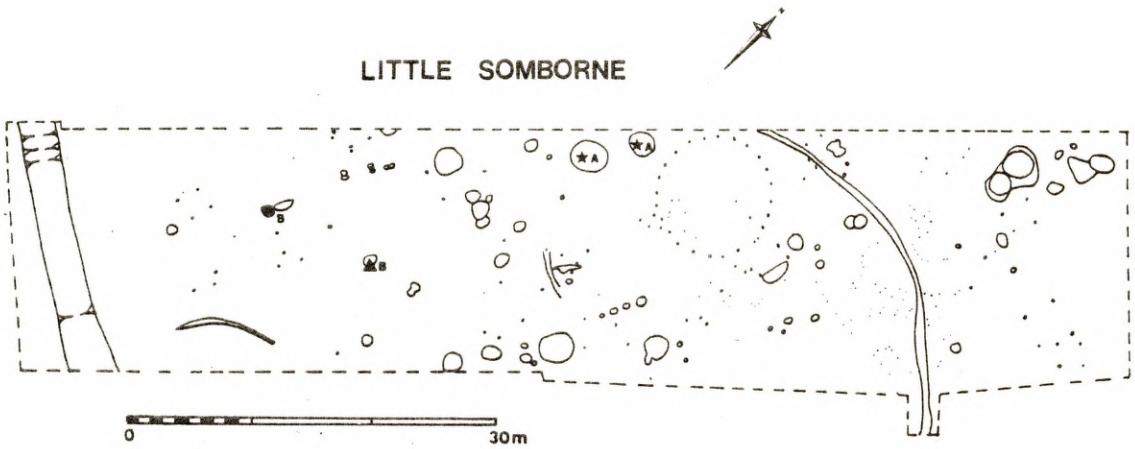


Figure 5.11: LOCATION OF SPECIAL ANIMAL DEPOSITS AT ASHVILLE, PHASE 3 (after Parrington 1978) AND LITTLE SOMBORNE (after Neal 1980, Fig 4)

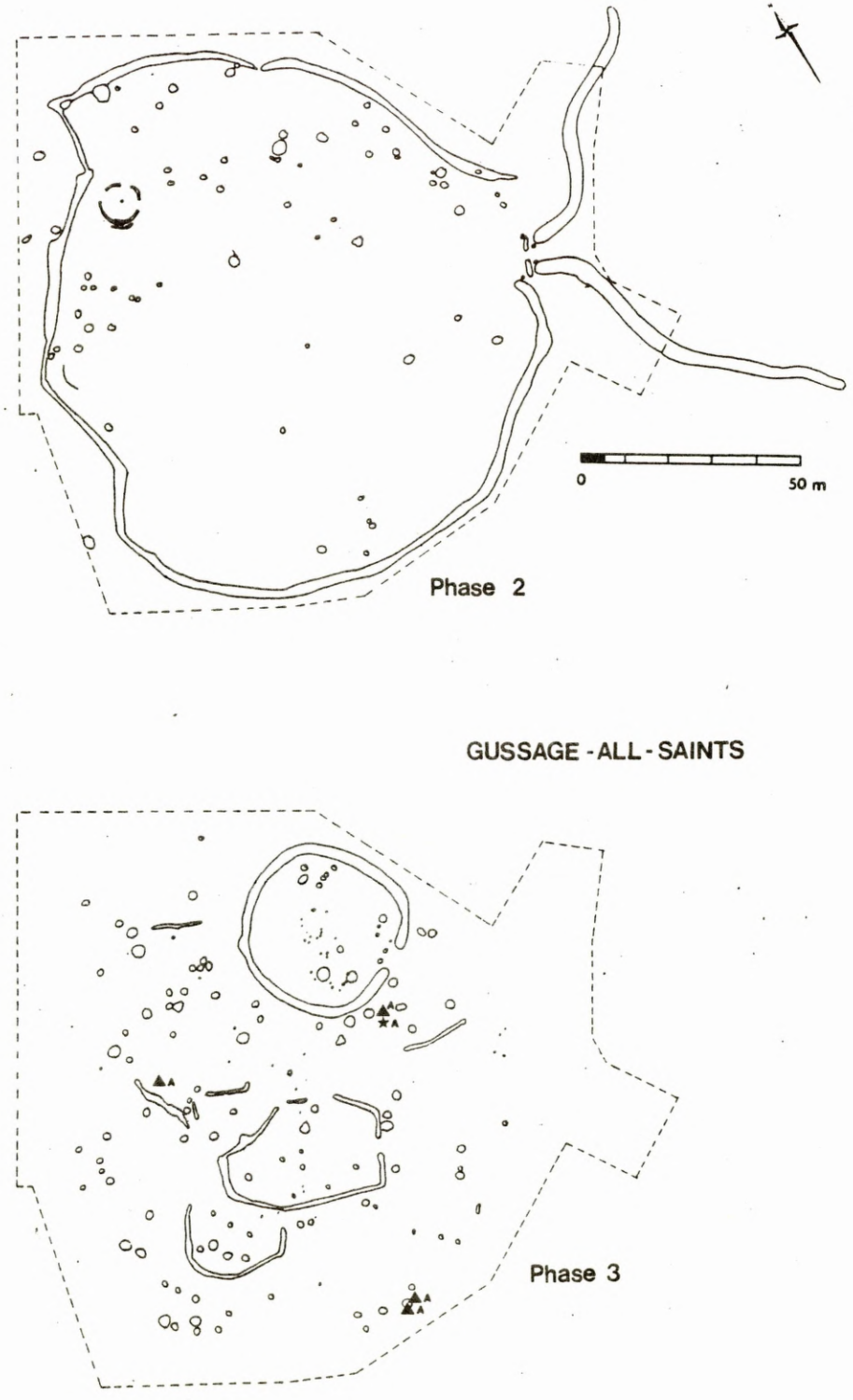
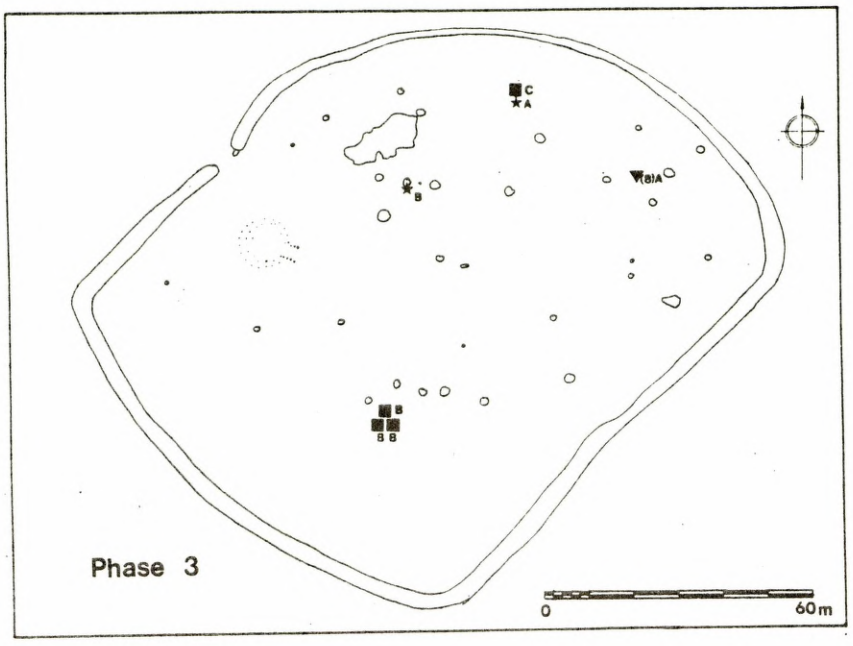


Figure 5.12: LOCATION OF KNOWN ANIMAL DEPOSITS AT GUSSAGE-ALL-SAINTS
(after Wainwright 1979, Figs 3, 4, 16, 17, 19)



OLD DOWN FARM

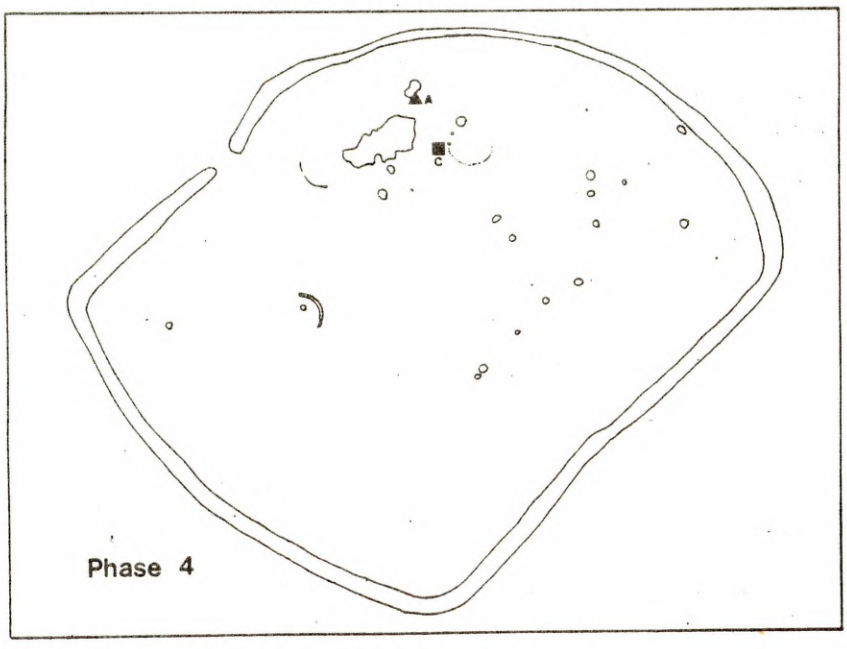
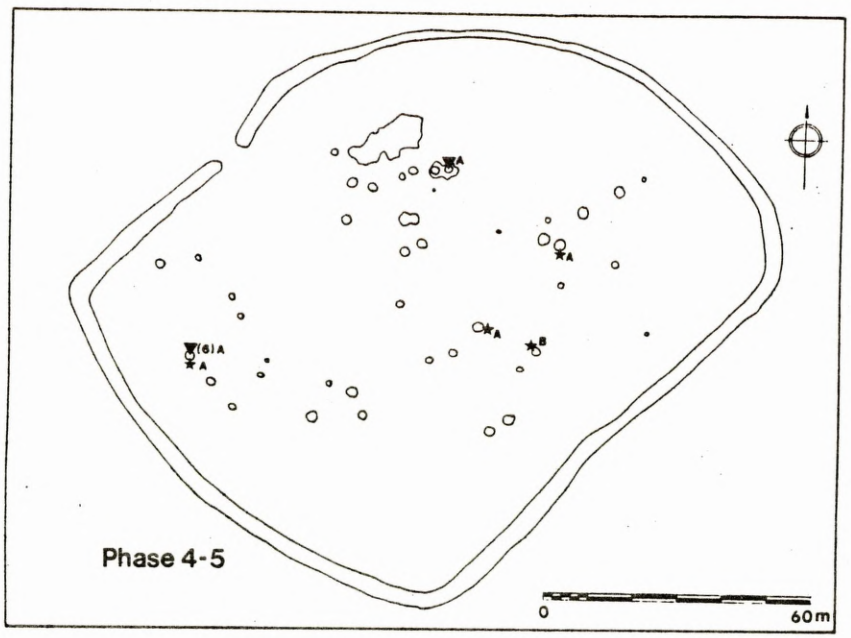


Figure 5.13: LOCATION OF SPECIAL ANIMAL DEPOSITS AT OLD DOWN FARM IN PHASES 3 & 4 (after Davies 1981, Figs 2, 11, 18)



OLD DOWN FARM

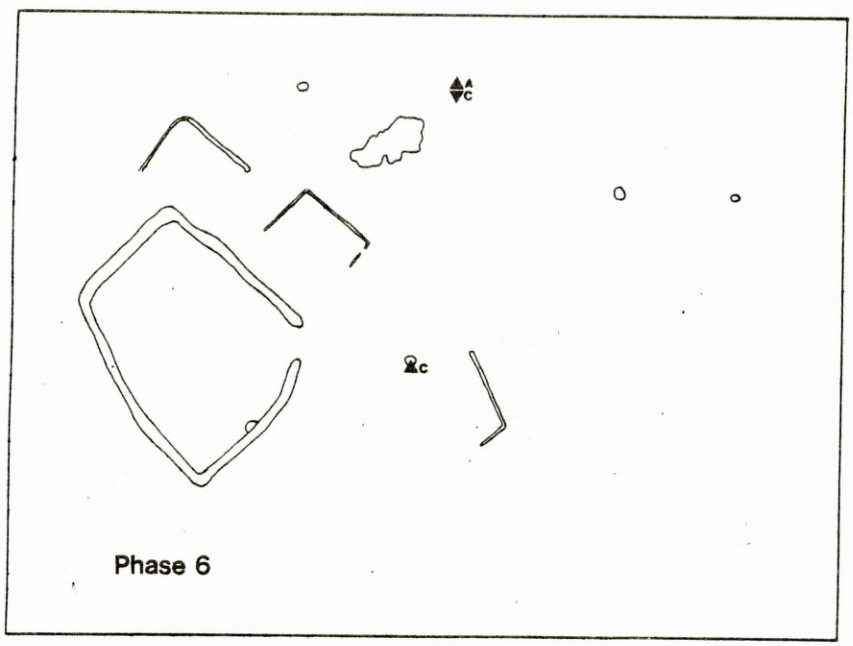


Figure 5.14: LOCATION OF SPECIAL ANIMAL DEPOSITS AT OLD DOWN FARM IN PHASES 4-5, 5 & 6 (after Davies 1981, Figs 26, 34)

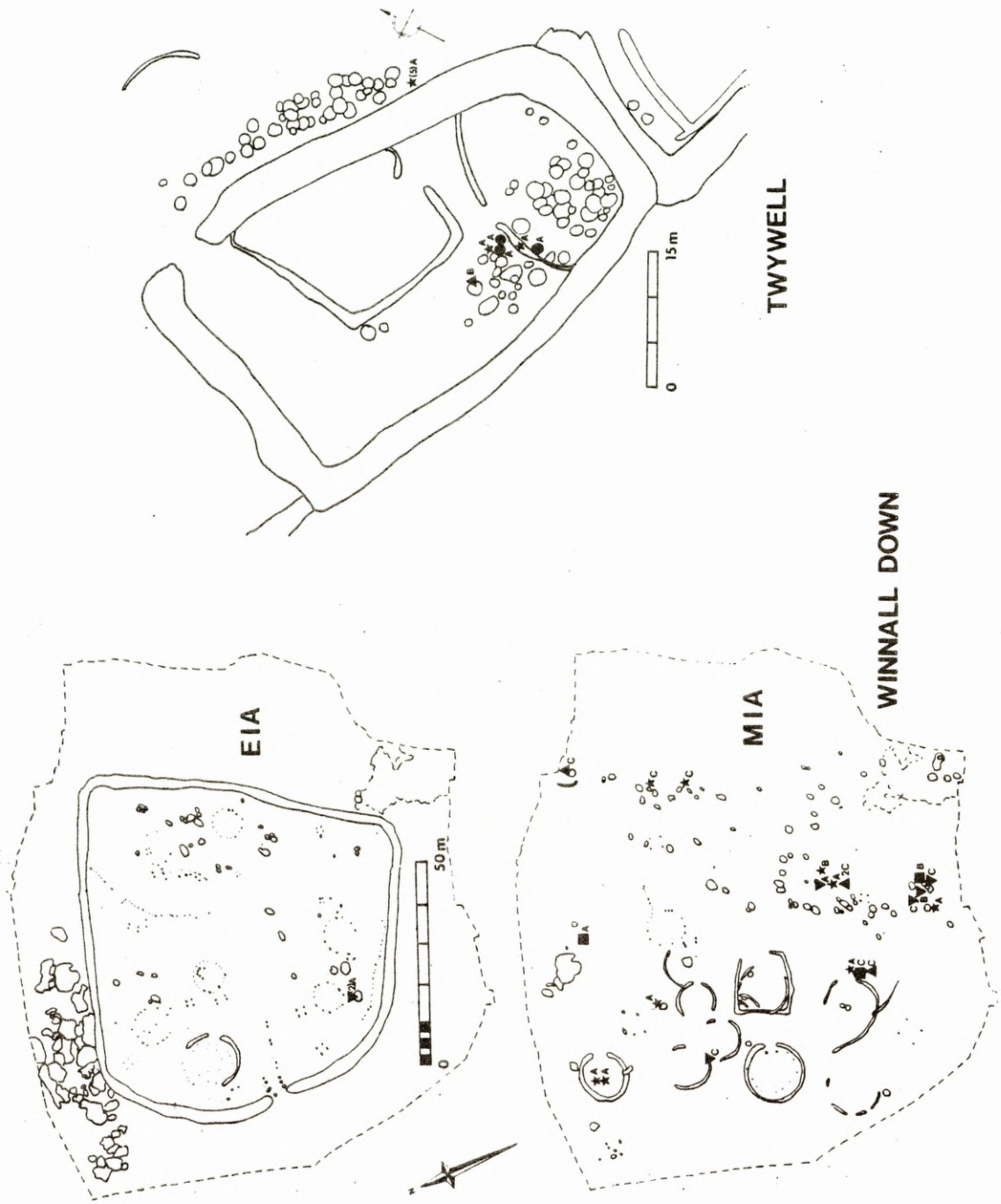
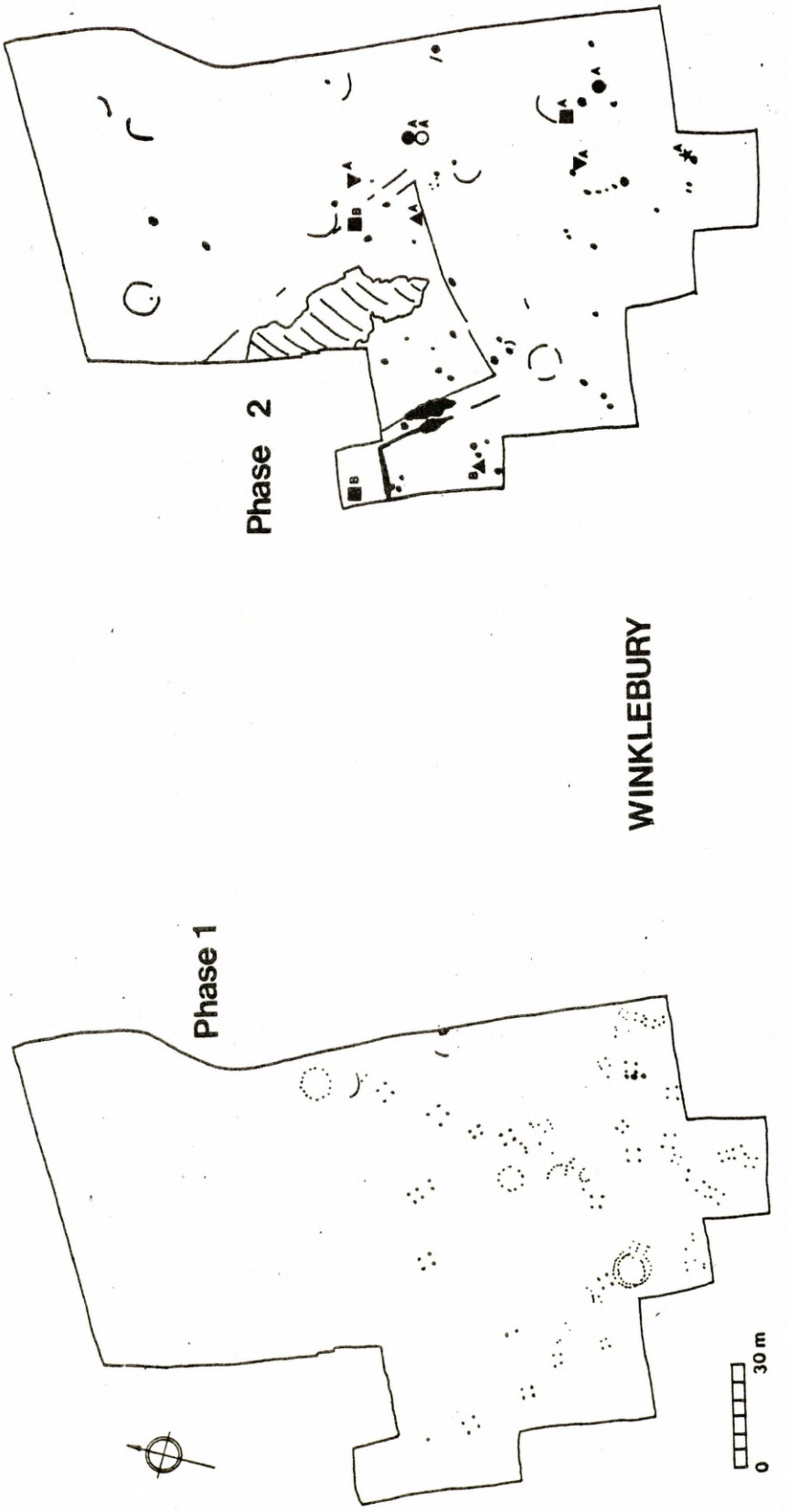


Figure 5.15: LOCATION OF SPECIAL ANIMAL DEPOSITS AT WINNALL DOWN (after Fasham 1978; pers comm) AND TWYWELL (after Jackson 1975, Figs 3, 4)

Figure 5.16: LOCATION OF SPECIAL ANIMAL DEPOSITS AT WINKLEBURY
(after Smith 1977, Figs 3 & 4)



Frequency of Special Animal Deposits Through Time

relative frequency with which animal deposits were made is difficult to determine, because there is no obvious standard against which to measure them. This problem has already been encountered in the previous chapter with regard to human mortuary rituals. The solution here is the same: to compare the number of special animal deposits in a phase to the number of pits which are dated to the same phase. The phases used are the three broad periods of the Iron Age, and the sites are as follows:

Settlements	Hillforts
Ashville	Danebury
Little Somborne	Winklebury
Old Down Farm	
Twywell	
Winnall Down	

The number of pits that belong to each period at each site, and the number of special animal deposits in each period, will be found in Figure 5.17. Because neither Danebury nor Winklebury produced special animal deposits which date to the Late Iron Age period used here, there is no evidence currently available to estimate how frequent special animal deposits were on hillforts in this period.

It can be clearly seen in Figure 5.17 that the number of pits with special animal deposits, relative to the total number of pits available on settlements, drops very slightly between the Early Iron Age and the Middle Iron Age. By the Late Iron Age special animal deposits occur in only 16% of all pits on settlements. On hillforts, the number of pits with special animal deposits, relative to the total number of pits, more than doubles in the Middle Iron Age, from an Early Iron Age level comparable to that on settlements (from 21% to 48%). This means that during the Middle Iron Age on hillforts, nearly half of all storage pits received a special animal deposit, before or during the time when the pit was filled in. In view of this change, it is unfortunate that there is no evidence available to indicate whether this increase continues, or if the number of special animal deposits on hillforts drops in the Late Iron Age, as on settlements.

Although the proportion of pits receiving special deposits drops throughout the Iron Age on settlements, it increases sharply on hillforts. However, because the Middle Iron Age period lasts only two hundred years, as compared with the four hundred year span of the Early Iron Age, it would appear that the number of special animal deposits made per unit of time (eg a century), on both settlements and hillforts, increased from the Early to the Middle Iron Age and then dropped again in the Late Iron Age (cf Figure 5.17). However, as discussed above, the evidence for special animal deposits on hillforts in the Late Iron Age is of uncertain reliability. The same qualification applies to settlement sites in the Early Iron Age. Thus, while the present evidence does indicate a rise and fall in the frequency with which deposits were made per unit of time, such changes may be more apparent than real. The changes in the number of deposits relative to the number of pits are perhaps more reliable.

Figure 5.17: COMPARISON OF NUMBERS OF PITS AND SPECIAL ANIMAL DEPOSITS

a) Number of Pits

Sites	EIA	MIA	LIA
SETTLEMENTS			
Ashville	26	18	11
Little Somborne	0	30	0
Old Down Farm	51	38	25
Twywell	0	87	0
Winnall Down	27	85	12
Total	104	258	38
HILLFORTS			
Danebury	531	247	No
Winklebury	13	66	Data
Total	544	313	

b) Number of Special Animal Deposits

	EIA	MIA	LIA
Settlements	25	59	6
Hillforts	113	149	No Data

c) % of Total Pits with Special Animal Deposits

	EIA	MIA	LIA
Settlements	24%	23%	16%
Hillforts	21%	48%	No Data

Characteristics of Special Animal Deposits not Considered: Age, Sex and Pathology

There are three aspects of special animal deposits which are not considered in detail, because the necessary evidence is available for only a few sites. The first of these is pathology. If all the animal deposits were examined for evidence of disease it might be possible to show that these deposits were either a disposal technique for diseased or injured animals (if all or a majority were diseased or injured), or that the deposits were a very different activity (if, for example, all the examples were healthy animals). This undertaking is clearly monumental, but if done on a random sample would be very valuable.

The characteristics of age and sex of the animals would be equally useful in either confirming or disproving the contention here that the deposits are a deliberate, consistent activity outside of normal animal husbandry. Virtually nothing has been done at present to determine the sexes of the animals buried. Age determinations, on the other hand, have been made on the complete animal burials from Danebury. Here, although many of the burials were of juvenile animals, there were fewer very young sheep in the burials than in the general faunal record; burials of cattle and pigs tended to be of younger animals than was common for either species in general (Grant 1984b, 534, 542). Interesting as such information is, no comparable evidence is available from other sites. Another useful aspect of more detailed information about the ages of animals involved in special deposits is the clue the ages may provide for the time of year in which the deposit was made. Sheep and cattle, in particular, bear young in relatively short seasons: the approximate age of a deposited animal allows the approximate season of the deposit to be determined. For example, there is evidence from Winnall Down to suggest that there were particularly high mortality rates for sheep and cattle at an age of about one year, indicating slaughter in the spring (based on evidence from Fasham, pers comm). Information about the ages of burials, if the same age pattern were found, might suggest that the deposits were the result of spring season rituals, or if burial ages were highly variable, this might mean that the rituals occurred during all seasons of the year.

RESULTS

The results of the analysis followed here may be briefly summarised for each of the five species involved.

Cattle

Cattle are more common in special deposits than their general occurrence on sites would suggest, particularly on hillforts. In the Early Iron Age, cattle occur predominantly as skulls on both types of sites. During the Middle Iron Age, this changes to articulated limbs on settlements, though skulls remain more common on hillforts. Cattle are again found as skulls on settlements, and as complete burials in the few examples known from hillforts, during the Late Iron Age.

Sheep

Sheep occur much less frequently in special deposits than would be expected from the numbers of sheep on most sites. Sheep are usually found as complete burials on settlements throughout the Iron Age, and as skulls on hillforts, though this shifts to complete burials in the Late Iron Age.

Horse

Horses are very much over-represented in special deposits when compared with their general numbers. Horse deposits are usually of skulls, with a significant number of articulated limbs as well - especially on settlements in the Middle Iron Age. During the Late Iron Age, complete burials of horses predominate on settlements, as well as on hillforts.

Pigs

Pigs are less frequently found as special deposits on settlements and, contrarily, more frequently on hillforts, than their general numbers would suggest. Pigs occur in special deposits in settlements (in small numbers) only during the Middle Iron Age (as complete burials), and are absent totally during the Early and Late periods. On hillforts, pigs occur as both complete burials and skulls, with complete burials more common in the Early and Late Iron Age, and skulls in the Middle Iron Age.

Dogs

Dogs are very much more common as special deposits than their rather modest numbers on sites would suggest. This is particularly true of settlements; generally settlements have only one-quarter to one-third of the total number of special deposits for the other four species, but fully two-thirds of all dog burials are from settlements. On settlements, deposits of dogs are usually skulls in the Early Iron Age, but are complete burials in the Middle and Late periods. On hillforts, skull deposits predominate in the Early and Middle Iron Age, but are replaced by complete burials in the Late Iron Age.

Special animal deposits occur in storage pits almost without exception. Such pits tend to be located near to either house structures, or to the gullies and ditches, which on most sites are interpreted as paddock or pen boundaries. There was no obvious spatial patterning of deposits, by species or type of deposit, though this might be seen in a larger sample. There is some evidence to suggest that the number of special deposits may have declined slightly from the Early to the Middle Iron Age, and more rapidly into the Late Iron Age, on settlements. On hillforts, however, there is a very rapid increase in the number of deposits from Early to Middle Iron Age. It is as yet impossible to determine how frequently deposits were made in the Late Iron Age hillforts.

INTERPRETATION

The use of the term "special animal deposits" (or "animal burials" used as a synonym here) is based on the conclusion that the remains so labelled are outside the practices of normal animal husbandry, as reflected in the general faunal record from the Iron Age sites.

The special deposits are "special" in five ways. First, and most obviously, they are animals, or parts of animals, which were not exploited - for meat, sinew, skin, bone etc - in the normal manner. Secondly, the pattern of such deposits, as in the number of each species represented, is not correlated with the role each species played in normal animal husbandry, as seen in the numbers of each species present on sites. Thirdly, there is clearly some consistency in the body parts of each species which were chosen for such treatment; this consistency implies that the choices were deliberate and followed customary patterns of behaviour. Fourthly, there is evidence from many of the deposits of care taken in the placement of the remains in the pits - bodies curled neatly, skulls consistently dislocated, single skulls located upright, or "looking" upwards, etc. This corroborates the point above about deliberateness. Fifthly, the special deposits occur only in pits, and not in the ditches that contain much of the general faunal record. The pits in which special deposits occur tend to be located near houses and paddocks and not scattered randomly across sites.

The special deposits, in short, represent a consistent behaviour pattern which involves the loss of animal products to the community. In other words, the sacrifice of certain animals, or parts of animals, was deliberately made - and it is difficult to imagine such a sacrifice made in other than religious circumstances.

The suggestion that the Celts practised animal sacrifice is unarguable. Strabo (IV 4; Tierney 1960, 269), Diodorus Siculus (V 31; Tierney 1960, 251) and Caesar (VI 13; Tierney 1960, 271; VI 16; Tierney 1960, 272) all speak unambiguously of such practices for a variety of ritual purposes, ranging from propitiation and divination to healing, technological magic rituals. Such practices would have occasioned little comment from the Roman world, which used animal sacrifices for these and other purposes (Henig 1984, 131-134; Ferguson 1970, 156-157). Indeed, the use of animal sacrifice as a part of religious ritual is extremely common in religions all over the world (cf Grant 1984a, 543).

It is probably impossible at present to prove a causal link between the practices of animal sacrifice and the presence of special animal deposits on sites. For one thing, not all animal sacrifices result in an animal (or part) being dedicated to the supernatural. Many sacrifices occur at socio-politico-religious festivals, and the animals are consumed ritually as part of a religious feast. This need leave no trace. When the purpose of the ritual is to cajole or bribe, or to thank a god for a particular action, it is, however, necessary that part, or all, of an animal be dedicated to the god. When this occurs the subject of sacrifice must be either destroyed or removed from circulation, and burial is a common method of achieving this (see chapter nine for an extended discussion of the ethnology of sacrifice). Thus, not all animal sacrifices would result in ritual disposal of the remains. This makes it more difficult to demonstrate the link between the ritual and the deposit.

If burial in pits is suggested as a disposal technique of sacrificial material, is there supportive evidence of victims other than animals? Animals are, after all, a very expensive and therefore rare subject for sacrifice (chapter nine and Levy 1981, 22-24, 56). The ritual shafts discussed in chapter two are an obvious alternative form of ritual deposit that includes a variety of material objects, as well as a few animals. An explanation for the fill of the shafts other than ritual is difficult to maintain - and shafts and pits have several points in common. Both contain animal remains, and in both cases disposal is by burying in a pit or shaft. The shafts clearly contain deliberate deposits of other material items - pots, tools, jewelry, layers of ashes etc. There is some evidence now available to indicate that the pits on sites may also sometimes contain the same range of items - groups of pots, iron tools, layers of grain and/or ashes, and so on (Cunliffe 1983, 159). Ritual shafts and at least some pits are therefore structurally and functionally analogous on several points.

Pits and shafts are also analogous in that both are variations on the theme of a "hole in the ground". This is important because there is some evidence that one of the prime exits and entrances to the Celtic otherworld was through holes in the ground and caves, making such features "liminal places". Pits also figure prominently in several episodes in the Irish Celtic mythology (see chapter eight below).

The use of sacrifice as an explanation is also supported by the animals that occur in such contexts. As suggested below (chapter nine), animals used in sacrifice must be domestic animals, just as vegetable sacrifices must be farm produce. It is therefore striking that there is only one, unique example of a possible animal burial involving wild animals - in this case a stag and twelve foxes (III AB 74 from Winklebury). A second apparent exception is the occasional example of ravens occurring as special deposits (eg Grant 1984a, 540-541; the ritual shaft at Jordan Hill, above, etc). Ravens, however, are extremely prominent as symbols of the supernatural in the Irish vernacular literature (chapter eight below), especially in martial contexts. They may thus have been semi-domesticated animals kept for their ritual symbolism. Their ritual symbolism alone would make them appropriate subjects for sacrifice.

Among the five basic species which occur in animal deposits cattle, sheep and pigs are the most common. Cattle and sheep would have been extremely important economically for meat, wool, milk etc. Pigs would also have been valuable for their meat, but in the Celtic world pork was the meat of champions and particularly favoured by, and appropriate to, the warrior nobility (see chapter on Celtic vernacular literature, below). The presence of pig in deposits on hillforts, and not small rural settlements, would thus fit with the frequent supposition that hillforts functioned as "central places" with resident nobility who could make sacrifice of pigs. Horses and dogs are both very much over-represented as special deposits, and both are also unusually appropriate animals for sacrifice. Like the raven, both the dog and horse are frequent symbols of specific deities (Epona and Rhiannon are associated with horses, and the semi-divine Irish hero Cu Chulainn and the Gaulish goddess Nantosuelta are associated with dogs, while Apollo Cunomaglus at Nettleton equates Apollo with a Celtic avatar Hound-Lord). Thus, valuable as each animal would be in life, for traction, herding or guarding, they would also be particularly appropriate subjects for sacrifice.

CONCLUSIONS

The practice of animal sacrifice is suggested as the best explanation for a series of deposits of animal remains on Iron Age occupation sites. The deposits include the five major domestic species - cattle, sheep, horse, pig and dog - and range from whole and nearly whole skeletons to single articulated limbs. In each case the deposit represents a loss, or sacrifice, of otherwise useful and valuable material - meat, skin, bones etc. The deposits are consistent and deliberate in nature and do not reflect the animal populations of the sites as evidenced by the general faunal record. The practice of animal sacrifice by the Celts is otherwise attested by both Roman observers and the Celts themselves in the Irish myths. The presence of ravens (a wild animal as opposed to all the others, which are domestic) and items of material value in pits may also be explained by the same principles of sacrifice applied to the animal remains. Thus, the practice of animal sacrifice would appear to explain all the observed features of the deposits of animal remains.

The presence of animal sacrifice rituals, in the trace form of animal deposits, implies several things about Celtic religion. First, because the deposits occur on all kinds of sites and are located close to dwellings and activity areas, it would appear that sacrifices were conducted by a widespread status-position and not restricted to a small elite (as could be argued if deposits were found only on hillforts). This status-position may well have been an age/sex grade open to a large part of the population - senior males, or females, or both, for example. It is possible that the sacrificial rituals were oriented to benefit the group living around the deposit, ranging from single families to village groups, but there is as yet no way to distinguish the two beneficiaries by the archaeological evidence. The variety of types of remains - whole bodies, skulls, limbs etc - hints at considerable ritual complexity. Roman observers suggest several motivations or purposes for animal sacrifice (divination, propitiation, healing etc) and ethnographic analogies confirm that sacrifices for different purposes are conducted differently and utilise different victims. There is at present no way to associate particular kinds of deposits with specific rituals, although the seasonality of the sacrifices (as mirrored in the age at death of the animals) may eventually serve to differentiate calendric from crisis oriented ritual sacrifices.

Present evidence would indicate that animal sacrifices were probably fairly common, because the deposits probably represent only a part of all the animal sacrifices. Moreover, sacrifices of animals should be only a part of a much broader category of sacrificial and votive offerings of food and material objects (for which there is some evidence). The large number of sacrifices postulated corresponds to the location of animal deposits around domestic areas. This suggests that sacrifices were frequently performed by both family and larger social groups (lineage groups, residence groups, political units etc) and that sacrifices constituted an important element in the interaction between the Celts and their supernatural world.

CHAPTER 6

CELTIC SHRINES

The subject of Celtic shrines is beset with difficulties. As recently as twenty years ago M J T Lewis, speaking from the results of his Romano-Celtic temples study, could dismiss Celtic religion as "aniconic and atectonic" (1966, 4). The only anomaly in Lewis' summation was the site at Heathrow. However, in succeeding years the simplicity of Lewis' conclusion was disproved by the interpretation of non-domestic structures as shrines or temples on such sites as South Cadbury (Alcock 1972, 81-84, 163-164, pl 48-49) and Danebury (Cunliffe 1984, 80-87, 187-189). Ultimately, P J Drury (1980a) could provide a summary and synthesis of all the evidence for Celtic shrines, including sixteen structures from twelve sites. Drury's attention was focused on the design and construction of the buildings (as was Lewis', earlier) and relatively little consideration was given to the structures' implications for the ritual behaviour and beliefs encompassed. There is now sufficient evidence available to progress beyond structures and to begin to speculate about ritual behaviour and religious belief. This is the goal of the present study.

THE EVIDENCE

There are three sources of information which will be utilised here. The first of these are the comments of the Greek and Roman observers. These comments are reviewed briefly in this chapter, but in considerably more detail as "Celtic Ethnographies" in chapter seven, below. The second source, and the most important, is the archaeology of the Pre-Roman Iron Age in Britain. This includes all putative shrines yet identified; several aspects of each will be considered in detail. The third source of evidence for Celtic shrines is the subject of Romano-Celtic temples. Romano-Celtic temples may, at first glance, appear to be only marginally relevant sources for information on purely Celtic beliefs and behaviour, but such a judgement is too superficial. As will be seen below, a brief consideration of Romano-Celtic temples provides valuable evidence about Celtic shrines and ritual behaviour. These three sources will be discussed separately in sequence, because of the different nature of each; the results are combined in a general summary for interpretation about the role and function of sacred places in Celtic religion.

Celtic Ethnographies

Several of the Greek and Roman observers of the Celtic world commented on the sacred places of Celtic religion. These observations are discussed in greater detail and in the contexts of the writings (referred to collectively as Celtic Ethnographies) in chapter seven below. Here, only a brief review of this evidence will be made.

The earliest references are from the mid-first century BC writers, including Strabo, Diodorus Siculus and Julius Caesar, who derived much of their evidence from the earlier writer Posidonius, whose books are no longer extant. Diodorus refers to the presence of "temples and sanctuaries" with a great wealth of votive objects on display (V 27, Tierney 1960, 249). Strabo makes a nearly identical comment (both are probably quoting Posidonius) about a "temple sanctuary" and "sacred enclosures" (IV i 13, Tierney 1960, 262). In each of these cases there seems to be reference to both temple buildings and sacred precincts or enclosures, which may or may not involve structures. Strabo also writes of an island shrine staffed by women devoted to Dionysus - their temple was sufficiently substantial to bear a roof (IV iv 6, Tierney 1960, 261). Caesar writes less specifically about sacred places, though his comments on the votives held in such places correspond to those of Strabo and Diodorus and must refer to the same practice. In the first half of the first century AD, Pomponius Mela (III vi 8) writes of an island as a sacred place, again with female priestesses, though no structures are mentioned. The remaining references from the first century reflect a change in emphasis. The sacred enclosures mentioned by the earlier writers (above) are apparently scattered across the countryside. By the first century AD these sacred places are said to be located deep in uninhabited woodland (Pomponius Mela, iii 2, Chadwick 1966, 30; Lucan, Pharsalia iii 399ff, Chadwick 1966, 36-37) and are possibly now without temple buildings of any form (Lucan, i 447ff, Chadwick 1966, 28, 36). This probably refers to a purely Celtic custom, but may possibly reflect the retreat of Celtic religion in the face of aggressive Romanisation.

Scanty as these few references are, they nonetheless provide some useful information. The principal inference to be drawn is that there were several varieties of sacred places in Celtic religion. First, there are the sacred "enclosures" or "sanctuaries", which may or may not have been formalised by the presence of temple or shrine (the evidence is ambiguous), but which probably possessed structures of some form. Secondly, islands may well have been commonly used as sacred places (this speculation receives considerable corroboration from the Celtic myths - see chapter eight for a detailed discussion). Thirdly, sacred enclosures, islands and other unspecified places could each have had religious buildings functioning as places of worship, priests' quarters, stores for votive offerings, and so on. What the differences between sacred places with and without temples were, the Celtic ethnographies do not indicate, nor are there any details of construction or design, except that at least some of the religious buildings were roofed with thatch. This then would appear to be the limit of relevant evidence to be found in the Celtic ethnographies.

Shrines in the Pre-Roman Iron Age

The archaeological evidence for shrines in the Pre-Roman Iron Age of Britain is of generally poor and uneven quality - a condition common to most, if not all, archaeological evidence. Three problems apply to both the evidence for shrines and all other archaeological evidence: partial excavation, poor reporting of results and inadequate evidence for accurate dating. The consequence of this triad of problems is that possible shrines have been identified only from sites excavated in the last fifty years, and most are from excavations in the last twenty years. The major effect of these problems seems to have been to reduce the amount of evidence available for study, but does not seem to have introduced any selective bias. There is, however, a fourth major difficulty in recognising Celtic religious buildings. This is the absence of any explicit and a priori definition of what constitutes a "shrine" or "temple". In spite of this, two criteria seem to be used implicitly, but consistently, to denote religious structures. The first of these is that the structure should not be directly associated with the types of artifacts commonly interpreted as the result of domestic occupation, for example, cooking fires, animal bone refuse, odd bits of broken pots etc. This corresponds to the prescription that behaviour in religious contexts always differs from mundane activities, discussed in chapter one. The second implicit criterion seems to be that the structure should differ from normal domestic structures in terms of either design or method of construction. Although this seems intuitively reasonable, and may, in fact, be valid in many instances, as a general criterion it is misleading. There is no a priori reason why shrines should differ from houses in terms of construction techniques at foundation level, which is all that usually survives archaeologically. More than adequate differentiation could be made using superficial decorative features. Examples of this point are the buildings at Maiden Castle and Hayling Island which, although undoubtedly shrines, utilise the design and construction of many (equally certain) houses. An over-zealous application of this criterion could, and probably has, dramatically restricted the recognition of buildings as shrines.

The missing criterion from this duo, used intuitively, is that shrines, as a class of structures, should be positively associated with artifacts, features and elements of design, which are clearly symbolic with supernatural referents. Votive offerings, sacrifices, amulets, altars at one end of the building would all be examples, recognisable archaeologically, of artifacts with symbolic value, although with purely archaeological evidence the nature of the supernatural referent might not be determinable. Although classes of artifacts such as these may have Iron Age examples, this criterion has in the past been inadequately exploited. Not every shrine might have such features, due to the vagaries of preservation, but as a class of buildings they should be recognisable. By a careful study of all the intuitively recognised Iron Age shrines, this study identifies several artifacts and features of the Iron Age, which are probably associated with ritual behaviour and religious belief, and are therefore indicative of religious buildings.

Some twenty-four structures on sixteen sites have been previously identified and interpreted as shrines. These form the evidence used for analysis here. They are probably representative of Iron Age shrines in general, although the previous reluctance to see circular shrines (as distinct from circular houses) probably artificially reduces the

prominence of this type. These sites and structures are discussed briefly below, and in considerably more detail in the gazetteer in Appendix V; the parenthetical references after each site name below are to the appropriate gazetteer entry.

Bath (V S 1, cf VI T 2 in Appendix 6)

Bath is perhaps the least informative of all the sites of Celtic shrines: the scope of the later Romano-Celtic temple complex has certainly eradicated or obscured all traces of any Celtic predecessor. This is unfortunate because Bath is also the only site for which the name of the Celtic deity venerated is certainly known, in this case Sulis, later conflated with the Roman Minerva, in the role of a deity of a healing spring.

Danebury (V S 2, 3, 4, 5; Figure 6.1)

In the centre of this hillfort, on the summit of the hill, are four rectangular structures of different sizes and designs, but all represented by bedding trenches. Two of the structures (V S 2 and 3) date to the end of the Early Iron Age, a third (V S 5) to the Middle Iron Age, and the last (V S 4) to the end of the occupation of the site, corresponding to the end of the Middle Iron Age or beginning of the Late Iron Age. All four are oriented eastwards and aligned on a "street" or track leading up from the main east gate of the fort. This sequence of building, all on the same orientation, standing alone in the centre of the site, has important implications for continuity of function for a period of several centuries.

Frilford (V S 6; Figure 6.2b)

The unique circular structure at Frilford has long been interpreted as a shrine of some sort, but is still without parallel. It consists of a penannular ditch of some six metres diameter with an entrance gap to the west. The ditch is both deep and wide and repeatedly recut. In the interior is a double row of postholes running north to south; in the fill of one posthole was found an iron ploughshare, while from a square pit near the south terminal of the ditch were found a miniature sword and shield of bronze. The whole site was deliberately filled and levelled with clean clay and then built over by a circular Romano-Celtic temple, circa AD 90. There appears to be direct continuity of both occupation and function.

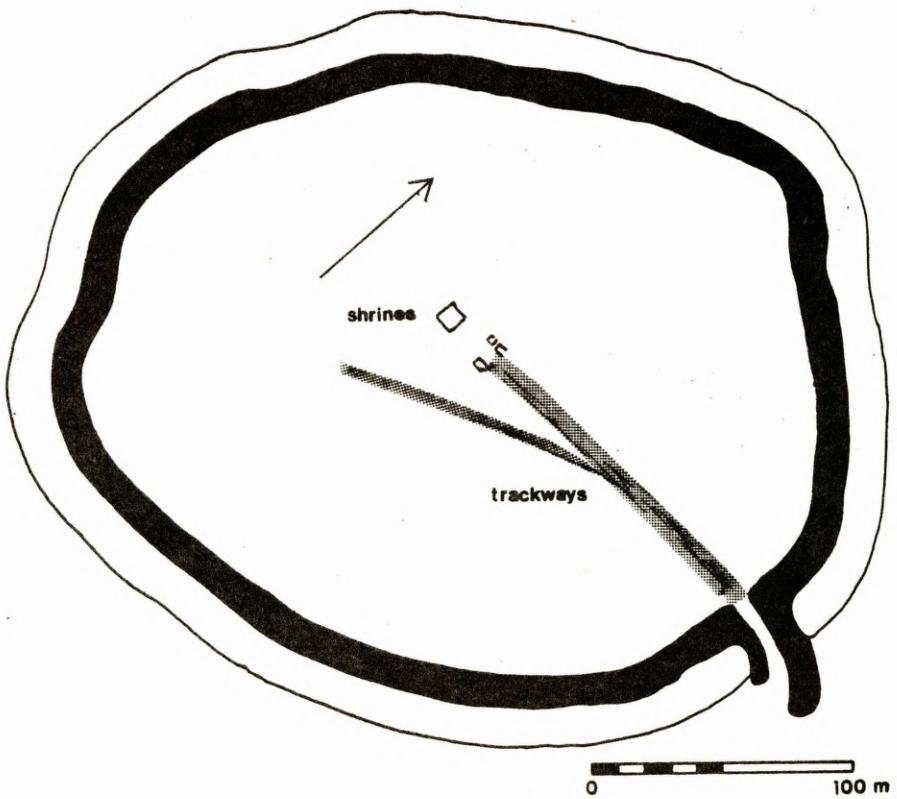
Gosbecks (V S 7; Figure 6.3)

A square, multiple ditched temenos enclosure of a very Late Iron Age date, oriented east-west, was overlain by a square Romano-Celtic temple, set eccentrically in the southeast corner of a multiple walled temenos, in the mid-first century AD. Occupation was continuous. No Iron Age shrine structure is known. (Hawkes & Hull 1947, 10-11; Drury 1980, 51.)

Harlow (V S 8)

Recent re-excavation and interpretation of this site (Selkirk 1968, 287-290) has demonstrated the presence of an Iron Age shrine of unknown size and shape (but of posthole and bedding trenches), beneath a mid-first century AD Romano-Celtic temple (Wheeler 1928). Under the Romano-Celtic temenos wall was found clear traces of an Iron Age palisaded

Figure 6.1: CELTIC SHRINES AT DANEBURY
(after Cunliffe 1984, Figs 6.3, 9.6)



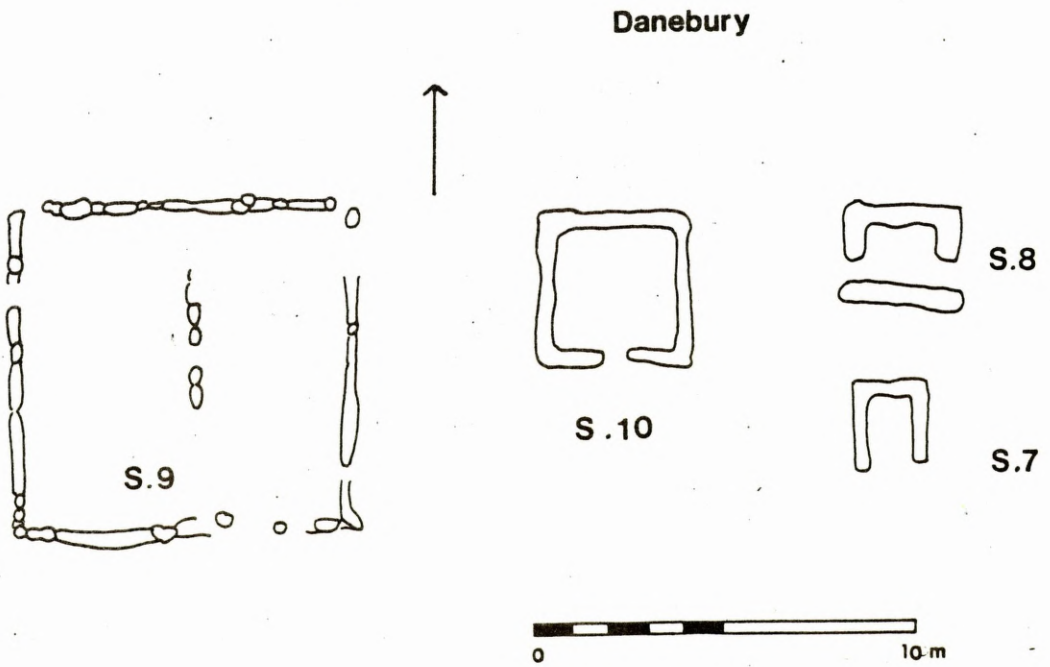
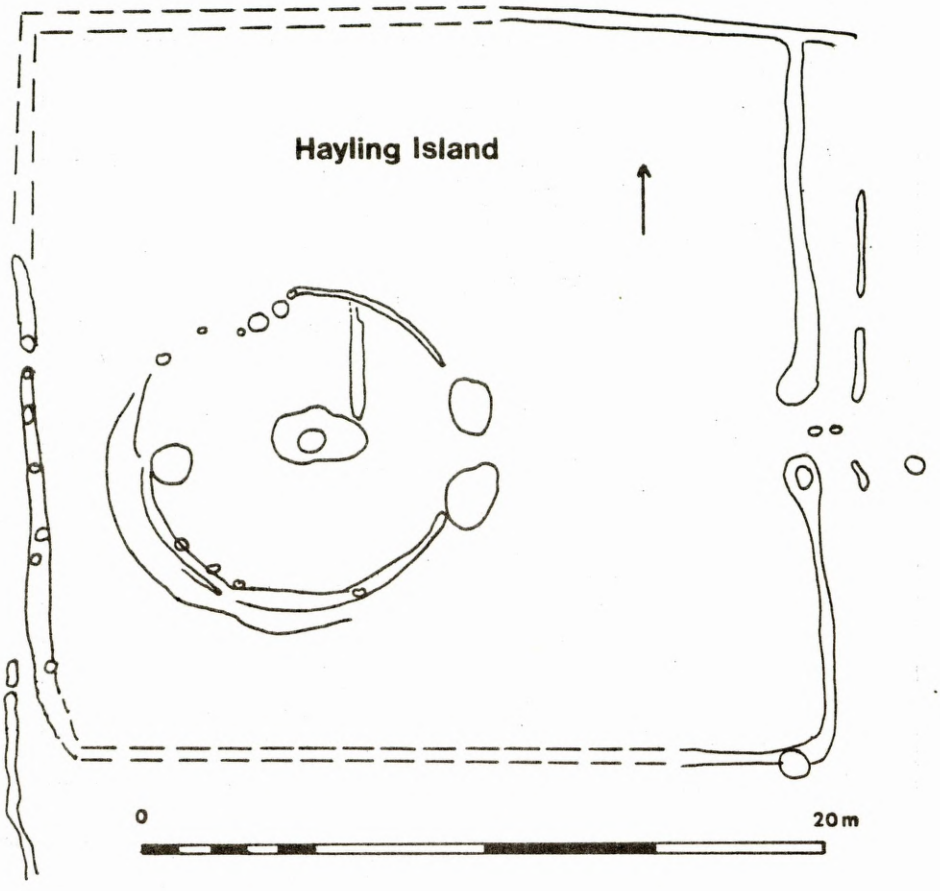


Figure 6.2: CELTIC SHRINES AT HAYLING ISLAND (after Downey, King & Soffe 1980, Fig 14.1) AND FRILFORD (after Drury 1980, Fig 3.6.15)



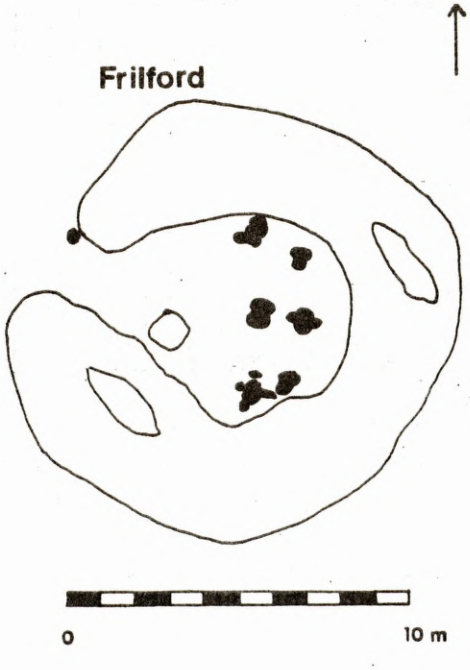
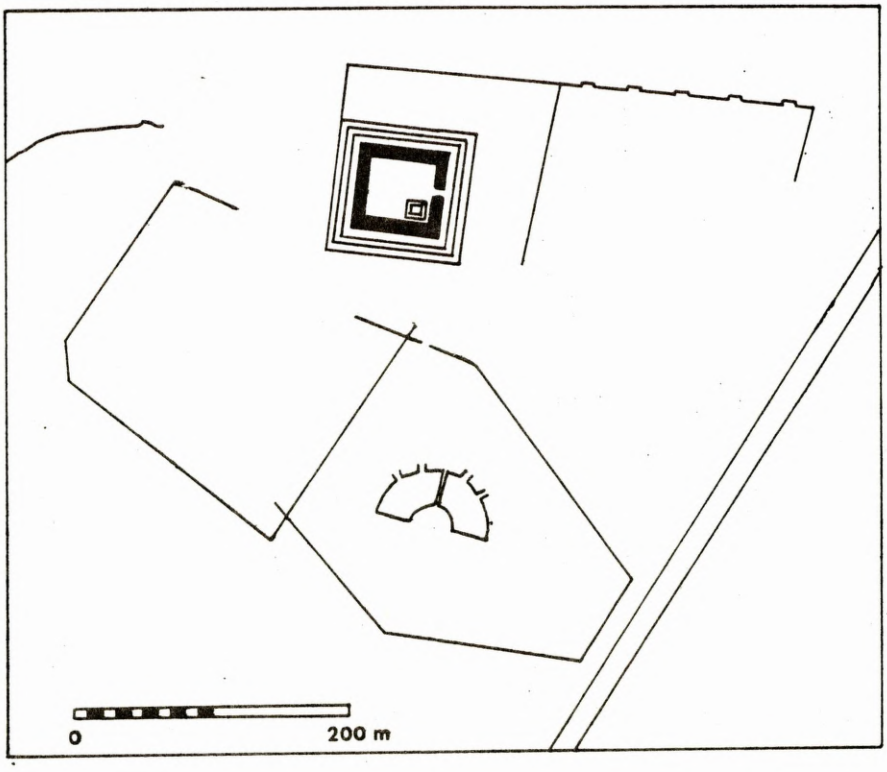
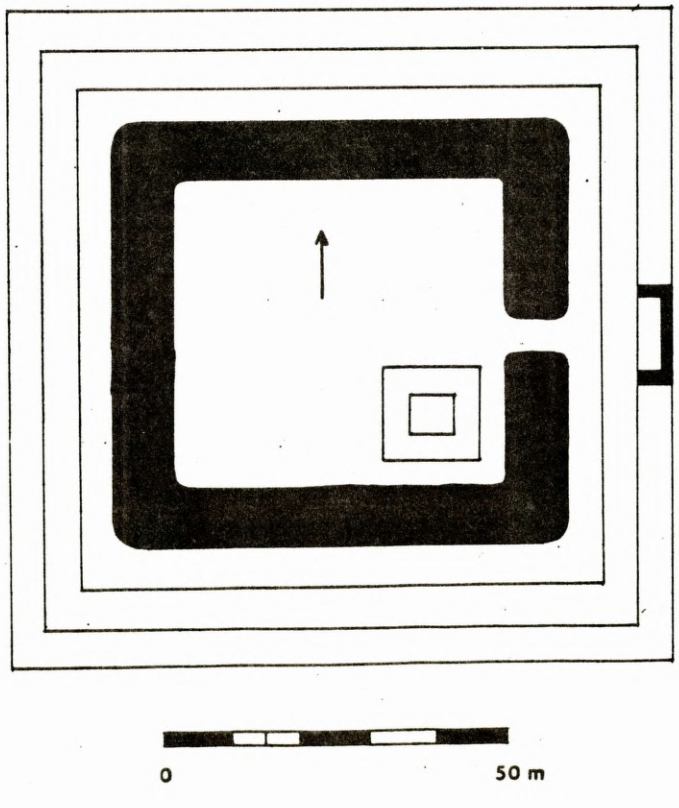


Figure 6.3: CELTIC SHRINE AT GOSBECKS
(after Crummy 1980, Fig 11.3; Drury 1980, Fig 3.3.12)



Gosbecks



enclosure. Associated with the Iron Age structure were three votive hoards of coins and brooches, all of which date between 50 BC and AD 50. Occupation and function appear to have been continuous.

Hayling Island (V S 9; Figure 6.2a)

Recent excavations (Downey, King & Soffe 1979; 1980, 289-304) have shown that a circular shrine represented by trenches and postholes, some eight metres in diameter and oriented eastwards and set in a square or rectangular palisaded enclosure, was reconstructed in stone in the mid-first century AD as a Romano-Celtic temple and temenos. Associated with the Iron Age structures were deposits of horse and chariot trappings, several pieces of sword scabbards, several sword-shaped currency bars, several brooches and other, presumably votive, items. Although ovi-caprid bones were present, there were no cattle bones. The Romano-Celtic temple and temenos precisely follow the line of the Iron Age predecessor: there appears to be direct continuity of occupation and function.

Heathrow (V S 10; Figure 6.4)

The structure at Heathrow is central to any discussion of Celtic shrines. It appears to be a rectangular cella and concentric ambulatory, oriented eastwards and set in an open area of an undefended (later defences were added) nucleated village (Grimes 1948, 74-78; 1961, 25-26; Drury 1980a, 52-54). The cella and ambulatory are represented by postholes, and a strict interpretation of the original published plan (Grimes 1948, Fig 3) indicates that the cella would be stratigraphically later than the ambulatory. This is unfortunate because the ditch which "cuts" the ambulatory and is cut by the cella produced Roman pottery, which renders the dating and interpretation suspect. This cannot be resolved until a final excavation report is published. All other evidence would indicate a date of occupation in the third century BC, towards the end of the Middle Iron Age.

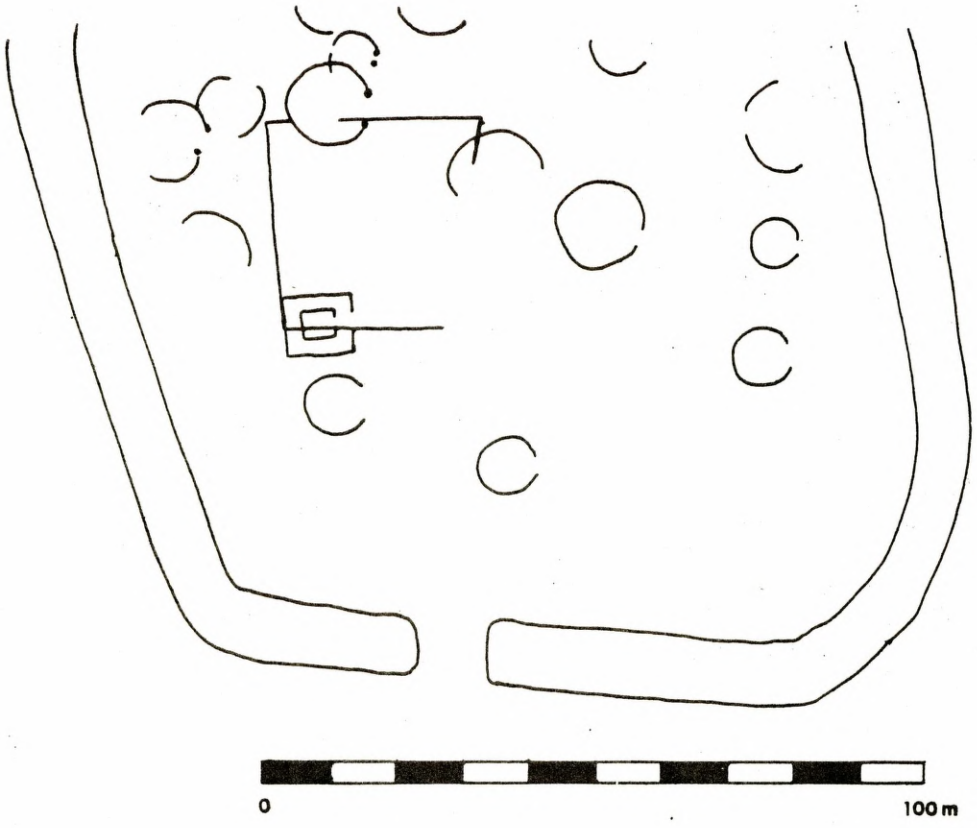
Lancing Ring (V S 11; Figure 6.5)

The shrine recently excavated at Lancing (Bedwin 1981, 37-56) was a structure two metres square with an entrance to the east, apparently surrounded by an ambulatory. The cella and ambulatory are represented by postholes and bedding trenches. The shrine is set eccentrically within a ditch and palisade temenos. Occupation dates to the first century BC. Immediately post-conquest both the shrine and temenos were rebuilt in stone, in typical Romano-Celtic design (Frere 1940). Occupation and function appear to be continuous from the first century BC through the Roman period.

Little Waltham (V S 12; Figure 6.6)

A possible shrine has been located in an open area in the centre of the phase two, undefended, nucleated village, which probably dates to the second century BC or the last half of the Middle Iron Age. The structure is represented by postholes and is irregularly rectangular (approximately eight by four metres) and is oriented northwest - southeast. The entrance is uncertain. (Drury 1978, 13, 24-26, 124; 1980, 52, and Figures 3.2, 3.4). This very irregular structure is certainly the least convincing to be proposed as a Celtic shrine.

Figure 6.4: CELTIC SHRINE AT HEATHROW
(after Grimes 1961, Fig 7; Drury 1980, Fig 3.2.13)



Heathrow

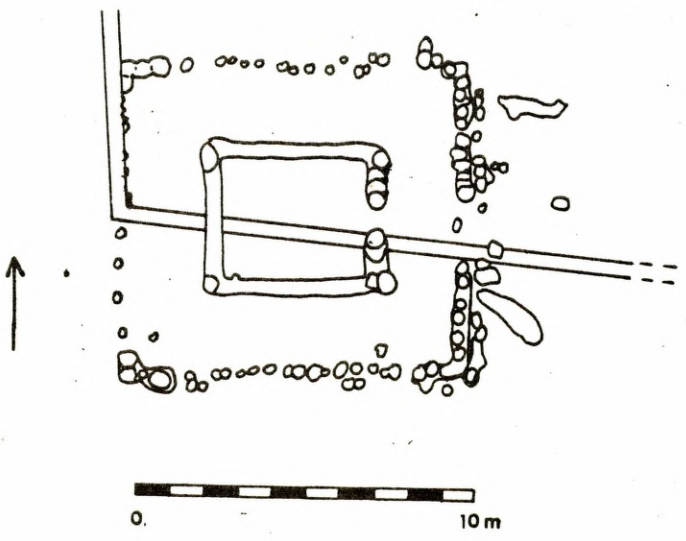


Figure 6.5: CELTIC SHRINE AT LANCING RING
(after Bedwin 1981, Figs 2, 3)

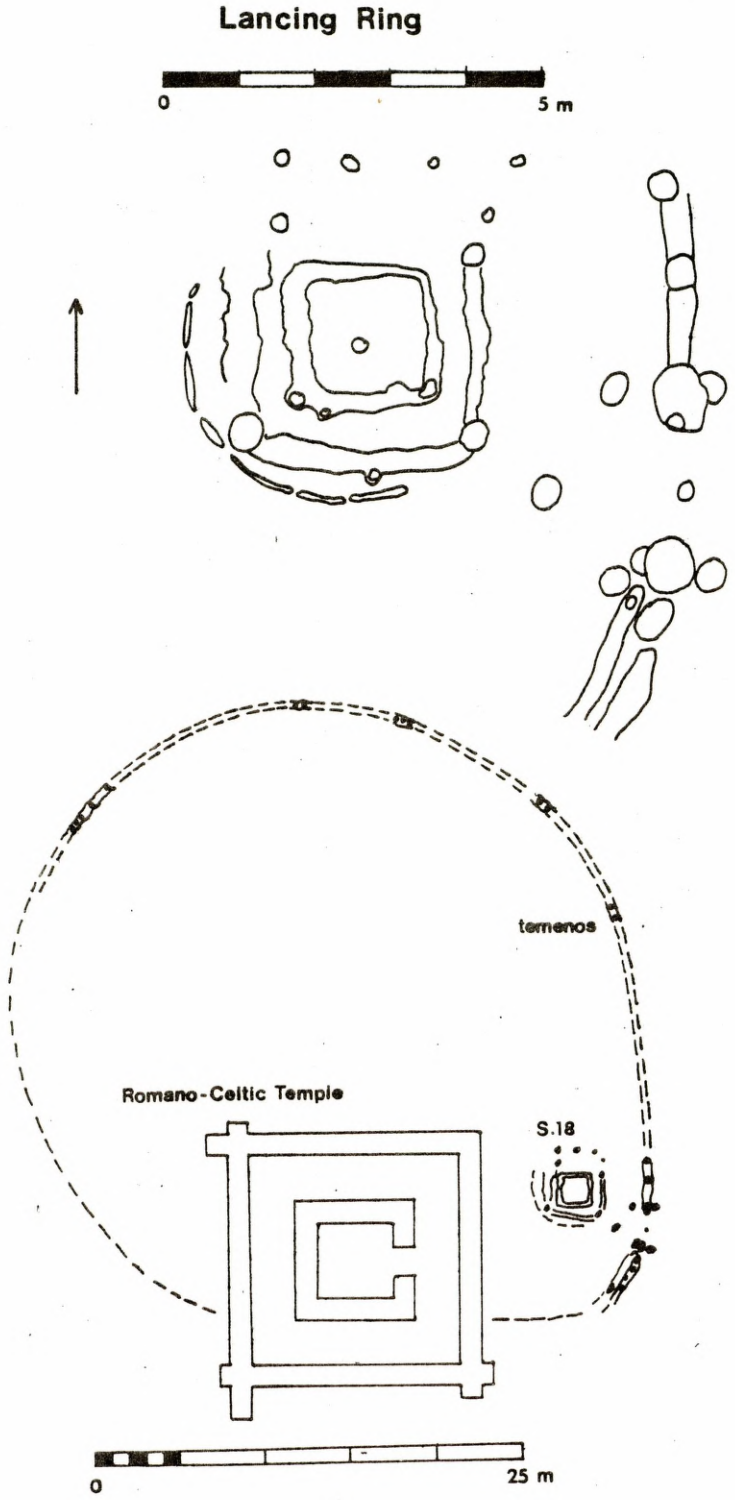


Figure 6.6: CELTIC SHRINE AT LITTLE WALTHAM
(after Drury 1979, Figs 8, 19)

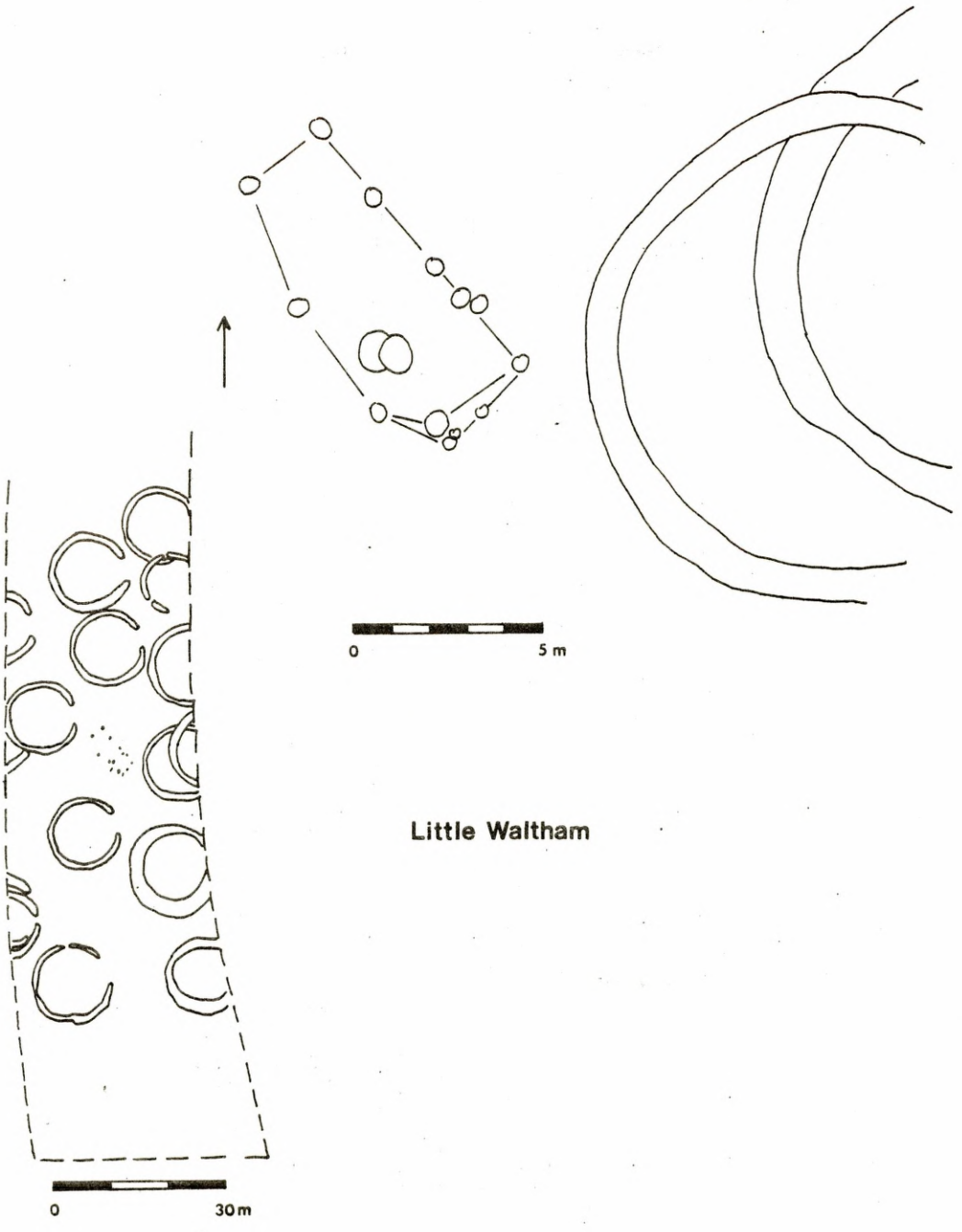
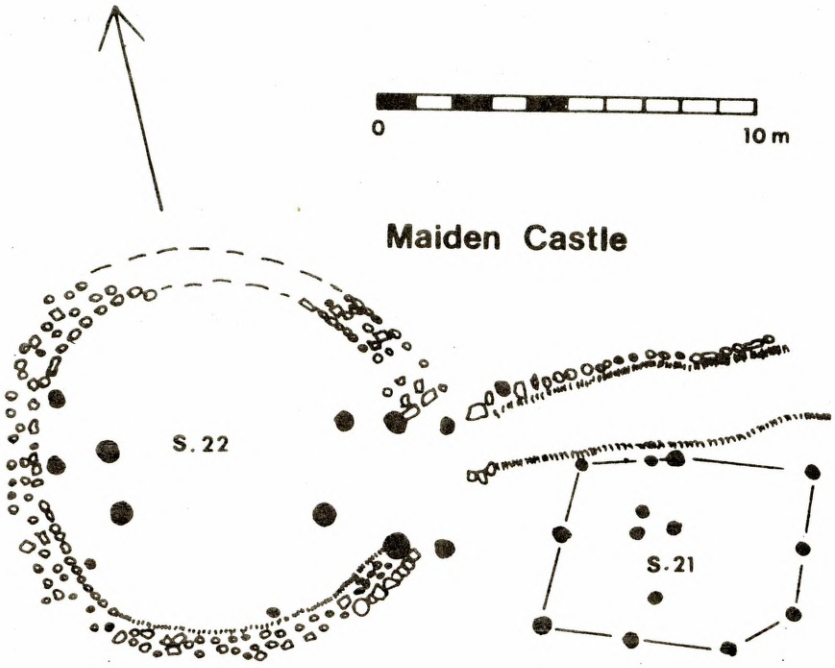


Figure 6.7: CELTIC SHRINE AT MAIDEN CASTLE
(after Drury 1980, Figs 3.2.8, 3.6.14)



Maiden Castle (V S 13 and 14; Figure 6.7)

The hillfort of Maiden Castle has two shrines located close together in an otherwise open area on the summit of the hill. The earlier of the two (V S 13, structure L 1 in Wheeler 1943, 72-78) probably dates to the fourth century BC, either late in the Early Iron Age or very early in the Middle Iron Age. The structure is irregularly rectangular, about six by three metres, possibly of two rooms, and represented by postholes. It lies immediately adjacent to the main track or street through the fort from the eastern gate. The latter structure (V S 14), of the first century BC, is a circular structure eight metres in diameter represented by drystone wall foundations and postholes for a portico. The entrance is to the east, at the terminus of the track through the fort from the east gate. The circular shrine is just three metres west of the Early Iron Age structure. The circular shrine was replaced with a circular Romano-Celtic temple in the third century AD; continuity of function is likely, but continuity of occupation is less so. Associated with the circular Iron Age shrine were brooches, coins, harness fittings, several iron weapons and several infant burials (Wheeler 1943, 127, 131-135; Cunliffe 1978; Drury 1980a, 64-65, Figures 3.6, 3.7).

Muntham Court (V S 15)

A possible Iron Age shrine is represented by postholes forming a rectangular structure, about two by three metres, located in a palisaded temenos. The shrine and palisade were later replaced by a circular Romano-Celtic temple and temenos. The Iron Age structure is probably of the Late Iron Age, and there is extensive surrounding Iron Age occupation (Holleyman & Burstow 1955, 204-205; Holleyman 1961; Green 1976, 220).

Pilsden Pen (V S 16)

In the centre of an Iron Age hillfort is a very large rectilinear structure, which has on several occasions been interpreted as a ritual structure, usually as a temenos (eg Gelling 1977, 263-286; Drury 1980, 50-52). More recent discussion indicates it is almost certainly a post-medieval rabbit warren (B Cunliffe, pers comm). It is included here only to make this point and is not discussed further.

South Cadbury (V S 17, 18, 19, 20; Figures 6.8, 6.10a)

The hillfort at South Cadbury has four rectangular structures which are reasonably interpreted as shrines (Alcock 1969, 1971, 1972b). Two structures, which date roughly to the mid-second century BC, are located in an open area in the centre of the hillfort, on the summit of the central ridge. One, S 17 (Alcock's structure 8, 1972b, Fig 10) is four metres square, oriented east - west with an east-facing entrance, and is defined by postholes. Nearby is the second (S 18 here, S 9 in Alcock 1972b), which is two by three metres long, oriented east - west, again with an east-facing entrance. Both structures are interpreted as a small room and entrance porch. Immediately outside the porch of S 18 was the burial of a cow. At the west end of the central ridge was another shrine. This one (S 19 here, Alcock's C 1, 1969, 36-37) is larger, at five by four metres, but like the previous two is defined by postholes, oriented to the east and is interpreted as a room and porch

Figure 6.8: CELTIC SHRINE AT SOUTH CADBURY
(after Alcock 1972, Figs 4, 9, 10)

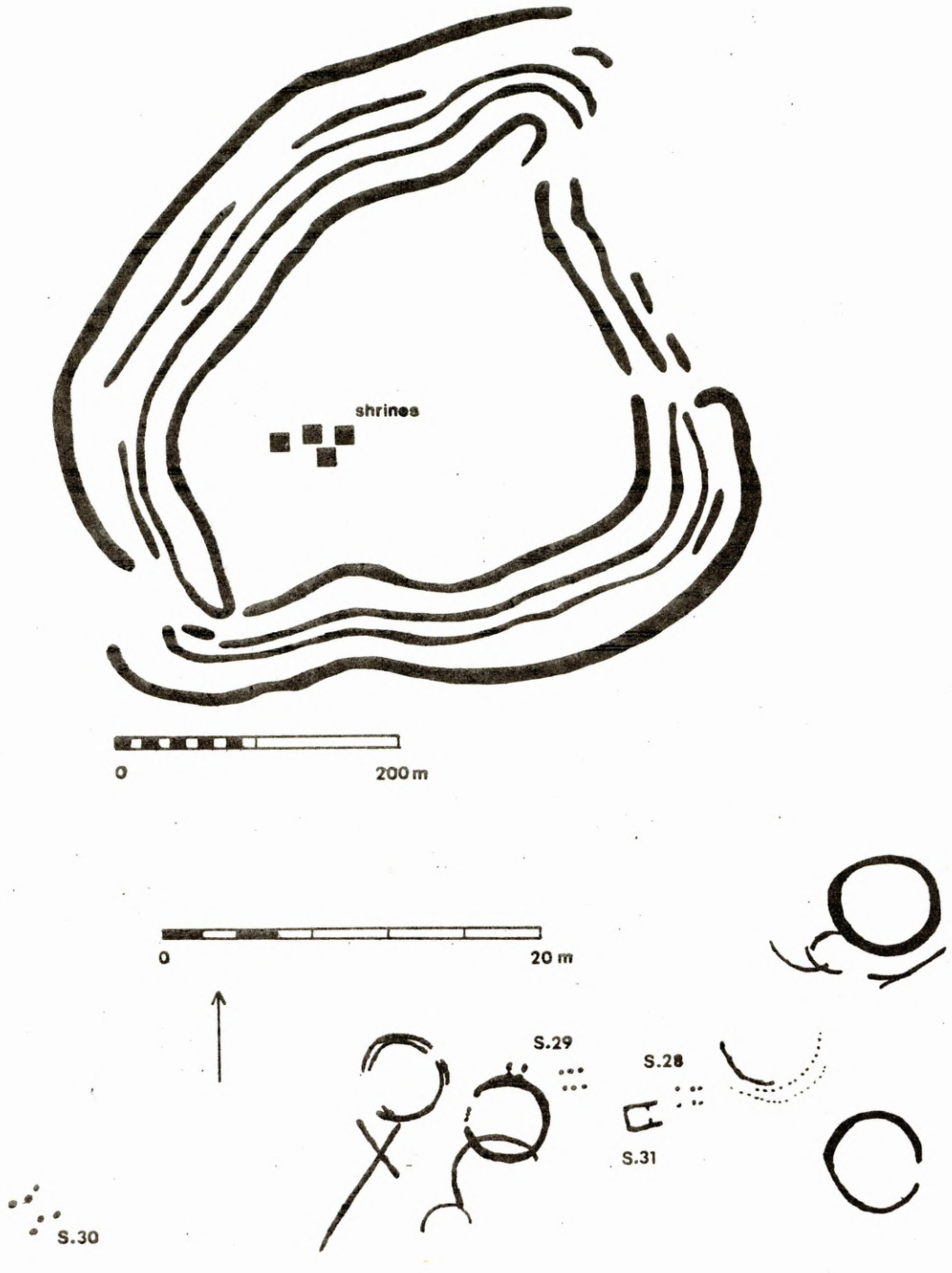
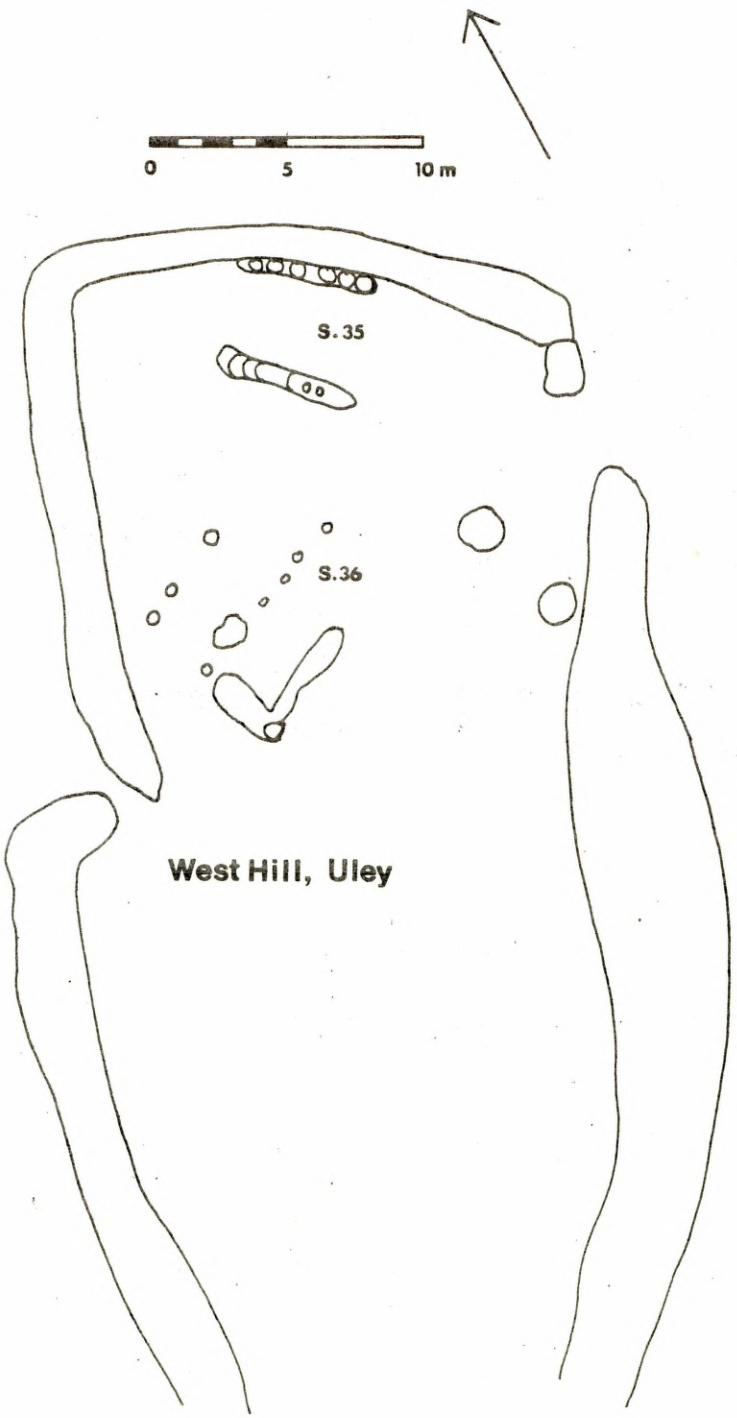


Figure 6.9: CELTIC SHRINE AT ULEY
(after Ellison 1980, Fig 15.1)



or portico. Associated with this structure was a bronze pendant embossed with two ducks' heads, and six pits with cattle and horse skull deposits. The fourth structure (S 20 here, Alcock's structure 27, 1970, 18-20) is the latest of the four, and may be a replacement for S 18 above. This shrine is defined by bedding trenches which form a small room with an open east-facing porch; the whole is 2.5 by four metres. Outside this shrine was an arc of over twenty animal burials in pits, mostly lambs, piglets and calves. This shrine dates to the very late Iron Age, or Ultimate Durotrigian phase, and was probably destroyed when the fort was sacked circa AD 61. There is circumstantial evidence for a Romano-Celtic temple elsewhere in the site - continuity is possible into the Roman period, but unproven. The Iron Age shrines span over two hundred years, with important implications for religious continuity (cf Danebury above).

Thistleton (V S 21)

A possible Iron Age shrine is represented by a penannular gully and area of limestone paving of 12.6 metres diameter, which was refurbished at least once before the construction of a circular Romano-Celtic temple on the same spot circa AD 100. Associated artifacts are Celtic coins and brooches. Continuity is highly likely. (Greenfield 1964, 238; Drury 1980, 68-69).

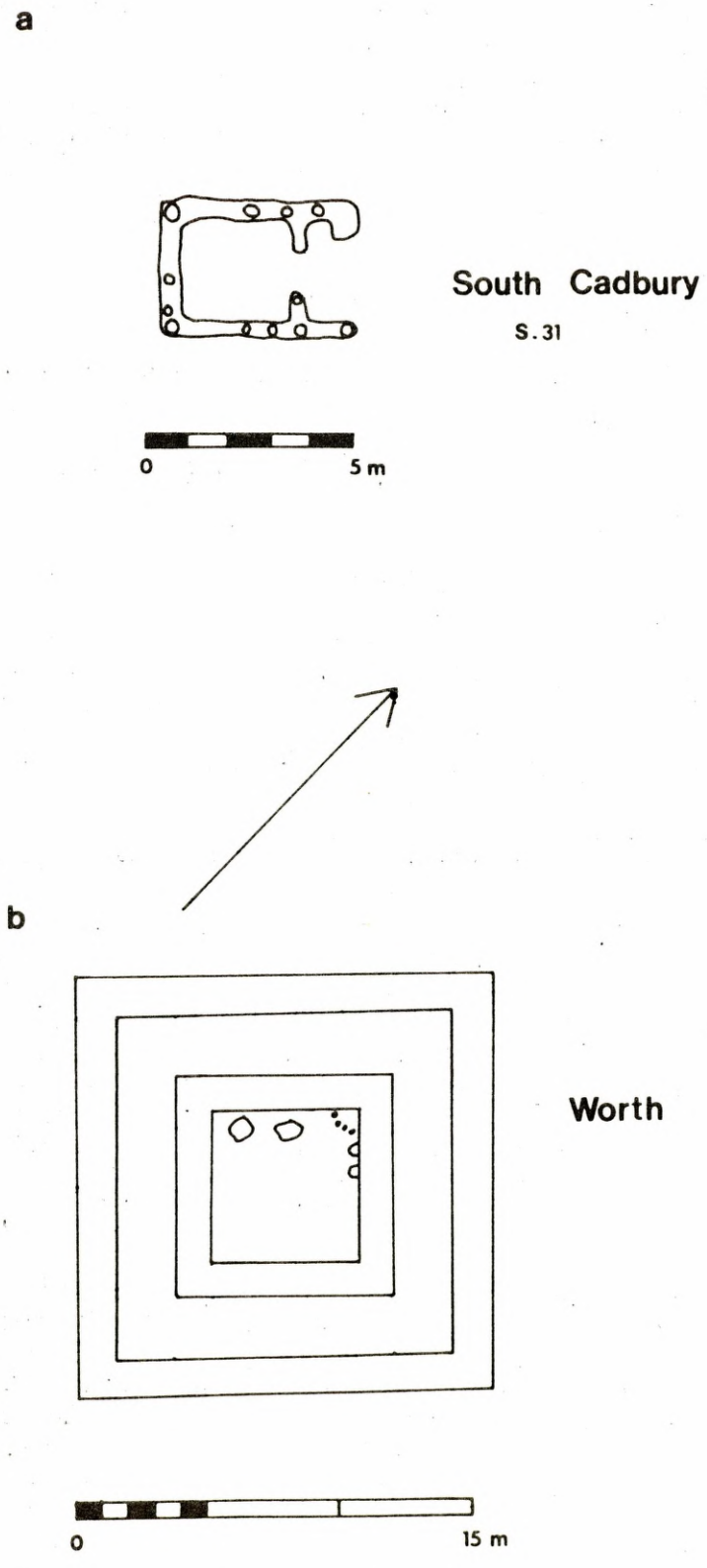
Uley (V S 22, 23; Figure 6.9)

Two Iron Age structures are known as possible predecessors to the Romano-Celtic temple complex (Ellison 1980, 305-309, Figure 15.1; Drury 1980, Figure 3.2; Rodwell 1980a, 216, Figure 10.1). The first (S 22) is rectangular (5.5 by 4.7 metres), oriented northwest - southeast and open to both northwest and southeast, and is formed by two parallel bedding trenches. It is located in the north half of an irregular ditched temenos, and is aligned on the entry of the temenos. The second structure, which may be either contemporary with, or a successor to the first, is eight by seven metres, defined by both bedding trenches and postholes. It is open to the east. This structure is five metres from the first, also in the north half of the temenos. It is associated with an infant burial, a deposit of iron spearheads, complete pots, unusual bone tools and the articulated limb of a cow. This structure was replaced, early in the second century AD, by a square Romano-Celtic temple of unusual design, and the lines of the temenos were preserved by ranges of other buildings. This Romano-Celtic temple was dedicated to Mercury (cf Appendix VI T 98). Continuity of occupation is almost certain.

Woodeaton (V S 24)

Woodeaton certainly represents an Iron Age shrine site, in spite of the fact that no Iron Age shrine structure has yet been found. A pre-Roman palisade temenos of the first century BC underlies a Roman stone temenos of the mid-first century AD. Within the Roman temenos, but located off-centre, was a Romano-Celtic temple (Goodchild & Kirk, 1954, 15-37; Harding 1972, 64-65). Artifacts of the Pre-Roman Iron Age associated with the palisade temenos include: Celtic coins, six miniature bronze spears, four miniature bronze axes and several brooches (Green 1976, 177-178). There is considerable Middle and Late Iron Age occupation evidence from the surrounding fields, discovered by field walking. Continuity of occupation and function are both very likely.

Figure 6.10: SOUTH CADBURY SHRINE 5.31 (after Cunliffe 1983, Fig 63) AND CELTIC SHRINE AT WORTH (after Klein 1928, Figs 2, 3)



Worth (V S 25; Figure 6.10b)

A Celtic shrine at Worth is represented by four postholes, which survive under a Romano-Celtic temple, and probably define either a rectangular or a square structure. Associated artifacts include three miniature bronze shields and brooches which should date to the Late Iron Age. The Romano-Celtic temple dates from the mid-first century AD, and consequently continuity is probable (Klein, 1928).

These twenty-four structures on sixteen sites have been previously, intuitively, interpreted as Celtic shrines. The following analysis is designed to identify the consistent features of Celtic religious buildings and ritual behaviour. These features, representing deliberate ritual actions, are then used to speculate about the probable religious beliefs which guided the behaviour.

ANALYSIS OF CELTIC SHRINES

Three different aspects of the shrine sites may be studied to provide evidence on Celtic ritual buildings and behaviour. These are: first, the structures themselves; secondly, the sites on which they occur; and thirdly, any artifact associated with the structures. Each of these three aspects will be discussed in turn.

The Structures

The structures are described by their shape, size, method of construction and orientation, and where they are located on sites. Just under 70% of the structures are known to be either rectangular or square, including those at the sites of Danebury, Harlow, Heathrow, Lancing, Little Waltham, one at Maiden Castle, Muntham Court, South Cadbury, Uley and Worth. Only four structures, 16% of the total, are circular (Frilford, Hayling, Maiden Castle and Thistleton). The remaining - Bath, Gosbecks and Woodeaton - have not yet produced structural remains; their shape is unknown. There would, therefore, appear to be a strong preference for rectangular shrines, though this may be misleading. As discussed earlier, rectangular structures are distinctive on sites composed primarily of round houses. Round buildings are more likely to be interpreted as houses unless there are other persuasive reasons to think them religious. For example, all the known circular Celtic shrines were immediately singled out as probable shrines because all were overlain by Romano-Celtic temples. Round Celtic shrines which were not rebuilt as Romano-Celtic temples may well have gone unrecognised.

A second aspect of the shrine structures is their size. This is important because size carries implications for the activities the structures were designed to encompass. The known Celtic shrines vary from just two by 2.5 metres to relatively large ones of nine by eleven metres, or twelve metres in diameter. Very small shrines, with floor areas of only five or six square metres account for over 25% of the total. Almost half of the shrines have floor areas of less than one-fifth of the area of the largest. Presumably, these smaller shrines were not intended to accommodate people. The remainder of the shrines are progressively larger, with the largest enclosing a floor area of

about 110 square metres. From this evidence it would seem that Celtic shrines may vary considerably in size, but are most frequently of a small, unimposing nature.

The third feature of the shrine buildings discussed here is the method of construction used. Three major techniques are represented. Drystone wall foundations were used only once, for the circular shrine at Maiden Castle. This is not surprising, since masonry construction of buildings in southern Britain during the Pre-Roman Iron Age appears to be quite rare. The next most frequent technique, used in 40% of the known structures, is represented simply by postholes. Such walls are generally reconstructed as post uprights framing walls infilled with other materials. This is a simple construction method and would appear to be very common in the Iron Age. Over half of the known shrines are represented by bedding trenches, within which the impressions of the base of uprights are usually discernible (used on all four structures at Danebury, at Lancing Ring, once at South Cadbury, twice at Uley and also at Hayling Island). All of the shrines known, with the exception of the anomalous Frilford example, could very easily have been roofed. There would, therefore, appear to be nothing unique about the construction of Celtic shrines, at least on present evidence, although the combination of a rectangular shape and the use of wall plates is distinctive.

The fourth aspect of the Celtic shrines is the direction in which their doors face - their orientation. At least sixteen shrines have doors on the east side of the building (all four at Danebury, Harlow, Hayling Island, Heathrow, Lancing, both at Maiden Castle, all four at South Cadbury, Thistleton, and one at Uley). Two others, at Little Waltham and Uley, face northeast and southeast respectively. Frilford, which is unusual in so many respects, has its entrance facing west. Thus, eighteen of the nineteen structures whose orientation is discernible, are oriented between northeast and southeast, or 95%. This overwhelming preference for entrances to face east cannot be by chance, it must represent a deliberate consistent choice.

Celtic shrines are located within a recognisable temenos enclosure in less than 40% of the cases known (these are Gosbecks, Harlow, Hayling, Lancing, Muntham, Uley and Woodeaton, and possibly at Frilford). The remaining 60% show no evidence of a temenos, though at some of the sites (Worth, Thistleton) excavations were not extensive enough to have located a temenos, had one been present. Seven of the nine shrines located within temenoi are located eccentrically within the enclosure. This association of shrines within temenoi being located off-centre is too frequent to be by chance. There are fourteen shrines on seven sites which probably did not have an associated temenos but are nonetheless placed in an open area in the site. In other words, at least twelve of the fourteen shrines are spatially segregated from domestic structures. In these cases there may have been a light dividing structure, such as a fence or hedge, separating the shrine from the rest of the site, which has left no trace. If this were true then over 90% of the Celtic shrines were separated in some way from the rest of the domestic sites. In any case, Celtic shrines are rarely, if ever, found near to domestic areas on sites, instead they are always separate.

The Sites

There are several aspects of the sites upon which shrines occur that provide information about Celtic religion. The first of these is the type of site, in terms of the size and socio-political status. The second is the element of continuity of both the occupation of the site and the use of the shrine itself. This question will also be approached from the perspective of Romano-Celtic temples in the following section of this chapter. The third aspect is the geographical distribution of the shrine sites, and any possible correlations to other aspects of Celtic society, such as tribal capitals or political boundaries.

The twenty-four shrines on sixteen sites would indicate that Celtic shrines were most likely to be located on or near sites of concentrated population, either nucleated settlements, hillforts or oppida. Over 50% of the sites of Celtic shrines are likely to have been population centres (including Danebury, Frilford, Gosbecks, Heathrow, Lancing Ring, Little Waltham, Maiden Castle, Muntham Court, South Cadbury, Woodeaton). Significantly, there are no identified shrines from the numerous small, rural, farmstead hamlets typified by Little Woodbury, Gussage-All-Saints, Old Down Farm, Ashville, Twywell and so on. The remaining 40% of the sites (Bath, Harlow, Hayling Island, Thistleton, Uley, Worth) have no known associated settlements. Furthermore, each of these shrines were located and identified only by virtue of being later rebuilt as Romano-Celtic temples. This suggests that most Celtic shrines were located at the "condensed population" end of a spectrum, and that some may well have been isolated rural shrines unassociated with any domestic site. This latter type is possibly the variety referred to in the Celtic ethnographies as "temples and enclosures", implied as separate from settlements. This rural sanctuary type of site may well be difficult to identify, unless it was rebuilt as a Romano-Celtic temple, thus leaving remains more easily identified, both in fieldwalking and on aerial photographs.

The continuity of religious use of sites and structures from the Iron Age to the Roman period is an important indication of the persistence of some Celtic beliefs, in spite of Romanisation. Over 60% of the sites of Celtic shrines continued to be used as religious sites in the Roman period. The remaining 40% (Danebury, Heathrow, Little Waltham, Maiden Castle, South Cadbury) are all on sites which had ceased to be inhabited either before, or as a consequence of, Roman conquest. The evidence available indicates, therefore, that wherever a shrine site was actively inhabited, and where occupation was not disrupted as a consequence of conquest, the Celtic shrine was rebuilt as a Romano-Celtic temple during the second half of the first century AD. There is also some evidence to indicate that the sanctity of a shrine site, and a small scale occupation of the shrine and a few associated buildings, could persist for many years after the sites were generally deserted (Danebury, Maiden Castle, South Cadbury). In a few cases religious occupation was revived some considerable time later (eg Maiden Castle and South Cadbury) by late Romano-Celtic temples (Cunliffe 1971, 53-70).

The third aspect of the sites to be studied here is their spatial distribution and location in relation to such elements of the Celtic social landscape as tribal capitals and political boundaries. In Figure 6.11, the locations of the sixteen shrine sites discussed are shown, differentiated by the shape and number of shrines present. This can be compared with the approximate tribal or chiefdom boundaries in

Figure 6.11: DISTRIBUTION OF CELTIC SHRINES
(For sites included see Appendix V)

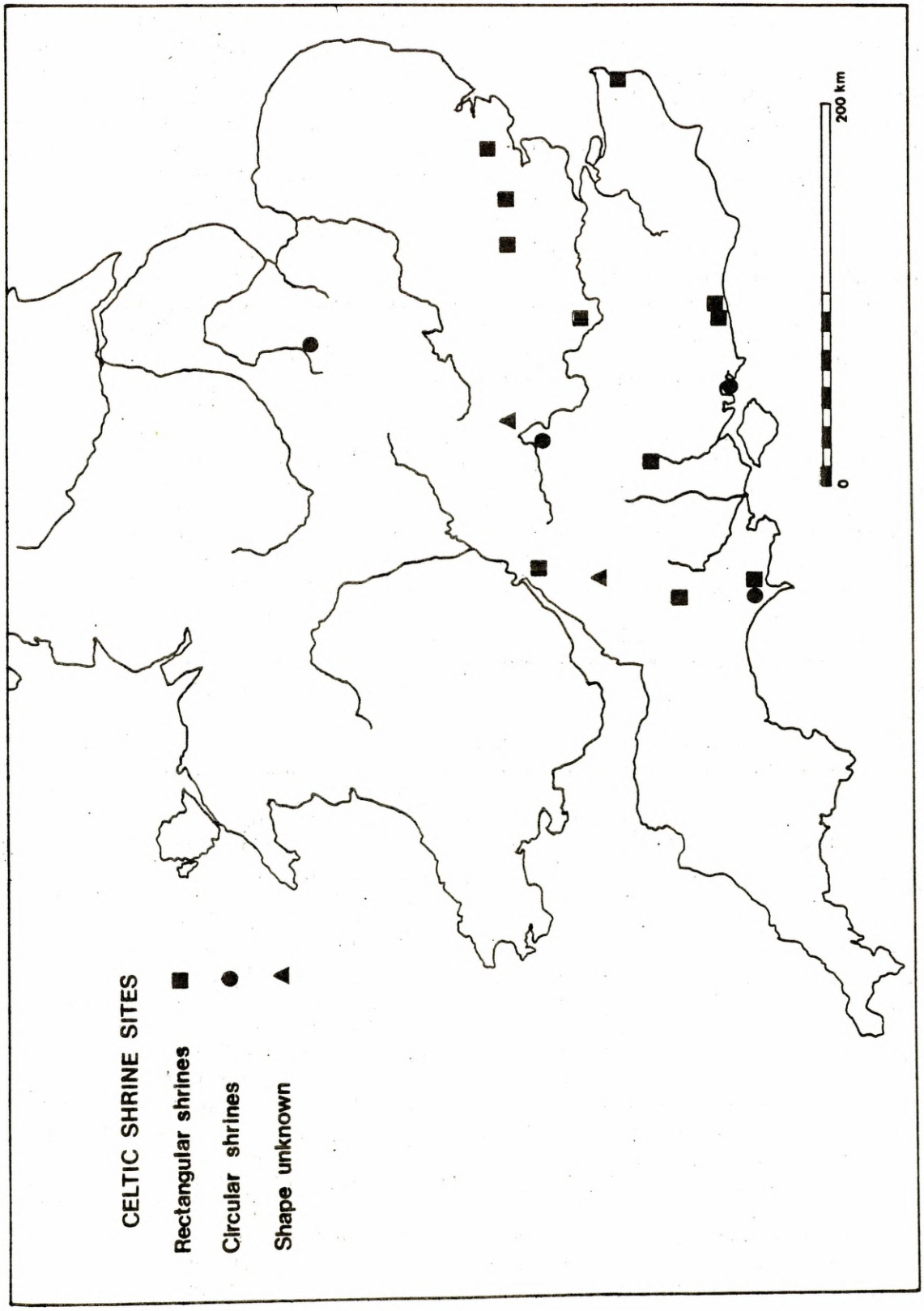
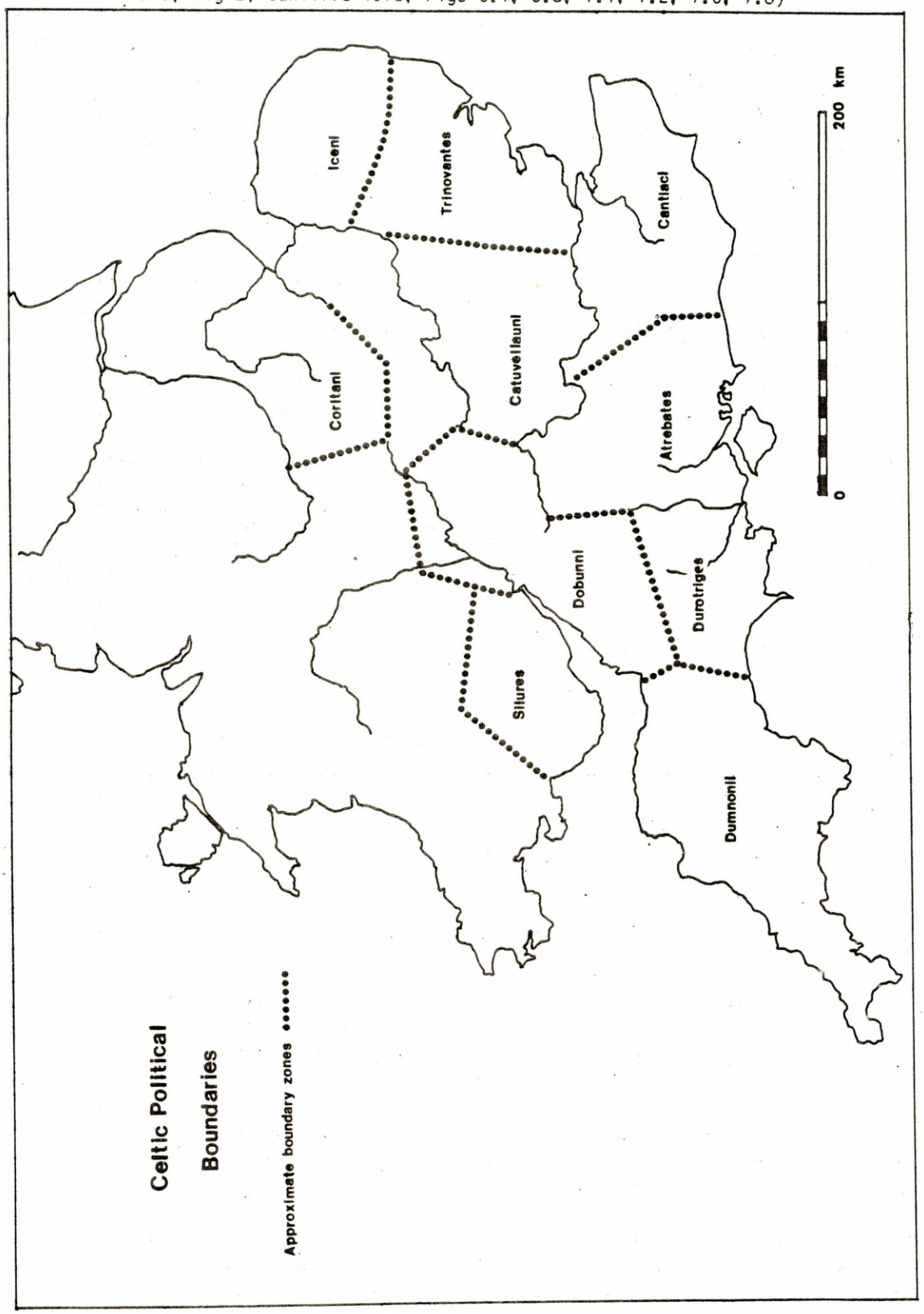


Figure 6.12: HYPOTHETICAL CELTIC POLITICAL BOUNDARIES (after Green 1976, Fig 2; Cunliffe 1978, Figs 6.1, 6.8, 7.1, 7.2, 7.6, 7.8)



the late Pre-Roman Iron Age and the locations of the civitas capitals and major Roman towns, many of which are thought to overlie Pre-Roman political centres (Figure 6.12).

Only one shrine site - Gosbecks - is found on, or near to, any of the suspected pre-Roman political centres which later developed into Roman civitas capitals. This is hardly surprising, as this is virtually the only Celtic oppidum of the Late Iron Age which is at all well known. Whether or not shrines usually accompanied the developed Late Iron Age political centres or oppida can only be determined by future excavations. However, three other shrine sites - at Danebury, Maiden Castle and South Cadbury - are on large, developed hillforts which very probably functioned as political centres. This would support the suspected association of shrines with political centres.

There are six shrine sites which are located very near to the suspected boundaries between the Late Iron Age political groups (compare Figures 6.11 and 6.12). These include Harlow, between the Trinovantes and the Catuvellauni; Heathrow, between the Catuvellauni and the Atrebates; Frilford at the junction between the Catuvellauni, Dobunni and possibly Atrebates; Woodeaton between the Catuvellauni and Dobunni, and either or both of Muntham Court and Lancing Ring, placed between the Cantiaci and Atrebates. This is fully one-third of the Celtic shrine sites - such a positive correlation can hardly be by chance. Furthermore, of these six sites, only Lancing is a defended site - the other five are open sites and could easily have functioned as inter-tribal meeting and marketing centres, a role often postulated (Goodchild & Kirk 1954; Bradford & Goodchild 1939; Wilson 1973a, 31).

Associated Artifacts

The third aspect of the Celtic shrines, after the structures themselves and the sites, is the presence of artifacts that can be directly associated with the shrines (either in postholes, nearby pits or enclosure ditches). Artifacts can be associated with just over half of the shrines, including Frilford, Gosbecks, Harlow, Hayling Island, Maiden Castle (both shrines), South Cadbury (S 18, 19, 20), Thistleton, Uley (S 23), Woodeaton and Worth. There are at least ten types of artifacts found associated with temples, but only a few are found more than once. Brooches and coins are the most frequently recovered, occurring on seven and five sites respectively (brooches: Harlow, Hayling, Maiden Castle S 14, South Cadbury S 19, Thistleton, Woodeaton and Worth; coins: Gosbecks, Harlow, Maiden Castle S 14, Thistleton and Woodeaton). The next most frequently occurring artifact is the presence of a burial of complete or partial animals in a pit very near the shrine at four shrines (South Cadbury, S 18, 19, 20, and Uley S 23; Hayling Island might have such animal deposits but is not yet published in detail). Miniature weapons of bronze, real weapons of iron, and horse or chariot fittings occur on three sites (miniature weapons at Frilford, Woodeaton and Worth; weapons and horse fittings at Hayling Island, Maiden Castle S 14, and Uley S 23). Other artifacts include complete pots (Uley), currency bars (Hayling Island), and a ploughshare (Frilford). All of these artifacts are the kinds of things commonly used as votive offerings to the supernatural. Because these shrines and sites appear to be very similar to those without artifacts, it would appear that artifacts could occur at any kind of Celtic shrine. Deposits of valuable material objects, or of animals with meat value, is clearly an expensive activity and should not be expected to occur either

often, or on every site. Less expensive offerings, such as food, libations of liquor, and cloth, were probably more common, but as they would leave little or no trace this is as yet unprovable.

Summary of Results: Celtic Shrines

The foregoing discussion of the known Celtic shrines has highlighted a number of features of Celtic religion. These will be briefly summarised here before the third source of evidence - Romano-Celtic temples - is considered.

The first feature of Celtic shrines noted above was that rectangular shrines far outnumber circular ones. It is as yet difficult to determine whether this is the result of a bias in discovery or accurately reflects Celtic preferences for the shape of religious structures. No circular shrines have yet been identified without the benefit of a Romano-Celtic successor to ensure that the sanctity of the earlier building was recognised. This suggests that other circular shrines have not been recognised. The evidence is inadequate to indicate if there were functional differences, or whether the different shapes represent cult preferences.

A second feature of the Celtic shrines discussed was the size of the structures. A distinctive group of small rectangular shrines was noted, with the remaining shrines growing progressively larger, but not clustered together in size. These small structures were presumably not intended to accommodate many people, although they could have sheltered an icon or altar and a few individuals in the antechamber or portico, which are common elements of the small shrines. This relative lack of attendance capacity implies that Celtic religious practices did not involve consistent ceremonies of communal worship.

The construction techniques used for shrines are also attested in secular buildings, usually including upright timbers set into narrow foundation trenches, with infill walls attached to the uprights. All of the shrines (except Frilford?) were probably roofed. The lack of distinctive construction features indicates that differences between shrines and domestic buildings were superstructural and ornamental and have left no trace.

The overwhelming orientation of shrines is to the east. This orientation is also found, though less uniformly, in Iron Age domestic structures. The near universality of shrine doors facing east suggests some form of religious prescription regulating either the placement of the door or other, internal structures. This in turn may suggest a degree of sanctity associated with the direction, such as is found in Christian churches and Islamic mosques (Alexander 1979, 220). The domestic structures may have been similarly oriented to benefit from the sacred or propitious direction.

The final characteristic of the shrine structures is their placement within the sites. Nearly 40% of the shrines are placed within a clearly demarcated temenos enclosure, while most of the rest are set in open areas, within the occupation site, but not closely associated with domestic activity. This open area could have been maintained by a small, light barrier, such as a fence. Whether enclosed by a ditch and palisade or a simple fence, Celtic shrines and the sacred world they symbolised were separated from the mundane world of the domestic occupation. This open area around shrines was probably for ceremonial

use, and perhaps contained other symbols of the supernatural, such as trees, icons or altars.

Information about the kinds of sites with shrines is limited by an, as yet, unavoidable bias in the process of discovery. All of the shrines associated with contemporary domestic sites are from nucleated sites of hillfort or village status. The remaining shrines, for which no surrounding site is known, were found because they were overlain by Romano-Celtic temples, and simply lack positive evidence of contemporary domestic occupation. However, the absence of shrines from the small hamlet and farmstead sites so common on the chalk lands of southern Britain supports the suggestion that shrines were features of population centres of some size, though it is also likely that some stood in rural isolation.

One other feature of the locations of Celtic shrines is a preference for sites along the hypothetical political boundaries (though here again there is a problem with sample bias). This association with boundaries finds confirmation in the Celtic conception of boundaries and the placement of churches in early Celtic Ireland (O'Riain 1972, 12-29).

There are very few artifacts associated with shrines. Less than one-half of the shrines have any artifacts whatsoever, and all the artifacts that do occur may be no more than very generalised votive offerings. All of these artifacts indicate that the offering of sacrifices and votives was an accepted Celtic method of communication with the supernatural. None of the artifacts seem particularly closely associated to any known deity or cult.

ROMANO-CELTIC TEMPLES

Celtic religious beliefs and practices did not end with the arrival of Roman culture in the middle first century AD. Celtic religion and social customs both contributed greatly to their hybrid Romano-Celtic descendants. The Roman contributions to this hybrid are in some ways better understood than the Celtic counterparts. Thus, a study of Romano-Celtic temples should allow several of the more purely Celtic traditions to be identified. These customs inspired by Celtic traditions may then be used to supplement or corroborate evidence of Celtic customs from the pre-Roman period.

The Evidence

A study of Romano-Celtic temples is difficult, for in several respects the evidence is of lamentably poor quality. In general, three problems are encountered. The first of these is that many excavations were very small scale, often encompassing no more than the temple structure itself. As a consequence the presence and nature of other features, such as a temenos or other buildings, may be conjectural or poorly known. A second problem has been a consistent preoccupation with the "plan" of the structure, its construction technique and any artifacts recoverable. Useful as such information is, it can not replace evidence for ritual activities, sanctuary planning and usage (Rodwell 1980a, 211). Such information is essential to studies of the nature and role of religion in Romano-Celtic society. The third problem is inadequate reporting of excavations - some sites are known only from discussions only a few paragraphs long.

Similar problems are part of all archaeological evidence and the major consequences are to limit analysis and interpretation to a general level and to restrict the number and type of questions which may be asked. Fortunately the present study is concerned with general questions about Celtic religion, topics for which evidence is frequently available.

The evidence for the present study consists of 114 Romano-Celtic temples, including putative shrines, or temples attached to villa complexes. The detailed evidence for each site is presented in a gazetteer in Appendix VI. In general, however, the available evidence includes size and shape, the presence of associated structures and their nature (if known), a selection of the finds, specifically including any that might provide a clue to the deity associated with the temple (not all finds are published in detail for many sites), and an approximately dated period of use (usually based on coin evidence, and therefore approximate at best). Because of the problems with the data noted above, evidence for each of these points is not available for each site. Nonetheless, this is sufficient to allow the accuracy of some observations from Iron Age evidence to be checked or amplified.

In the following discussion a distinction is maintained by the use of the label "temple" to refer to Romano-Celtic religious buildings, which appear larger and more imposing than the Iron Age structures (called "shrines"). In a Romano-Celtic context, shrine will be used to refer only to small buildings attached to villa complexes (cf discussion in Rodwell 1980a, especially 212, 232-234). Ideally "Romano-Celtic temple" should apply only to buildings that include both a cella and a concentric ambulatory (Wilson 1973a, 3-5) and consequently structures which lack either of these elements will be referred to here as "simple" Romano-Celtic temples. In short then, "Romano-Celtic temple" refers to religious buildings which include both a cella and an ambulatory, while a simple Romano-Celtic temple is likewise a free-standing structure but lacks an ambulatory, and a Romano-Celtic shrine is a religious room or building (usually lacking an ambulatory and therefore similar to the simple temples), which is part of a villa or large townhouse complex.

Analysis

In order to obtain the maximum information relevant to the Iron Age from this evidence, the analysis is structured in parallel to that followed above when discussing Celtic shrines, focusing on temple buildings, the types of site that they occur on, and the kinds of artifacts found associated with the temples. At each step an attempt is made to distinguish between Celtic traits that continue into the Roman period and customs of Roman pagan cults which were adopted into Romano-British religious practices.

Temple Structures

The typical Romano-Celtic temple is rectangular, with its greatest dimension from front to back, and composed of an internal cella and a concentric ambulatory. The design of this sort of structure is sufficiently distinctive from that of the typical, classical Roman temple that D R Wilson (1975a, 3-5) concluded that it is Celtic in its inspiration while Roman in construction, and went so far as to state that "where a temple is identified from its characteristically "Romano-Celtic" plan the dedication may be assumed to be Celtic also

....it would be unlikely for the deity housed in a temple of the Romano-Celtic type actually to have been a member of the Roman Pantheon," (but cf Henig 1984, especially 157, for a contradictory discussion). The peculiarly "Celtic" design features of the temples leads Wilson to conclude that Celtic gods did not live in box-like structures, but required only a roof; that an ambulatory was provided to shelter a procession around the structure and the votives attached to the wall of the structure, but not all ambulatories were roofed; and lastly, that Romano-Celtic temples were not designed for congregational worship, but rather for individual worshippers (1975, 14; Henig 1984, 38-42, 131-133). Although not all temples of the Romano-Celtic period are of the type referred to by Wilson, the conclusions will probably apply to all Romano-Celtic temples (indeed, the temple at Hayling Island is a circular, simple Romano-Celtic temple and is used by Henig [1984, 38-42, 131-133] to illustrate each of these points).

In fact, just over two-thirds of the temples whose shapes are known are either square or rectangular, but a few of which do not include both a cella and an ambulatory. Slightly less than one-third of the temples are either circular or polygonal, of which 20% have both cella and ambulatory. The rest are therefore simple Romano-Celtic temples. Thus some 66% of the temples are full Romano-Celtic temples with cella and ambulatory, and about one-third are simple temples. There is a strong tendency for rectangular or square temples to have cella and ambulatory, and for circular or polygonal temples to be of the "simple" variety of temple.

The Romano-Celtic temples are on the average considerably larger than the Celtic shrines discussed above. Most noticeably, the very small rectangular shrines known from the Iron Age find no counterparts in the Roman period. The mean size for the 66 known square and rectangular Romano-Celtic temples is about seven by eight metres, with a floor area of just over 56 square metres, over twice the Iron Age average size. Circular and polygonal temples are somewhat larger, averaging about 74 square metres, or a diameter of just over nine metres. These average sizes would indicate that Romano-Celtic temples could hold larger groups of people for ceremonies than could the Iron Age shrines, but are still not designed to cope with communal worship (as a basilican structure would be; Wilson 1975, 14). Romano-Celtic religion, like both Roman and Celtic progenitors, was based on non-congregational worship, favouring instead the individual pilgrim and worshipper (Henig 1984, 38-42; Wilson 1975a, 14).

The Romano-Celtic temples are overwhelmingly oriented towards the east, that is, their entrances are usually on the east side of the building. The circular/polygonal simple Romano-Celtic temples are the most consistently oriented: 92% are oriented to the east, while the remaining 8% are all oriented southeast. The square and rectangular temples are less consistent - only 62% are oriented east. A further 29% are oriented to the southeast and 2% to the northeast. The remaining 7% are oriented to the north, south and southwest. Thus all of the twenty-four circular or polygonal temples whose orientation is known are oriented to the quadrant from northeast to southeast. Fully 93% of the square or rectangular temples fall in the same orientation quadrant.

The presence or absence of a temenos enclosure surrounding Romano-Celtic temples can only occasionally be known with certainty. Far too many temple excavations are of the temple structure alone, and excavations extensive enough to encounter a temenos are extremely rare.

Excavations of the interior of a temenos area around a temple are even less common. This severely restricts discussion of the presence and role of a temenos in Romano-Celtic religion. Nevertheless, 80 of the sites studied here can be classed as either with or without a temenos with some confidence. There are 57 rectangular temples for which evidence is available: forty of these (or 70%) do have a temenos while seventeen (30%) do not. There is insufficient evidence for sixteen sites, but of these, five are set inside Iron Age hillforts whose ramparts could well have functioned as a temenos. Some twenty-three circular or polygonal temples have sufficiently large scale excavations (or aerial photographs) to allow some confidence: fourteen of these (61%) are set in temenoi, while nine are not (39%). In addition, two of the twelve sites with inadequate evidence are set inside hillforts. In general, therefore, about 68% of the temples for which there is sufficient evidence to make a conclusion are set within temenos enclosures. Rectangular temples are slightly more likely to be set in temenoi than circular temples.

Temple Sites

The small scale of many of the temple excavations hinders attempts to correlate the temple with surrounding or adjacent domestic occupation, because the latter is seldom known very well. However, following the technique adopted above - selecting out those sites for which the evidence is relatively good and assuming these are representative of the group as a whole - two aspects of the temple sites can be studied. The first is simply to note the presence or absence of small ancillary buildings or annexes associated with the temple. These are most commonly interpreted as priests' quarters, although at a few sites (eg Lydney, Uley) much more extensive buildings are present. The second aspect is the nature of an associated domestic site, if such is known. The poor quality of the evidence only permits a simple four-fold hierarchy of rural, villa, settlement or small town, and civitas capital or colonia.

As can be clearly seen in Figure 6.13a below, at least 60% of all Romano-Celtic temples have small ancillary buildings in the immediate vicinity. This is true regardless of the shape of the temple, and should be regarded as a minimal estimate, since the fact that no ancillary buildings are known does not mean that none are present.

The correlation of the shape of the temples (rectilinear versus circular) and the type of site they occur on is shown in Figure 6.13b below. Rectangular or square temples are much more common than circular temples, on all types of sites except villas: all of the separate buildings in villa complexes suspected of religious function are either circular or polygonal and all are of the "simple" variety, lacking the cella and ambulatory distinction. Approximately two-thirds of all temples in both rural and settlement or small town contexts are either square or rectangular. However, a disproportionately large number of circular or polygonal temples occur in a rural context - just under one-half of all circular temples are rural. In settlements, rectangular and circular temples occur in the expected proportions - roughly two to one. In the large walled Roman towns, including the civitas capitals and colonia, circular temples are very rare; over 90% of all temples known from this type of site are square or rectangular. These results may be generalised to indicate that all temples associated with villas are circular, while about two-thirds of temples in rural and settlement

Figure 6.13: FEATURES OF ROMANO-CELTIC TEMPLE SITES

a) Temples and Associated Buildings

	Square/Rectangular		Circular/Polygonal	
Associated Buildings	42	58%	21	60%
No Associated Buildings	31	42%	14	40%
Total	73	100%	35	100%

b) Temples and Type of Site

Contexts	Square/Rectangular		Circular/Polygonal	
Rural	27	37%	17	49%
Villa	0	0%	6	17%
Settlement	22	30%	10	28%
Civitas	24	33%	2	6%
Total	73	100%	35	100%

Contexts	Number	% Rectangular	% Circular
Rural	43	63	37
Villa	6	0	100
Settlement	32	69	31
Civitas	26	92	8

contexts are rectangular, and that temples in civitas and colonia will be almost universally rectangular.

The third factor to be considered in the site analysis is continuity. It will be recalled from the discussion above that the fact of continuity of use of a religious site proved to be of prime importance in the process of recognising Celtic shrines. There are twelve Romano-Celtic temples which almost certainly directly overlie and continue the religious function of Celtic Iron Age predecessors (Bath; Colchester T 30, the Gosbecks Site; Frilford; Harlow; Hayling Island; Lancing Ring; Maiden Castle; Muntham Court; Thistleton; Uley; Woodeaton and Worth). To these twelve a further twelve may be added for speculation, including: Bozeat (VI T 7), Brigstock (VI T 9 and 10), Chanctonbury (VI T 21), Colchester (VI T 28), Cold Kitchen Hill (VI T 34), Farley Heath (VI T 42), Kelvedon (VI T 57), Slonk Hill (VI T 84), Springhead (VI T 85-91), Titsey (VI T 97) and West Coker (VI T 103). Each site in this second group of twelve is a Romano-Celtic temple built over considerable Late Iron Age occupation (indicating continuity of occupation on the site) but for which there is no convincing structural evidence of an Iron Age shrine. The discussion in the preceding section of this chapter indicates that there are few unequivocal features of an Iron Age shrine that would be apparent without very extensive excavation. Nonetheless, if these twenty-four sites are accepted for purposes of discussion, they still represent only 21% of all the known Romano-Celtic temples used in this study (see Figure 6.14 for locations). This suggests that the existence of an active Celtic shrine was instrumental in the siting and establishment of only one-fifth of the Romano-Celtic temples. Furthermore, such features as shape, presence of ancillary buildings, and type of site occur in this sample of twenty-four sites in the same proportions as they occur in the whole sample of 113 sites - indicating that there is nothing particularly distinctive about these sites. They could, in fact, be a randomly selected group of twenty-four sites.

The fourth and last aspect of the shrine sites to be considered here is that of their geographic distribution. The general distribution of all the Romano-Celtic temples used in this study is presented below in Figure 6.14. This distribution may be compared with those found in Figures 6.11 and 6.12 (Distribution of Celtic Shrines and Celtic Tribal Boundaries respectively).

There would appear to be only eleven Romano-Celtic temple sites that are located particularly close to the pre-Roman, Celtic tribal boundaries. These sites and the boundary they occur upon are as follows:

Bozeat:	Coritani - Catuvellauni
Brigstock:	Coritani - Catuvellauni
Cold Kitchen Hill:	Dobunni - Durotriges
Farley Heath:	Atrebates - Cantiaci
Frilford:	Dobunni - Atrebates - Catuvellauni
Harlow:	Trinovantes - Catuvellauni
Lancing Ring:	Atrebates - Cantiaci

Muntham Court:	Atrebates - Cantiaci
Slonk Hill:	Atrebates - Cantiaci
Thistleton:	Coritani - Iceni
Woodeaton:	Dobunni - Catuvellauni

These eleven sites represent only 12% of the total number of temple sites used in this study. In spite of the emphasis placed upon this context in discussions of Romano-Celtic temples (eg Wilson 1973a) this does not appear to be a major factor in the siting of temples. However, all of these sites are either certainly, or probably, sites of pre-Roman, Celtic shrines as well. The fact that all of these sites are likely to represent Celtic-Roman religious continuity is very unlikely to occur by chance. This suggests that Celtic shrines located on or near tribal boundaries were particularly likely to be translated into Romano-Celtic temples.

The distribution of Romano-Celtic temples shown in Figure 6.14 may also be used to make three other points. Although the distribution is a generalised lowland one, there are significant variations. (The apparent lack of temples north of the Severn-Wash line is not real - there are temples in the northern areas, mostly in military contexts [Rodwell 1980, Figure 18, 1-5], but these are omitted here because of their military associations [cf Green 1976].)

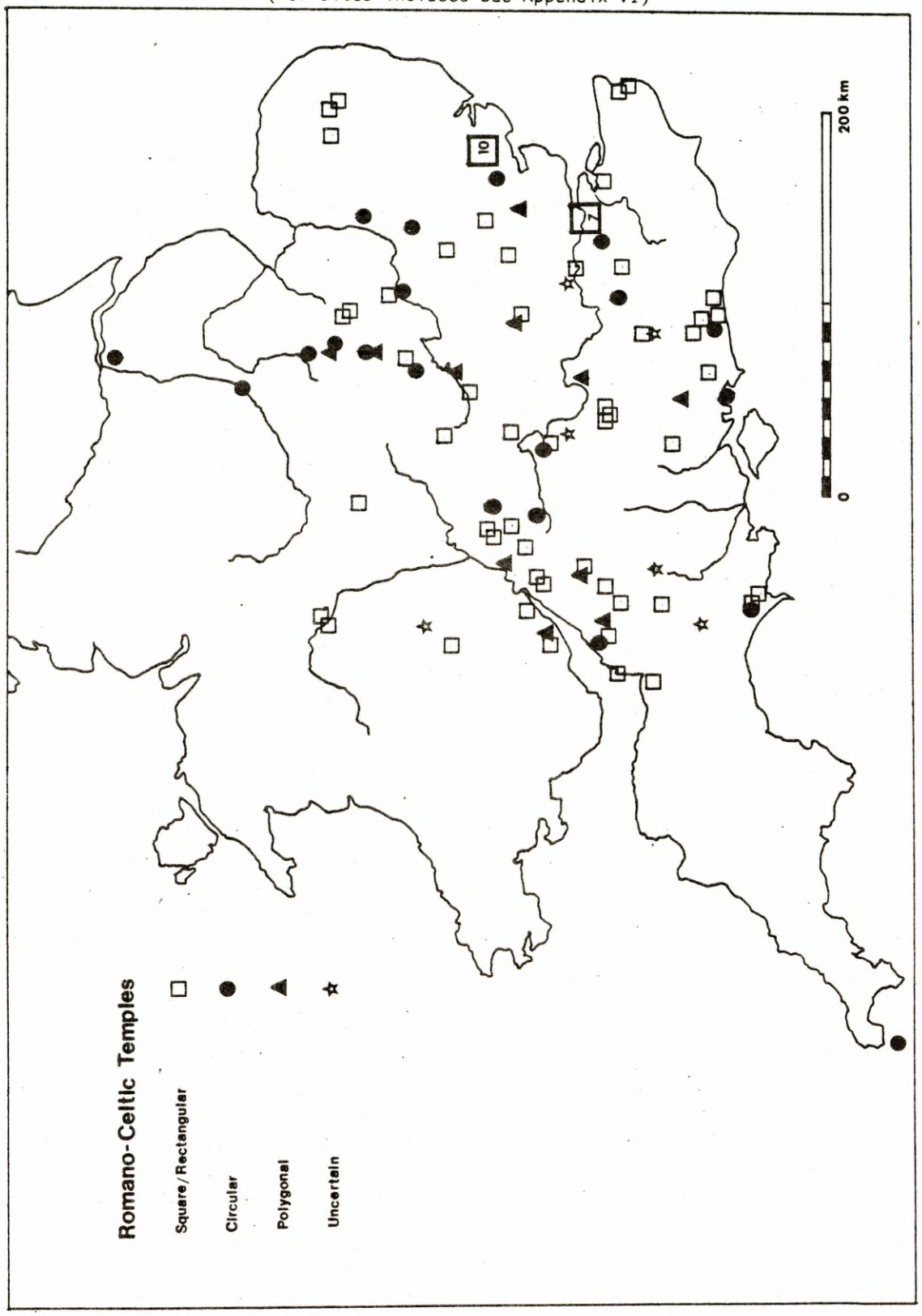
One clear feature of the distribution of temples in Figure 6.14 is the absence of temples in the southwest beyond the River Parrett. This area roughly corresponds to the territory of the Celtic tribe or chiefdom of the Dumnonii, later governed from the Roman civitas capital at Exeter. Surely temples will have been present in Exeter and await discovery, but it is difficult at present to determine if the paucity of other temples reflects the superficiality of Romanisation, or different religious beliefs on the part of the indigenes.

Two other areas of lowland Britain have only a few known Romano-Celtic temples. Norfolk has few outside its civitas capital of Venta Icenorum (Caistor-by-Norwich). Kent, east of the River Medway, and east Sussex, east of the River Adur, are also markedly empty of temples (cf Rodwell 1980, Figures 18.1-18.5). Again, it is difficult to determine whether this reflects variation in the process of Romanisation or differing Celtic religious beliefs and practices.

The second feature of this distribution is, contrarily, the density of Romano-Celtic temples in the Dobunnic territory around the mouth of the Severn. This area is distinctive for other characteristics of Romano-Celtic religion, such as the prevalence of the triplet-gods, Genii cucullati, the Mother-Goddess, and Mars in classical guise (cf Green 1976, Figures 7, 15, 16; chapter seven below). The distinctiveness of the Dobunnic territory on several counts suggests a strong regionalisation of beliefs among the Celtic Dobunni.

A third feature of the distribution of Romano-Celtic temples in Figure 6.14 is a cluster of simple circular and polygonal temples to the east of the Fens on the southern border of the Coritani and northern border of the Catuvellauni (cf Rodwell 1980, Figure 18.4; Green 1976, 73, 78). It is very difficult to associate this distinctive cluster of temples with other evidence for particular deities (eg Green 1976, 73-80), but it clearly represents a concentration of beliefs of some form.

Figure 6.14: DISTRIBUTION OF ROMANO-CELTIC TEMPLES
(For sites included see Appendix VI)



These would appear to be the major features of the distribution of Romano-Celtic temples, which otherwise corresponds to a generalised lowland England distribution. Doubtless other features are less readily observable and will require more detailed research than is possible in this brief consideration.

The Artifacts

In parallel with the discussion of Celtic shrines above, the third major aspect of Romano-Celtic temples to be discussed are the artifacts which are frequently associated with the structures. These will be considered in three groups: votives, iconography, and priestly and ritual paraphernalia. At least five classes of artifacts that are common on Romano-Celtic temples appear to be a continuation of pre-Roman Celtic traditions. These include, first, animal burials such as the pig bones at Hayling Island, and the goat and cockerel at Uley (Henig 1984, 131), the birds at Jordan Hill (VI T 56), and the sheep at the recently excavated temple at Haddenham, Cambs (Ian Hodder, paper delivered at a conference of the Oxford University Archaeological Society, May 1984). Such animal remains are interpreted as either votive deposits or the results of sacrifice and ritual meals, a prominent part of both Celtic and Roman religion (Henig 1984, 131-132). Miniature bronze axes, swords, spears and shields continue through the Roman period as votives but have an origin in the Late Iron Age (examples from Worth VI T 108, Woodeaton VI T 107, Silchester VI T 81-83, and many other sites, cf Green 1976, 42-43; Henig 1984, 148-149). The remaining three classes of artifacts with Iron Age antecedent include coins and items of jewelry such as rings, bracelets and brooches (perhaps particularly the "horse and rider" form of brooch, known from Hayling Island [Downey, King & Soffe 1980, 298] and Nornour, Hockwold, Cold Kitchen Hill, Lamyatt Beacon and Woodeaton [Butcher 1977]).

There are six classes of artifacts usually interpreted as votive offerings, which appear on Romano-Celtic temples, but have no clear Iron Age antecedents. These include bronze letters (as at Woodeaton VI T 107), lead curse tablets (eg Bath VI T 2), ceramic lamps, miniature pots (eg Claydon Pike; Wait, forthcoming; Brigstock VI T 9-10; Verulamium VI T 101), clay and bronze figurines (such as the Venus figurines at Nornour VI T 71; Mercury at Colchester VI T 30, Gosbecks and at Uley VI T 98). The sixth class of artifact is the leaf- or feather-shaped sheet metal plaques (Green 1976, 44-45), which are occasionally inscribed with specific dedications, as to Minerva at Maiden Castle, Mercury at Uley, Mars at Woodeaton, Nodons at Lydney, and Apollo at Nettleton (Henig 1984, 145-146).

A prominent characteristic of these artifacts, with the exception of some of the curse tablets, the figurines, and a few of the leaf plaques, is their very general nature. Virtually any artifact could have been a votive offering to one deity as easily as to any other (Henig 1984, 148). This contrasts with the minority of examples where an inscribed dedication is included, where it was necessary to specify the god precisely. It seems reasonable to assume that the non-specific votives (eg coins, brooches, plain leaves etc) were accompanied by very specific verbal dedications (Henig 1984, 143). It is exceedingly difficult to assess the implications of these new artifacts for Celtic religion, as they may all be no more than new forms of votives introduced by the Romans, which do not conflict with any Celtic beliefs.

Romano-Celtic temples are also associated with a large array of iconographic artifacts, which are almost unknown from pre-Roman contexts. This includes stone and bronze statuary and stone altars. Excellent studies of this very complex subject are available in Ross (1967), Green (1976) and Henig (1984). Briefly though, the statuary and dedications range from the thoroughly Roman Jupiter Optimus Maximus (eg Maryport and Vindolanda; Henig 1984, 90, Figure 33) and Mars (Green 1976, plate IIf), to Romano-Celtic conflations such as Apollo Cunomaglus (Apollo Hound-Lord) at Nettleton (VI T 69-70) and Sulis Minerva at Bath (VI T 2), to the thoroughly Celtic deities of Epona, Rosmerta, or Sucellus and Nantosuelta (Green 1976, 166, 171). The variety is tremendous, but several generalisations can be made, with important implications for Celtic beliefs and practices.

The rapidity and ease with which anthropomorphic statuary representations of Romano-Celtic conflations of deities appear surely suggests that the Celts both visualised their gods in human form and were accustomed to portraying them in this guise. That Celtic deities were anthropomorphised is readily confirmed by the Celtic myths from Ireland (see chapter eight below). Furthermore, Celtic portrayals of deities in human form are now known in wood under unusually good conditions of preservation; Epona from Winchester and the stags at Fellbach-Schmiden (Planck 1982) are recent examples. It must be equally likely that Celtic shrines were furnished with altars and other fixtures which, if made of wood or other perishable materials, would rarely survive.

The third major feature of Romano-Celtic temples and religion includes priestly and ritual paraphernalia. Although no convincing Iron Age examples have yet been identified, a consideration of Romano-Celtic forms suggests the kinds of artifacts that can legitimately be sought in Iron Age contexts.

Among the most impressive of such items are the crowns or headdresses which were once part of priestly garb. Particularly good examples are known from Hockwold (VI T 54); Cavenham Heath, Suffolk, and Stony Stratford, Bucks (Henig 1984, 137; Green 1976, 212, 179, 213). At least some of the leaf or feather plaques mentioned above may well have served as decoration on crowns or other headgear, as well as decorating temple walls (eg Woodeaton, Green 1976, 177). Other elements of priestly equipment are sceptres, such as the mace or sceptre known from Willingham Fen, Cambs (Henig 1984, 140, pl 62; Green 1976, 210), which may be linked to a newly excavated temple at the nearby site of Haddenham (I Hodder, pers comm). Parts of sceptre mounts are also known from Farley Heath (VI T 42; Green 1976, 219) and Woodeaton (Green, 1976, 218-219).

Items for use in the course of ritual include shallow bowls, paterae, used for pouring libations of wine, beer or other liquids. Paterae are made of ceramic, pewter, bronze or silver, and not infrequently carry an inscribed dedication to the deity in whose temple they were to be used (eg the pewter patera dedicated to Sulis from Bath, VI T 2; Henig 1984, pl 55).

The performance of animal sacrifice necessitates ritual weapons, such as pole-axes, cleavers and knives. All are also depicted on altar scenes, but are difficult to identify on sites because a sacred knife may well look like any other knife. Probable examples include a bronze cleaver from Muntham Court (VI T 67), another bronze axe found near Canterbury, and an iron knife from Nettleton (VI T 70); few others are known (Henig 1984, 131).

In general, temples were probably furnished with displays of the various votive objects discussed above, as well as altars and images of the deity in bronze or stone. Altars and statuary were dedicated to a deity and donated to a temple by private individuals or groups, functioning as very ostentatious votives.

All of these articles of priestly and temple ritual paraphernalia can be expected to have been present on Celtic shrines. The identification of such articles has been hindered by two factors. The first is the likelihood that they were made of perishable material (such as wood, leather and cloth), and therefore will survive only in exceptional circumstances. These conditions have rarely been encountered on sites with shrines. The second problem affects most of the articles which would be made of durable materials, such as ritual vessels, paterae, spoons, ritual knives and so on. The difficulty is to identify ritual pots and knives from ordinary pots and knives; the distinction is most likely to be in the context in which the artifacts are encountered. The bronze spoons or scoops found in both graves and bogs (both ritual contexts, chapter two above) are likely examples. Most of the ritual activities involving such articles of ritual and priestly paraphernalia (votive offerings, sacrifices, libations, processions etc), can be independently attributed to Celtic religion, so that the conclusion must be that Celtic examples of articles must exist, but have not yet been identified.

Summary of Evidence from Romano-Celtic Temples

This brief survey of Romano-Celtic temples supplements the evidence for Celtic shrines and ritual in several important respects, as well as providing confirmation for several other features.

The evidence of Romano-Celtic temple structures is particularly valuable. The predominance of square and rectangular temples over circular or polygonal forms suggests that the same preponderance of rectangular structures in the Celtic shrines may closely reflect preferences for rectangularity. Another implication is that more circular shrines undoubtedly existed. The size and design features of Romano-Celtic temples are oriented toward individual and small group ritual ceremonies (as opposed to communal worship). This is certainly a feature of Roman religion, but its occurrence in the Celtic inspired Romano-Celtic temples implies that Celtic religion was similarly oriented, thus confirming observations made from the Celtic shrines. Another aspect of the design of Romano-Celtic temples is the ambulatory, intended to provide a course for processionals and to shelter displayed votive material. Neither of these functions are particularly clearly represented by the remains of Celtic shrines, though both may be suspected from passages in the Celtic ethnographies (see chapter seven). Over 90% of all Romano-Celtic temples are oriented to the east (between northeast and southeast), very convincingly confirming the observations made of the Iron Age evidence, and strengthening the likelihood that the orientation was ritually prescribed. The presence of sacred groves and the provision of a sacred area for sacrifice, feasting and other ceremony suggested in the Iron Age evidence is also found in the evidence of Romano-Celtic temples. Over 65% of Romano-Celtic temples are set within temenoi defined by stone walls, and others may have had less permanent sacred boundaries. This is certainly a formalisation of Celtic customs of long standing in the Roman medium of masonry, and represents a close conjunction of beliefs and practices in the two religions.

The sites in which Romano-Celtic temples occur are also informative about some aspects of Celtic customs. During the Roman period, rural Romano-Celtic temples were either a majority, or very large minority, of all temples. This suggests that there were likewise many rural Celtic shrines for which there is evidence only when they were translated into Romano-Celtic form. Any that were not so updated - and there were probably many - have in the past escaped detection and will probably continue to do so. Most Romano-Celtic settlements, including the centres of villa estates, also have temples, indicating that Celtic shrines were probably situated to serve Iron Age population centres, a fact already noted for Celtic shrines. The frequent presence of ancillary structures with temples (over 60% have associated buildings of some sort) may well represent provision of quarters for priests. Closer study of such buildings may clarify their nature and suggest what Iron Age parallels should be sought. The existence of some sites which include several temples, plus ancillary buildings, and perhaps amphitheatre theatres as well (eg Bath, Colchester, Collyweston, Frilford, Nettleton, Springhead, Verulamium, Wycomb and Sapperton) may be insular parallels for the "conciliabula" known (but not well understood) in Gaul (Leday 1980). Their role as large centres for religion includes pilgrimage and probably much else. Celtic shrines located on or near tribal boundaries were apparently particularly likely to be rebuilt as Romano-Celtic temples: the placement of a religious site or an otherwise liminal feature at a boundary is evidenced in both archaeology and the Celtic literature.

The general distribution of Romano-Celtic temples matches that of Celtic shrines, and serves to emphasise some aspects which the Iron Age evidence leaves ambiguous. Foremost among these is the absence of Romano-Celtic temples in the southwest, and their relative rarity in the southeast and Norfolk. The same distribution pattern is visible in the Iron Age, though here the small numbers involved require caution. However, consideration of the Roman evidence as well as the Iron Age, suggests that these three areas did not utilise shrines or temples like the other areas of south Britain. This, in turn, suggests some difference in beliefs; what this means in detail will require confirmation and elaboration from other evidence than from temples alone.

The artifacts that are associated with Romano-Celtic temples serve to suggest that Celtic parallels certainly existed. Both Iron Age and Roman sites have animal burials (see chapter five) which are probably traces of ritual sacrifice and sacred meals. In some cases proscriptions peculiar to certain deities are visible, as in the absence of beef bones at Hayling, or there is a preference for goat and cock at Uley. Many of the types of votive objects present on Romano-Celtic temples have Iron Age parallels, while other objects may be Roman introductions. Iconography, in the form of altars and statuary, is known only from the Roman period, though this is probably the result of translating accepted Celtic customs from the perishable medium such as wood, into enduring stone. Careful analysis of Romano-Celtic iconography holds great potential for illuminating the Celtic conception of their deities (see chapter seven). Lastly, the presence of articles of priestly and ritual paraphernalia on Romano-Celtic temple sites suggests that objects fulfilling similar functions were surely present on Celtic shrines, but may well be difficult to distinguish from more mundane objects.

GENERAL SUMMARY

This study of Celtic shrines has indicated several important aspects of Celtic religion. The most obvious is that Celtic religion was not "atectonic" as Lewis postulated (1966, 4). Religious structures, referred to generally here as shrines, certainly existed and probably functioned as important centres for religious observances. The shrines themselves did not necessarily serve as abodes for deities, but rather as shelters for, and focal points of, supernatural forces. Shrines could be either circular or rectangular, though the latter are more numerous, and could range in size from very small structures to modest buildings. All were probably designed to serve individual and small group ceremonies, rather than to shelter congregational worship. Very nearly all are oriented so that the door of the shrine faces east; the regularity suggests a religious prescription which, in turn, implies some sacred significance was attached to the direction "east". Most shrines were situated within enclosures of palisades and ditches, and the rest are surrounded by a clear area, but lack positive evidence of what separated this area from the domestic activities of the surrounding site. This area around the shrines may have contained a sacred tree or grove, but also probably served as a place for observers and participants of various ritual ceremonies. Most of the Celtic shrines were probably rural, possibly built in relation to various natural features such as rivers, forests and springs. Other features of the landscape, which were natural to the Celts, and which additionally were liminal, were socio-political boundaries. These were probably common places for shrines to occur, where religious sanctification could be applied to otherwise mundane activities, such as trading and other social activities. Shrines were also probably present in most, if not all, population centres larger than hamlets, such as villages and hillforts. These shrines were undoubtedly intended to serve the religious needs of both local residents and the surrounding countryside. The relative scarcity of shrines in the southwest, the southeast and in Norfolk suggests that shrines in these areas took a different form, perhaps implying more basic differences in religious beliefs in these areas. Many of the ritual ceremonies associated with shrines are reflected in the artifacts found on shrine sites. A basic ceremony, the ritual procession, probably including circling the shrine, is evidenced by the design of the shrine and temple structures. Other ceremonies involve the sacrifice of animals, and their later votive deposition and use in sacred meals. Other votive deposits of small objects of value hint at the prevalence and importance of this medium of communication between the Celts and their supernatural. No doubt many other votive offerings were of perishable material and have left no traces. Religious statuary and iconography are very common in Roman contexts, so common that it seems wilfully obtuse to imagine that Celtic shrines did not hold iconography, probably of wood. Finally, the presence of various elaborate and costly elements of priestly garb, such as headgear, sceptres, knives and offering bowls, in Roman contexts, plus the knowledge that Celtic rituals would require objects to fulfil all the same functions, indicates that Celtic ritual objects exist, but are unrecognised.

CHAPTER 7

THE CELTIC ETHNOGRAPHIES

There remain two further sources of information on Celtic religion which have not yet been utilised. The first of these, referred to here as the Celtic Ethnographies, includes the observations of a number of Greek and Roman writers, who either directly observed Celtic society in northern Italy in the second century BC, or in Gaul before or shortly after Roman conquest, or who quoted from sources who had done so. The second source is the Irish Vernacular Literature, mainly medieval recensions of oral Irish literature, recorded in the vernacular in the sixth century, but preserving many elements of the pre-Christian, un-Romanised Celtic society. Because of the differences in the natures of the two sources, they will be considered separately. This chapter discusses the ethnographies, and the following chapter, the Irish literature.

THE EVIDENCE

The classical texts with references to the Celts and Celtic religion form a diverse body of evidence and only a brief discussion is possible here. The earliest extant writers are Julius Caesar in the mid-first century BC, and Strabo and Diodorus Siculus in the late first century BC to early first century AD. These three writers, with the much later Athenaeus (circa AD 200) have been used by Professor Tierney (1960) to "reconstruct" an ethnography of Posidonius (circa 80 BC). Posidonius, who is quoted extensively and directly by Strabo, Diodorus Siculus and Athenaeus, travelled in southern Gaul and used Massiliot sources, and thus had considerable first hand contact. Tierney originally considered Julius Caesar to be little more than a copyist of Posidonius, and a poor one at that (1960, 211-214), but Nash has argued cogently for Caesar (and Strabo too) as a reliable source independent of Posidonius (1976, 116) and her arguments are accepted here. Following these writers, and using them as sources, are Lucan, Pomponius Mela and Tacitus, all writing in the first century AD. All of these writers have been grouped together as a "Posidonian" tradition by Chadwick (1966, 11), and Piggott has amplified this with a discussion of the group's characteristic "hard primitivist" stance of unflattering disapproval of the Celts (1968, 92, 96-98). A second series of writers, extant from the second through to the fourth centuries AD and writing in Alexandria using other sources, form an equally coherent group; these Chadwick

called the "Alexandrian" tradition. Piggott refers to this group's approach as one of "soft primitivism" for their more respectful attitude towards the Celts (1968, 98-99). This group used for their sources the lost works of Timaeus (circa 300 BC), and Timagenes and Alexander Cornelius Polyhistor, both contemporaries of Posidonius. Consequently, their information is not necessarily later than the Posidonians', nor necessarily less reliable, and the differences between the groups are mainly of emphasis. Complete texts of the Posidonian tradition are in Tierney (1960); selected excerpts of the Alexandrian tradition are given in Chadwick (1966) and Piggott (1968).

Standing apart from these two groups or traditions are two writers whose information is almost totally independent from these traditions. Polybius, writing circa 150 BC, relied on the lost texts of Timaeus of Tauromenium, and discusses the Celtic peoples of the Po Valley area in Italy. Livy, writing towards the end of the first century BC, relied on both Polybius and Timaeus, and also concentrates on the society and history of the Celts in Italy. Neither of these writers fits into either the Posidonian or the Alexandrian traditions, though they are less critical than some of the Posidonians. Livy himself was of Celtic, north Italian descent, while the Greek Polybius lived and travelled extensively in the once Celtic provinces of Italy. Thus, while neither could observe their Celtic subjects directly, they were well placed to use sources which were both first hand and contemporary records of Celtic culture.

Limitations

The brief discussion above will serve to identify the sources utilised here. Now the inherent limitations of this evidence must be determined - what may be used and how may it legitimately be interpreted?

There are four limitations which apply to all of these sources. The first is that nearly all of these writers are referring to the Celts of Gaul, and probably south Gaul - the only Celts with whom most of the Mediterranean world was familiar in the first century BC. To extend their observations to the Celts of Britain and Ireland, it must be assumed that general and salient features of Celtic society will have existed on both sides of the English Channel. A very large number of such common features are already well known (Olmsted 1979, 110-119; Jackson 1964) and the assumption seems uncontroversial. In the course of this discussion elements which are more truly pan-Celtic may be distinguished from those of much more limited distribution.

The second limitation is a temporal one. The sources of all these Celtic ethnographies originate in the period from approximately 150 BC to AD 100. During this period, there is good evidence of large-scale cultural change in the Celtic world in advance of the Roman Conquest, most notably in the field of politics (Crumley 1974; Nash 1978; cf Collis 1984, 139-157). Thus, the observers were probably seeing small sectors of a Celtic world in a rapid flux, and as Nash argues (1976, 119-122), this may well lead to differing observations because the social facts were changing. Apparent contradictions are frequently resolved by a careful consideration of the sequence of the observations and of the changing society.

The third limitation must be assessed on a more individual basis. This concerns the biases, political or philosophical, which may influence the comments of each writer. There are several examples discernible. The division of the sources into two traditions, Posidonian and Alexandrian, is one such. In this instance, the differences between the two are simple: the Alexandrians omit references to Celtic human sacrifice and, instead, emphasise the judicial and philosophical aspects of Celtic belief (Chadwick 1966, 51-68). The opposing Posidonians overemphasise Celtic "barbarity" in the face of Rome's "civilising" advance (Chadwick 1966, 16, 28, 30). Similarly, the political motives of some of the writers may have influenced their commentary - this is particularly true of, and well established for, Julius Caesar (Piggott 1968, 97; Nash 1976, 121-123; Tierney 1960, 213-214), but is equally true to a lesser extent with both Strabo and Tacitus (cf Piggott 1968, 98). The exuberant rhetoric of Pliny (eg xvi 95) and Lucan (i 441) probably has fact for a basis, but the presentation is equally concerned with a desired effect on the reader.

A fourth limitation which applies to all of the sources is the general literary constraints under which they wrote, for none of these authors was primarily interested in "Celtic ethnography". In each case, the passages that comprise the ethnography were more or less an "extra". Posidonius was an historian and geographer in the Greek tradition, whose purpose was to complete a history begun by Polybius - the ethnographic passages were required by the geographic tradition in which he wrote (Chadwick 1966, xix-xx; Tierney 1960, 198-201). Diodorus was an historian; his passages on the Celts are to provide background material. Strabo was a geographer and historian; his passages are from his Geographia and include ethnography as a necessary part of the tradition, as with Posidonius (Tierney 1960, 203-204, 207-208). The same point can be made for all of the other writers. This is not to belittle them; rather, it is to point out a limiting factor: time and space. None was concerned to write a complete ethnography even in the contemporary sense, much less to present standards. Their concern was simply to point out the features of Celtic society which were either typically Celtic, or which were so unusual by Mediterranean standards as to set the Celts apart as a distinct people. A good example of the former is the typically Celtic political principle of "clientage" (cf Nash 1976, 116-117). An example of the second type is probably human sacrifice, which could serve the double purpose of setting the Celts apart from the Mediterranean peoples and presenting them in a barbaric and primitive light. All of the commentaries must be viewed in this context: the common and ordinary could be omitted in favour of the unusual and distinctive.

One further comment is in order here. There is a distinct trend towards more concise and abbreviated comments noticeable in the later writers of each tradition. Strabo and Diodorus Siculus, for example, could abbreviate Posidonius drastically (as Tierney maintains, 1960, 222) for the simple reason that their readers would have had access to Posidonius in the original, as well as Caesar, Timagenes, Polyhistor and probably Timaeus and Polybius. This is the probable cause of much of the conflation and condensing which make analysis difficult. Other more specific examples of biases or conflations will be noted as they are encountered in the discussion below.

ANALYSIS

Because of the four limiting factors just discussed, it is neither a simple nor direct procedure to extract the "facts" of Celtic society and religion from the ethnographic commentaries. In order to make use of the commentaries, in spite of their limitations, analysis must be two-fold.

The first step is to ask why each comment is found in the text (or, rather, why it was put there in the first place). Is it a very "Celtic" feature, for example, an integral part of Celtic religion? Or is it a feature of Celtic religion which, because of its oddity value, is used to typify the Celts? In many cases, this dilemma is solved by examining the Roman or Mediterranean context of the writers. To preview an example - human sacrifice is probably more prominent in the commentaries than its role in Celtic religion would justify; it has considerable "oddity" value. In some cases it will be argued that features which are based on ethnographical analogy or simple reason, but which would also have seemed unremarkable to a Roman, are simply omitted for this reason (as in the discussion of shrines below). In some cases nothing can be done other than to hypothesise.

The second step in the analysis is a response to the condensation of information which lies behind many of the sources. In general terms, this can be referred to as "maximising" the data. In practice, it means that each reference will be split into as many parts as possible, to emphasise the possible variations behind otherwise relatively simple statements. Examples of this procedure will be found below, where it is argued that there were a number of religious specialists, not a single class of "Druids", and also where the variety of locations used in Celtic religion is discussed. This approach is justified on the basis of the degree of variation that is to be expected from even simple societies (cf Wallace 1966, Goode 1951), and Celtic society was certainly not a simple one. This procedure is in direct contrast to several of the previous studies of Celtic religion (especially Kendrick 1927, Piggott 1968 and Chadwick 1966) which, focused on the Druids, attempted to relate all evidence of religion to the Druids and thus served inevitably to emphasise simplicity and uniformity in Celtic religion.

As part of this process of diversifying the information, Druids will be discussed only in the context of the ethnographic comments. Piggott amply demonstrates (1968) that "Druid" is an emotion- and preconception-loaded term and is best avoided in such a discussion. Similarly, the term "priest" is avoided and instead the more cumbersome but neutral term "religious specialist" will be used.

Following these general points, the ethnographic data can be discussed under seven headings. These are:

1 Celtic pantheon

2 Religious specialists

3 Religious locations

4 Beliefs of soul and afterlife

5 Sacrifices

6 Divination

7 Votive offerings

Note: Throughout the following discussion, references to the texts of the Posidonian tradition (Strabo, Diodorus Siculus and Caesar) will be found in Tierney (1960) - the reference to both the section of the original work and the page in Tierney where it will be found, are given. References from the Alexandrian tradition will be found in Chadwick (1966), Piggott (1968), Kendrick (1927), or in the translations cited in the Bibliography.

The Celtic Pantheon

A discussion of the deities of Celtic religion based on the ethnographies alone will be misleadingly brief and simplistic. There are, in fact, only two passages from the sources which discuss the Celtic gods. Caesar is characteristically terse and worth quoting in full:

> Of all the gods they most worship Mercury. He has the largest number of images and they regard him as the inventor of all the arts, as their guide on the roads and in travel, and as chiefly influential in making money in trade. Next to him they worship Apollo, Mars, Jupiter and Minerva. About these gods they believe nearly as other people do: that Apollo drives away disease, Minerva first instituted the arts and crafts, that Jupiter rules the heavens and Mars the issue of war. (VI 17, Tierney 272).

The only other classical writer to mention the deities is Lucan (i 444-446), who mentions three more: Teutates, Esus and Taranis - giving three Celtic names but no other information. The inference from these writers is that the Celts had a pantheon of gods, functionally differentiated and thereby relatable to the Roman pantheon.

There is, however, another source of information which can be appropriately utilised here - the vast number of pictorial representations of deities, and inscriptions mentioning deities, from both Gaul and Britain. This subject is so large and diverse that only a summary will be offered here; more detailed analyses will be found in Lambrechts (1942), Dillon and Chadwick (1967), Olmsted (1979), Piggott (1968), Green (1976), Ross (1967), Sjoestedt (1949), Vendryes (1948), De Vries (1963) and Hatt (1970). The principal limitation in the use of these data is that, almost by definition, and nearly without exception, the representation/inscriptions are of Roman date and use Latin. Consequently, some degree of interpretive syncretism has occurred, either Interpretatio Romana or Celtica (Green 1976, 6-7). Nevertheless, a number of legitimate observations can be made and, from these, useful inferences may be drawn.

The first impression gained from the representations, and especially from the inscriptions, is the huge number of Celtic deities known. A now very dated count (Piggott 1960, 15-16; Sjoestedt 1949, 14-16) showed 374 Celtic god-names, of which 305 occurred only once each. Furthermore, one Roman god could be translated into a number of Celtic gods - Mars received Celtic surnames or was associated with at

least 69 different Celtic gods (Piggott 1968, 16), and forty-five different epithets or surnames are associated with Mercury (Green 1976, 11).

Interestingly, Polybius mentions (Histories II 32) that the Insubrian Celts of the Milan area of Italy, circa 223 BC, had a temple to Minerva, which included icons of some sort which were taken down and carried to war - a clear conflation of the Roman goddess with a Celtic original who involved the arts and had a warrior aspect as well.

This presents a multitude of Celtic deities, or godlings, of which many are very rare and only a few are widespread. Very probably, none of these can be directly translated or equated with a Roman god. This effectively belies the simplicity of Caesar's statement above.

Caesar's use of functional attributes to differentiate between Celtic deities, and then to associate them with Roman deities on this basis, is the very heart of Interpretatio as mentioned above, and does form the basis for most interpretation of the Celtic deities today. Its effectiveness, however, is limited by the difference in the criteria used by Roman and Celt to define their gods. The Romans used function - Mars was the god of war. The Celts used function too, but in a limited sense. Mars was translated as Mars Teutates (as one of 69 Celtic forms), which simply means Mars, God of the People (Sjoestedt 1949, 17). Celtic god functions are less abstract, more direct, and more concrete and limited than were Roman deities' functions. Paradoxically, Celtic god functions are multiple, even more than in Rome, so that any one Roman god will have several Celtic "avatars", and conversely, one Celtic god could be an "avatar" of several Roman gods. Roman Mars was the god of war; in Gaul, Mars was equated with gods whose prime functions were healing and serving as a peaceful local protector, as well as a warrior form (Green 1976, 11). Sjoestedt observed (1949, 75-95) that nearly all Celtic gods will be a father-protector to their people, in addition to serving in other capacities, and goddesses may all be linked to fertility and prosperity (cf Green 1976, 14). This process of reductionism, if carried too far (as by Sjoestedt, 1949, 75-95), serves only to obscure the basic variety inherent in the Celtic deities. In summary, each of the many Celtic deities had multiple functions, which he shared unevenly with the other deities - but deities sharing one or more functions were neither interchangeable nor directly equivalent; they were separate deities.

The major factor that serves to differentiate gods who share their functional attributes is locality. The deities are the gods of their respective functions for a particular group of people, or of an area, or of a single place. The localisation of their powers and responsibilities seems to be inherent in the Celtic concept of god-hood (Green 1976, 8; Piggott 1968, 85; Sjoestedt 1949, chapter II). Not surprisingly, this localisation is noticeable in the geographic distribution of god-names and forms. Three-headed god forms are found most commonly among the Remi in the Marne and Cote D'Or (De Vries 1961, 159; Piggott 1968, 85; Sjoestedt 1949, 16); the wheel-bearing god is found in the Massif Central and along the Rhone, while the hammer-god is particularly concentrated further up the Rhone and along the Rhine and Seine (De Vries 1963, 92; Lambrechts 1942; Green 1976, 11; Piggott 1968, 85). Cernunnos, the stag-antlered god, is predominant in eastern Gaul; triple genii cucullati are found in the Cotswolds of England and along the Rhine and Moselle of Gaul and Germany (Green 1976, 10, 27); and the Matres are found particularly in the area of the Treveri (Sjoestedt

1949, 17). A further illustration of this is Mercury, whom Caesar said was the most prominent Gaulish god. This may well be true, for Mercury and Mars each have far more Celtic equivalents and representations than any other Roman gods, but the significant factor here is that Mercury does not have merely one Celtic equivalent, but rather a great many. Apparently, most Gauls had a god who was the originator of arts and a guide to travellers and traders, but each of these gods was localised, and thus was not truly equivalent to the abstract, generalised Mercury of Rome. Interestingly, this element of localisation is much more prevalent among Celtic goddesses than gods, and although this has been overemphasised by some scholars (eg Sjoestedt 1949, chapter II and pages 92-95), the trend is unmistakable.

One last general feature of the Celtic deities needs to be discussed before examining some of the more widespread deities. This is an absence of any internal organisation among the deities. Each one appears to be complete and self-contained. Thus, for the present, the word "pantheon" is not used to refer to the deities collectively, since it generally implies a hierarchy of the gods (pace Wallace 1966, 71). This point, however, may be more apparent than real. The relationship between several deities would not generally appear in the kinds of inscriptions that have survived (mostly dedications), and while it might occur in iconography, the recovery of such information without the use of mythology is notoriously difficult (Piggott 1968, 17; and cf Olmsted 1979 for an attempt using myths). An examination of the Irish vernacular myths in the next section will substantially modify this position.

The world of the Celtic gods is thus difficult to grasp. The picture appears to be one of many gods, each of multiple functions, but usually very localised in occurrence. The amalgamation of this Celtic pattern and the abstract and generalised Roman pantheon probably produced the paradoxical situation in which one Roman god will have several, or many, Celtic equivalents and each of the Celtic gods could be associated with several Roman gods as well.

This pattern is disrupted by the presence of a few Celtic gods whose cults were apparently quite widespread. Considering the geographic distribution of the occurrence of these few, they may be nearly pan-Celtic (Sjoestedt 1949; Olmsted 1979, 119-181). It is probably appropriate to use the term "cult" here, to refer to the worship of a god who does not have a common distribution with other gods, each god being served by different cult institutions (Wallace 1966, 84-89). Here, only a few of the gods with wider distributions are discussed; this list will be both extended and amplified when the Irish evidence is considered.

Jupiter and Taranis

Both Lambrechts (1942) and Green (1976) associate Jupiter (who rules the heavens, see Caesar above) with the Celtic god Taranis whose name means Thunderer (see Lucan above), and then link both to the Celtic wheel-god. If such association is correct, then this deity can probably be found throughout Gaul and into Britain (Green 1976, 10, 17-19). The functions of this god are somewhat obscure, but a generalised role of a sky-god may be a close approximation.

Cernunnos

The antler-headed, cross-legged god Cernunnos is found through much of eastern Gaul and is known from Britain (Green 1976, 10, 32; Lambrechts 1942, Carte I). His functions are generally interpreted as natural fertility and prosperity (cf Olmsted 1979, 160-166).

Sucellus

Sucellus is usually depicted carrying a hammer and cauldron, or sometimes a club and pot, and is often accompanied by a consort goddess, usually named "Nantosuelta". The distribution of Sucellus and/or Nantosuelta concentrates in the upper and lower Rhone area, but more generally covers much of eastern Gaul (Lambrechts 1942, Carte V; De Vries 1963, 92) and includes Britain (Green 1976, 11-12, Fig 17). Sucellus is an archetypical Celtic god; his hammer symbolises his protection of his people and the cauldron represents abundance for them (Sjoestedt 1949, chapter II). Sucellus is probably very prominent in Ireland under a different name (see chapter eight). His consort, whose name means "Winding River" (Green 1976, 11), is probably the tutelary goddess connected with local fertility of the earth (Green 1976, 11; cf Sjoestedt 1949, 20-25).

Deae Matres

Appearing singly among the Treveri (see above), but more frequently in triplicate form, the Mothers are everywhere associated with prosperity and fertility, symbolised by cornucopiae, food and children (Green 1976, 14). The Mothers are known from much of Gaul and Britain (eg Green 1976, 14 and Fig 15).

Mercury

According to Caesar, Mercury was the most commonly worshipped of all the Celtic deities, and there are two sorts of evidence indicating that this was true. First, the prominence of Mercury as a god of crafts, travellers and traders' prosperity would have contrasted greatly with the Roman tradition, where he was much less prominent. Such a contrast would be surprising to Caesar and thus worthy of comment. Secondly, Mercury is the most prominently represented deity in inscriptions and iconography. It may be strictly more accurate to say that every locality had a Celtic god who could be associated with Mercury in some way - 116 of the inscriptions to Mercury add a Celtic epithet and forty-five different epithets are known. Many temples were dedicated to Mercury (Green 1976, 11). This indicates that, although every locality had an avatar of Mercury, there were many different such avatars, rather than one common throughout Gaul. The prominence of a god whose primary association is to trade and craft in the context of Celtic society is striking, but is closely paralleled in the Irish evidence.

Mars

The Roman god Mars, whose primary function is in war, has had 69 Celtic epithets coupled to his own, and presumably also had a large number of Celtic avatars. As noted above, Mars was associated with gods with attributes of both peaceful prosperity and healing, as well as war. There are relatively few temples dedicated to Mars; he is known largely through epigraphy, though less than Mercury (Green 1976, 11). The relative lack of prominence of a god of war among a people whose reputation was a very war-like one is as striking as the prominence of Mercury, but is also paralleled in the Irish literature.

Throughout both Gaul and Britain, Mercury and Mars tend to blur together. Both are found with Celtic symbols, such as the presumptively chthonic/fertility ram-headed snake, which is also found with Cernunnos and with the Mothers in Gaul. In Britain, Mercury is very often found with his only occasional Gallic consort of Rosmerta (cf Green 1976, 20-21, 171, 187). Mars and Mercury share similar distributions, and also may share a number of Celtic surnames and epithets (Green 1976, 29).

A complete survey of the associations of Celtic gods and epithets with Roman gods might well show what aspects of which gods are actually involved in the associations, but such an undertaking is far beyond the scope of the present study.

The Cult of the Head

The well-known Celtic cult of the head is discussed as a specific Celtic cult. The reasons for this handling, rather than attributing to it the status of a pan-Celtic tradition, will become clear as the evidence is reviewed.

Head-hunting occurs prominently in the Celtic ethnographies, surely because of its exotic oddity value for separating Celts from other peoples, and, considering our sources (Strabo and Diodorus, both based on Posidonius), it would also have served to emphasise Celtic primitiveness. Strabo writes thus: "They possess a trait of barbarous savagery which is especially peculiar to the northern peoples, for when they are leaving the battlefield they fasten to the necks of their horses the heads of their enemies, and on arriving home they nail up this spectacle at the entrances to their houses," (V 29 5, Tierney 269; Strabo's comments are attributed by him to Posidonius). The very close parallel found in Diodorus Siculus indicates his source, too, may be Posidonius, though he adds a very interesting comment. Diodorus Siculus writes briefly: "They cut off the heads of enemies slain in battle and attach them to the necks of their horses; they nail up these <u>first fruits</u> upon their houses just as do those who lay low wild animals in certain kinds of hunting". (V 29 Tierney, 250, emphasis added). Strabo's comment occurs in a purely secular manner, relating an example of the celebration of martial valour and success which would be appropriate to an heroic society. Diodorus Siculus, however, introduces a phrase, in a very unclear passage, which may be a reference to religious precepts of some form - "these first fruits" - first fruit sacrifices being an extremely widespread and common ritual (see chapter nine). These are the only comments in the ethnographies which refer to head-hunting, one of which is secular and the other possibly implying a religious connotation.

In the archaeological evidence there is spectacular, but very limited, evidence of unequivocal religious belief focused on the human head. The most famous examples come from the religious sanctuaries of the sites of Roquepertuse and Entremont. The remains consist of monumental stonework with clear Greek influence, but decorated in purely Celtic style - door jambs and lintels with sculptured human heads, and, more imposing, niches shaped to hold skulls, some of which were still held in place by nails (Benoit 1955, 195F; cf Piggott 1965, 230; Dillon & Chadwick 1967, 295-296). The "Hall of Skulls" at Entremont dates to the last phase of the oppidum before it was sacked by the Romans in 123 BC, but there are traces of earlier displays of skulls (Benoit 1957). At Glanum, Saint Remy-en-Provence, there were again a lintel and pillars with skull niches which were re-used in the second century BC, while at Saint-Blaise, Alpes Maritimes, was found a jamb-stone with niches appropriate for skulls, later incorporated into Gallo-Greek structures of the fourth century BC (Benoit 1955; Piggott 1968, 51).

Thus, there is clear evidence for a religious cult of the head, with a potential for considerable antiquity, which survived to be celebrated in monumental stonework when the native-styled religious sanctuaries of southern Gaul were rebuilt in stone, under Greek influence. North of the Massif Central, however, the evidence for such a cult is at best very sparse. Nowhere are there convincing associations of skulls or sculpted heads with religious sites. There are, of course, a few sculptures of human heads, but an occasional stone head is too scant evidence upon which to build a cult. A very few hillforts may have been decorated with skulls, as at L'Impernal near Cahors (Benoit 1957, 22-23) or at Bredon in Gloucestershire (Hencken 1938), but in neither case is there any need to invoke religion for an explanation, and indeed, the very context (ornamental gateways) seems civil and secular. Therefore, like the other cults/deities discussed here, the cult of the head is limited in distribution, in this case to the Celto-Ligurian area.

Religious Specialists

The classical written sources are much more informative about the Celtic religious specialists than about the gods. There is near unanimity amongst the sources in dividing the Celtic intellectual elite into three classes, two of which are clearly religious specialists. The non-religious elite were the bards, or panegyric poets, that form an appropriate part of an heroic society (Piggott 1968, 109). The remaining two groups are called Druids and Vates (Ammianus Marcellinus, quoting Timagenes, XV 9 30-32; Strabo IV 4, Tierney 269; Diodorus Siculus V 31, Tierney 251). The distinction between the two is not always clear - witness the difficulties of Chadwick and Piggott in focusing on the Druids. In general, the Druids are of considerably greater status and prestige (eg, exempt from military service and taxation, Caesar VI 14, Tierney 272) and are glossed as philosophers and theologians, whereas the Vates are concerned with divination and sacrifice (cf Strabo, Diodorus Siculus and Ammianus Marcellinus above). Even this distinction is too facile, however, since, as will be seen, Druids are specifically mentioned as necessary officials in at least some sacrifices. This will be discussed in greater detail below, when the various functions of the religious specialists are considered. For the moment, there are two classes of religious specialists with slightly differing but overlapping duties, but a third possible class is mentioned by Lucan (iii 399) as a

"sacerdos" or "priest" at a religious site near Marseilles (though the location in the Celto-Ligurian province with its long standing contact with the Mediterranean world means that this could conceivably be an imported role for a religious specialist). As will be discussed below, the specified place and duties may lead to the acceptance of this as a third subdivision in the Celtic religious hierarchy.

Further information about the organisation of the religious specialists, or at least the Druidic element, is found in the writings of Julius Caesar. Caesar states that the Druids were organised in an assembly, presided over by a chief Druid, which would meet at fixed times, in a holy place in the territory of the Carnutes. He claims that the discipline originated in Britain and that diligent scholars would still go there from Gaul to study the discipline (VI 13, Tierney 271). There are two limiting considerations applicable here. First, Caesar had a vested interest in emphasising the social sophistication of his Celtic enemies to the Senate in Rome. Secondly, Caesar saw the Celts at the peak of their independent development, at the very moment of the conquest he himself was directing. The problem is acute because Caesar is the only one to discuss such structural elaboration among the religious elite. If Nash's (1976) arguments for the reliability of Caesar however, and for the political development in Gaul of the mid-first century BC (1978) are accepted, then it seems reasonable to accept Caesar's statements as factual. Furthermore, the development of an organisation of a religious elite, a concomitant to political elaboration, would be a logical, even expected occurrence (cf Wallace 1966, 86-88, and chapter one above). In short, Caesar alone is reporting a degree of religious organisation because it developed after the earlier observers wrote and, hence, he alone could observe it at the end of Celtic independence.

Caesar further specifies three of the duties of the Celtic religious specialists. The first of these is teaching, though the content of their teachings can only be derived from the various evidences for religious practices. Caesar states that many students go to the Druids of their own accord, or are sent by their parents, an attraction he attributes to the tax-exempt status of the Druids. He also says that the training period may extend up to twenty years, and involved much memorisation of oral literature and discourses upon the heavenly bodies and their motion, the size of the universe and the world, the nature of the physical world, and the spheres of actions of the gods (V 14, Tierney 272). Pomponius Mela also refers to the teaching role (iii 2), and Strabo's "moral philosophy" and Diodorus Siculus' "theology and philosophy" probably also refer generally to the teachings. Here, as well as in other topics which will be discussed (below), the oversimplicity of Caesar's use of "Druid" must be borne in mind. All of the other sources distinguish at least one other group of religious specialists (eg the Vates), and even this may be overly simplified, but Caesar refers only to Druids, thereby subsuming other groups which were probably distinct to the Celts.

A second responsibility of some of the religious specialists can be referred to as the practice of calendrics. Caesar said that the Celts count periods of time, not by the number of days, but by the number of nights, and in reckoning birthdays, new moon and new year, their unit of reckoning is the night followed by the day (VI 18, Tierney 273). In fact, this finds striking confirmation in archaeology - the Coligny Calendar. This is an Augustan calendar in bronze, covering a period of

62 lunar months, which uses Roman numerals and letters, but written in Gaulish: it reckons by nights, marks lucky and unlucky days, and shows considerable astronomical knowledge (Piggott 1968, 116). It clearly must have been the work of an intellectual elite, and the passage above about Druidic study of the motions of heavenly bodies surely correlates with this calendar. Further, the division of days, months and years into auspicious and inauspicious parts (cf Rees & Rees 1961, 93, 326, 341, and chapter eight below) is based on omens which closely tie calendrics to religion.

A third duty of the Druids, in particular, is superficially surprising in a religious context, for the Druids were judges and arbiters in addition to their other duties. Caesar again refers to the prestige of the Druids as judges in all matters, both public and private, and comments that the yearly Druidic Assembly judged suits from all over Gaul, from which there was no appeal. He further specifies that their ultimate enforcement was by threat of excommunication, with a consequent loss of all legal and religious rights (VI 13, Tierney 271). Strabo (IV 4, Tierney 269) echoes Caesar's comments, but adds that above all else, the Druids settled cases of manslaughter, and formerly arbitrated in war. Diodorus Siculus rather cryptically states that in both peace and war, the Gauls would listen to the Druids and carefully obey their decisions; presumably this is a judicial role (V 31, Tierney 251). Thus, before the Roman conquest, the Druids fulfilled the roles of judge and arbitrator, apparently in both civil and private disputes. A perfect example of the integration of secular and religious subsystems, with a rite of sanctification (the sacro-judicial trial) at the point of articulation (cf chapter one above).

A fourth role of the religious specialists, which cannot be attributed to any specific sub-set, was medical. Pliny the Elder, possibly using Timaeus as his source, or more likely writing from his own knowledge, presents Druids (here again this may be a catch-all generalisation) as magico-doctors (xvi 95, xxiv 6263, see Chadwick 1966, 31-33) and emphasises the importance of this role. He may here be guilty of over-emphasis in the area of his own interest. Tierney construes this role as the source of druidic prestige (1960, 215), while Chadwick (1966, 32) belittles it as trivial for lack of corroboration. In fact, there is corroboration; Caesar (VI 16, Tierney 272) refers to the use of sacrifices as part of the treatment of illnesses. Here again is an apparent conflation of duties - both Druids and Vates are required officials. Some religious specialists, at least, held a medical role, however, which is certainly to be expected of religious specialists in most societies (Wallace 1966, 113-125).

The fifth role of the religious specialists has been implicit since it was established that there were at least two classes of specialists - they were closely associated by distinct performances of sacrifice and divination. These are each discussed below in greater detail as cult practices; here, only the basic practice is noted. Where divination involves sacrifice, both Druids and Vates are involved, according to Strabo (IV 4, Tierney 26), Caesar (VI 13, Tierney 271), Diodorus Siculus (V 31, Tierney 251) and Pliny (xvi 95), while divination alone may be more directly attributed to the Vates only, as in Strabo (IV 4, Tierney 269). The only direct reference to religious liturgy in this context is mentioned by Diodorus Siculus, who says that "for offerings to be

acceptable to the gods, they must be made through those who are acquainted with their nature since they know their (ie, the gods') language" (v 31, Tierney 251).

A sixth duty of religious specialists was mentioned above. This involves the care of temples and other religious loci. Lucan mentions a priest (sacerdos, appropriately used in distinction to the other more common terms of Druid and Vates) who cared for a sacred wood (iii 399; see Chadwick 1966, 35-37) and in Strabo's passage an island shrine is staffed with women dedicated to Dionysus, sometimes interpreted as "priestesses" (IV 6, Tierney 269-270; cf Piggott 1968, 53; Dillon & Chadwick 1967, 135). These would appear to be the only instances of the use of "priest"; in each of the other references to Celtic religious specialists, the ethnographers used terms whose primary reference is not "priest". This correlation of a specific title and a particular duty may not be entirely convincing evidence for a separate class of religious specialist, but it is clearly distinct from those assigned to either Druids or Vates (cf Piggott's discussion of gutuator in this respect, 1968, 103).

There were undoubtedly still more duties of religious specialists for which the sources are silent. One obvious example is the official at burial ceremonies (which are described) who is never mentioned, although such ceremonies are almost certainly a religious ritual (Huntington & Metcalf 1978).

Religious Locations

After the Celtic deities and the religious specialists, the third major subject consistently discussed in the ethnographies concerns the various types of locations in which the Celts conducted ritual practices. Caesar speaks with unhelpful ambiguity of many sacred places in which were placed votives (VI 17, Tierney 272-273), without specifying what these places were. Strabo is more precise; near a temple sanctuary near Toulouse were sacred enclosures and pools (or lakes?), which held votives inviolable, and he further states that there were many such places (IV 13, on the authority of Posidonius, Tierney 262). Strabo also refers to an island off the mouth of the Loire where Celtic priestesses (or at least female religious specialists) maintained a temple (IV 6, Tierney 269-270). Diodorus Siculus cites temples and sanctuaries (or possibly "shrines and enclosures") throughout the country, probably on the authority of Posidonius (V 27, Tierney 249). During the first century AD, references are found of the use of secluded groves or clearings in woods for religious services; Tacitus speaks of groves on Anglesey (xiv 30 Annals; Chadwick 1966, 28), Pliny places his famous mistletoe ritual in a grove (xvi 95, Chadwick 1966, 34), Pomponius Mela (iii 2) and Lucan (i 447) mention them in general, and refer specifically to a sacred wood near Marseilles, which had crude sculptures of deities and was attended by a priest (sacerdos) (iii 399 in Pharsalia, Chadwick 1966, 36-37). Pomponius Mela also refers to another island, this one off the southwest tip of Brittany, where could be found nine priestesses with a variety of powers (Chorographia III vi 8, Dillon & Chadwick 1967, 135). Dio Cassius mentions sanctuaries used during the Boudican revolt in Britain (lxii vi 7; Dillon & Chadwick 1967, 138). Among the Germani, Tacitus writes of a virgin prophetess or seer who lived secluded in a high tower (Histories, iv 61-65, v 22 24; cf Chadwick 1966, 69-80).

Polybius, writing of the Insubrian Celts in the area around modern Milan, makes a comment well worth quoting fully. He says (Histories II 32) of the Celts that when threatened by a Roman army in 223 BC:

> "They gathered all their forces, took down the golden standards which are known as the "Immovables" from the Temple of Minerva and made all the other preparations for war ..."

Three points of interest emerge from this comment. First, the existence of a temple; secondly, the adoption of the Roman Minerva; and thirdly, the use of standards of gold, probably to be interpreted as icons. These Insubrian Celts will, of course, have had considerable contact with the Etruscan/Roman world, and thus ample opportunity to adopt classical attitudes and objects, but the rest of Polybius' description of the Celts seems very Celtic in nature, and the possibility is strong that temples and standards represent indigenous Celtic traditions.

It is perhaps significant that the earlier sources, including Posidonius, Strabo, Diodorus Siculus and Caesar, all refer to sanctuaries/enclosures with temples, and some with lakes/pools as well, apparently scattered throughout Gaul. In addition, two islands are mentioned, one at least with a definite shrine. This reflects a tendency for large religious sites to be away from the large villages or oppida, which might have appeared unusual and noteworthy to a Mediterranean observer. But it does not lead to the "absence of formal buildings" that Piggott postulated (1968, 105-106; cf Lewis 1966, 14). Indeed, there are several references to temples or shrines in the sanctuaries, and shrines in Celtic villages may have seemed too commonplace to deserve comment.

It is during the first century AD that an aura of rusticity in religious sites becomes common, for these sources emphasise the remote and secluded groves/clearings used for specifically Druidic practices. Chadwick has argued that this change of emphasis from the first century BC to the first century AD is the result of two unrelated, but concurrent, processes. First, the Celtic religious hierarchy would inevitably have lost prestige to the Roman overlords, and might have been reduced to the use of remote and poor sites. The second process may have been more drastic - an active Roman suppression of the Druids (not necessarily of Gaulish religion, which revived considerably in the third century AD [Ferguson 1970, 211-243]) as a result of their Gallic-nationalist activities (1966, 69-83). Regardless of the extent of this repression of the Druids (the evidence is equivocal), the first process alone could be sufficient for a change in the nature and location of Celtic religious locations.

In summary, there are references for a number of probably rural religious sanctuaries, many with temples or shrines, some with pools of water. In addition, there is a trend for religious loci on islands, sometimes with temples, and there are the "shrines and enclosures" without any elaborating comments. The possibility of village shrines, which would probably have been unremarkable to a Greek or Roman observer, may well have gone unnoted, especially if they lacked the impressive votive deposits of the rural sanctuaries.

Eschatology: Beliefs of Soul and Afterlife

The classical ethnographers make a number of references to one specific religious belief of the Celts, which ironically has resulted in a modern controversy. This is the Celtic belief in the immortality of man's soul, and more importantly, its fate after death. Julius Caesar wrote that the Druids attach particular importance to their teaching that the soul does not perish, but passes after death from one body to another (VI 14, Tierney 272). Strabo agrees with this, and adds that the Celtic cosmology would allow fire and water to temporarily prevail over the indestructibility of the souls (IV 4, Tierney 2769), this probably on the authority of Posidonius. Diodorus Siculus refers to the immortality of the souls, and adds that after a certain period of time the souls enter upon a new life, equating this belief to the Greek Pythagoreans' transmigration of souls (V 28, Tierney 250). Slightly later, in the mid-first century AD, Pomponius Mela repeats the same view and follows Caesar in using the belief in an afterlife as an explanation for the Celtic readiness for war (iii 2, cf Chadwick 1966, 29-30). Lucan also mentions these themes, including an afterlife (i 441). The fourth century Ammianus Marcellinus, relying on the mid-first century BC Timagenes, also writes of the Celtic belief in the immortality of the soul in association with Pythagorean doctrines (v 28, whether Timagenes spoke of Pythagoreanism or whether this is a Marcelline commentary is uncertain).

There are two quite different aspects to these statements. The first aspect, which is directly attributable to the Celts, includes a belief in an immortal soul and an afterlife following death in this world. The second aspect is the attribution, or association, of these beliefs to the doctrine of the transmigration of souls of Pythagoras.

This second aspect, of Pythagoreanism, led Chadwick into a discursive discussion of how the Celts borrowed this belief from the Greeks (or even, vice versa, 1966, 51-68). This is, however, an unnecessary complication, for none of the writers refer to a Celtic belief that matches a transmigration of souls in the Pythagorean sense, which involves all forms of life (cf Piggott 1968, 114). Instead, it appears that Pythagoreanism was used as an approximate analogy to render the Celtic belief more understandable to a Mediterranean audience. What is there in the Celtic afterlife which would require such an analogue? The Roman conception of an afterlife was of a grim and forbidding existence - for souls were immortal to the Romans too - wherein retribution could be exacted from the dead (Ferguson 1970, 132-149). How did the Celtic beliefs differ?

There are three comments from our sources which shed some light on the nature of the Celtic afterlife. Diodorus Siculus mentions, in incredulity, that the Celts would cast letters onto a funeral pyre with the expectation that the deceased would read them in the afterlife (V 28, Tierney 250). Similarly, Caesar says that "everything which the dead loved in life is given to the funeral pyre" (VI 19, Tierney 273). Pomponius Mela confirms these comments during the first century AD: "that souls are eternal and that there is another life and it is for this reason too that they burn or bury with their dead, things appropriate to them in life, and that in times past they even used to defer the completion of business and the payment of debts until their arrival in another world" (iii 2 18-19, cf Kendrick 1927, 87-88). This practice is immediately understandable in the context of the discussion in the chapter on ethnology (chapter nine), requiring the destruction of

objects in this world in the process of their re-appearance in an afterlife or world of the gods. Thus, the Celtic afterlife was one in which all the possessions of the living had a place - suggestive of an afterlife not unlike this life. An understanding of this belief will be enhanced considerably with the addition of the Irish vernacular literature below. For the moment, however, this presents a consistent and reasonable picture within the Celtic context, however unusual it was to the Mediterranean writers, or incredible it seemed to Tierney (1960, 206).

Sacrifices

The fifth aspect of Celtic religious practices which is clearly represented in the Celtic ethnographies is the ritual sacrifice of both humans and animals. The sacrifice of humans receives prominence through a number of censorious comments by the classical writers, because of the perceived barbarity when compared with Roman civilisation (Strabo IV 1, Tierney 211); this barbarity has affected modern scholars no less. Chadwick argues unconvincingly to separate Druids from the actual killing (1966, 37), while Piggott allows both its occurrence and Druidic involvement, but labels the religion "crude" (1968, 110-111). All these views are ethnocentric in the extreme; it requires no condonation to accept the practice of sacrifice in Celtic religion - any other approach will give a biased and inaccurate picture of that religious system.

The earliest reference to Celtic sacrifice is from Sopater in Athenaeus (iv 51, cf Chadwick 1966, 29) who mentions the Galatians (ie Celts) sacrificing prisoners of war to their gods, circa 270 BC. The next references are from the first century BC, when Caesar speaks of colossal figures of wicker which formed the pyre for large-scale sacrifices (IV 16, Tierney 272); this is echoed in Strabo (IV 5, Tierney 269) and Diodorus Siculus (V 32, Tierney 252). In this context, Strabo adds animals to the human victims. Caesar specifies that human sacrifices were made in time of great danger or importance (VI 16, Tierney 272); that Druids were officials in the performance of such sacrifices is found in Caesar (above) and in Diodorus Siculus (V 31, Tierney 251). Diodorus Siculus and Strabo share a graphic account of one version of these sacrifices, by means of stabbing a man and divining the future from his death throes (Strabo IV 5, Tierney 269; Diodorus Siculus V 31, Tierney 251; both possibly quote Posidonius). Strabo mentions the sacrifice of unspecified victims by shooting them with arrows or impaling them in temples (the only time the place of the ritual is specified [IV 4, Tierney 269]). Diodorus Siculus emphasises the impiety of using criminals, prisoners of war, and captured animals as victims of sacrifice, though not objecting to the sacrifice of animals per se (V 32, Tierney 252). Caesar mentions the use of animal sacrifices in times of illness (VI 16, Tierney 272).

The responsibility for performance of these rituals is assigned to the Druids by Caesar, here apparently referring to both humans and animals (VI 13 and 16, Tierney 271-272), and by Diodorus Siculus (V 31, Tierney 251). Strabo names the Vates as officials, though in this passage his tone is general and matter of fact and so the sacrifices may be animals (IV 4, Tierney 269).

Later references to sacrifices include Dio Cassius' to human sacrifices in Britain in the first century AD (Dillon & Chadwick 1967, 138); possibly comments in Tacitus on Anglesey (Annals xiv 30, Chadwick 1966, 30); on the continent, by Lucan (iii 399); and one on sacrifice of

animals in Pliny (xvi 95, Chadwick 1966, 34). Finally, Pomponius Mela in the mid-first century BC, speaks of human sacrifice by the Celts as something of the past (iii 2).

The discrepancies in the matter of officials responsible for conducting sacrifices were noted above. Both Vates and Druids are mentioned, both together and as separately responsible. Further, the diversity of both victims and of methods is notable. This appears to be a condensation, or conflation, of a variety of rituals into an oversimplified framework. Recalling again the discussion in chapters four and five about sacrifices and Wallace's (1966, 86-87) discussion of cult institutions, it may be suggested that behind these references there would have been a division of sacrifices by victim, method, goal or function, deity and official involved, with some overlaps. For example, Vates alone would have conducted some sacrifices, Druids others, and some sacrifices may have required the presence of both.

Divination

Closely associated with sacrifice in the Celtic ethnographies is the subject of divination and augury. There are only a handful of references that deal with divination, doubtless because it would have seemed commonplace to the Romans. Not surprisingly, several of these references are of divination involving the abhorred human sacrifice. Caesar speaks only of the Druidic responsibility for the correct interpretation of performance of ritual, without specifying what ritual, though it is arguably divination that is implied (VI 13, Tierney 271). Diodorus Siculus is much more forthcoming, speaking of the role of the Vates as diviners and augurers as well as sacrificers (VI 31, Tierney 251), and mentioning augury from the flight of birds as well as from the sacrifice of animals. He then recounts the passage of divination from the death throes of a human sacrifice (VI 31, Tierney 251). Strabo echoes both the role of Vates as sacrificers and diviners as well as the passage of death throes divination, with a more direct requirement for a Druidic presence for this last type of sacrifice (IV 4, Tierney 269). From these comments, several points may be reasonably made: the Celts used at least two major forms of divination - the observation of natural events, interpreted as omens, and the sacrifice of animals and people. The first of these is certainly one of the duties of the Vates, but the second involved both Druids and Vates in some way. Here again, it would seem that progressive simplification in the sources has obscured the original complexity.

Votive Offerings

Evidence remains for one further aspect of Celtic religion, mentioned briefly when cult loci were considered, and this is the dedication of material objects as votives to the gods. The evidence is very brief and is found in the principal sources of Caesar, Strabo and Diodorus Siculus. Caesar relates the existence of many sacred places within which could be seen mounds of votive objects, especially booty gained in war, which, he says, were held inviolable on pain of death (VI 17, Tierney 272-273). In Strabo is found the account of the temple sanctuary, with great treasure stored in sacred enclosures and pools, held inviolable by the Celts generally, but plundered by the Consul Caepio, citing Posidonius and Timagenes for the information (IV 13, Tierney 262). The account in Diodorus Siculus is less specific than

Strabo's, simply commenting that in the temples and sanctuaries dedicated throughout the land were large amounts of gold votives, inviolable through religious sanction (V 27, Tierney 249). Apparently, the strangeness of this custom was the valuable nature of the votives, their relative accessibility within the sanctuaries, and the rural location of the sanctuaries. This may have seemed peculiar to the Romans, but well reinforces Caesar's observation (IV 167, Tierney 272) that the entire nation of Gaul was prone to religious observances.

One final point may be made, which stands unique among all the information contained in the Celtic ethnographies. In Livy (History, V 34), there are given three legends for the causes of the Celtic migrations across the Alps into north Italy and into the Po Valley, and one of these seems to be a Celtic myth repeated by Romans (including Livy), who did not understand its original significance. Livy writes of King Ambitgatus, of the Bituriges, "who by his personal qualities, aided by the good luck which blessed both himself and his subjects, had attained very great power; indeed, under his rule Gaul became so rich and populous that effective control of such large numbers was a matter of serious difficulty" and that mass migration was the means found to employ the surplus manpower and wealth. The important point to be made here is the great luck and wealth which accrued to the Bituriges upon the personal qualities of the King. Although this has no parallel in the Celtic ethnographies to suggest its meaning, it is perfectly explained in the context of Celtic mythology discussed in the next chapter.

SUMMARY

As has been seen, the evidence of both the Celtic ethnographies and the inscriptions and representations is plentiful and varied, and is especially informative on what could be called the structural and functional aspects of Celtic religion. In spite of the limitations inherent in the evidence, a general picture of Celtic religion has been assembled. The numerous Celtic deities are defined by both their functional attributes and by the locality with which their power is associated. Most of the gods are connected to fertility and prosperity, but the pre-eminence of Mercury-avatars of craft, travel and trade is noteworthy. The use of multi-factor analyses would probably allow a much closer and more detailed description.

The evidence for Celtic religious specialists is especially good. Several classes of specialists are indicated, of varying status; the predominant Druids were highly organised and widespread. The other classes were probably of less status and possibly local cult representatives, but the evidence is less certain for this. At least seven functions can be attributed to one or more of the classes of religious specialists:

1 The teaching of the religious doctrine

2 Civil justice

3 Medicine

4 Calendrics

5 Divination

6 Sacrifice

7 Care of temples

Other functions, such as funeral ceremonies, are highly probable, but are as yet unattested. Through these various functions, it can be confidently stated that religion was intimately "embedded" in all aspects of Celtic society, from politics and economics to morality and the day to day working of the social system. This is, of course, exactly what would be expected, based upon the ethnological literature (eg Goode 1951, on Dahomey). A more detailed assessment of the role of religion in Celtic society will be made at the end of the following section on the Irish evidence.

There is also evidence for a variety of religious locations which may be functionally differentiated. The evidence for Celtic belief in the soul and an afterlife is particularly interesting in conjunction with the discussion in the previous chapter of burial rites and their associated rituals. The sacrifice of animals and humans is well attested in the evidence and is essential information for understanding how the Celts interacted with their supernatural, as are also divination and votive offerings.

CHAPTER 8

THE CELTIC VERNACULAR LITERATURE

Ireland and Wales, unique among the once-Celtic regions, have preserved considerable quantities of Celtic mythology. Speculatively, this may be attributed to the absence of, or relatively superficial nature of Roman occupation, for, unlike the situation in Gaul, where Celtic paganism was assimilated by Roman culture and religion, Celtic paganism in Ireland and Wales was preserved until supplanted by Christianity. Thus, only one period of transition occurred, only one set of changes evolved. Further, when Christianity did arrive in Ireland, it was directed by native Irish clergy, men already steeped in the lore and traditions of their people. These Christian monks, though fervid in their faith, witness the florescence of the Celtic Church (Dillon & Chadwick 1967), were liberal enough to value and to record the traditional myths of their fellow Celts. Lacking an intermediate Roman replacement, this traditional mythology was Celtic: pagan Celtic. The result is that an impressive quantity of information on Celtic society and religion is preserved in the mythology.

THE EVIDENCE

The Nature of the Sources

Irish Mythology

The Irish myths and stories are preserved in a number of medieval manuscripts which are, in turn, copies of still earlier versions, all written in the vernacular, that is, Old Irish. Before even the first written versions, no longer extant, the myths were passed through oral transmission for a considerable length of time (Jackson 1964; O'Rahilly 1967; Gantz 1981, 20-27).

The earliest extant manuscript is the Leabor na Huidre (henceforth "LH"), or Book of the Dun Cow, from the scriptorium of Clonmacnois. The chief scribe there is known to have been slain by raiders in 1106, providing a "terminus ante quem" for the codification of the stories included. Although less than half of the original manuscript survives, the Leabor na Huidre includes more or less complete versions of thirty-seven myths and stories. A second manuscript, known as the Book of Leinster, dates in its present form to about 1160. The Book of Leinster is nearly three times as long as the surviving text of the LH and provides complete versions of many of the latter's partial

narratives, including a complete and polished account of the epic Táin Bó Cúalnge. Two later manuscripts are also important because they provide complete versions of stories which the earlier manuscripts contain only in part; the fourteenth century Yellow Book of Lecan and the Egerton manuscript number 1782, which is dated to 1419. While these are not the only manuscripts to contain Irish mythology, they are typical of the collection (for full discussions see O'Rahilly 1978; Murphy 1961; Jackson 1964, 1971; Gantz 1981; McCana 1970).

The late date of these manuscripts has occasioned debate over their authenticity, and it is important to assess the process by which the manuscript came into being. With the introduction of writing, tales which had been orally transmitted for generations could be set down in written form. It is probable that the original renderings were done by monks, either themselves familiar with the stories, or perhaps as they were heard from the professional story-tellers. These manuscripts, preserved in monasteries, were later copied by other monks. This process of transmission is verified by the surviving "table of contents" from the Book of Druimm Snechtai, which lists many of the stories of later manuscripts and is dated to the very early eighth century (Gantz 1981, 20-21). Thus, the written tradition of the Irish vernacular literature began by at least the early eighth century; the extant versions, copies made several centuries later, are therefore subject to the objections inherent in copies several times removed from the original. A more important factor, the dating of the stories themselves, or the dating of their composition, is a more perplexing task.

The Irish story tellers grouped the myths by thematic types, such as birth, death, wooings, visions, voyages etc, arranged in triads for ease of remembering (Gantz 1981, 22; McCana 1970, 17). A more artificial method of grouping has become conventional with modern scholars, based on four "cycles". The first is the Mythological Cycle, which deals with the explicitly supernatural world of the gods, the Side and the Otherworld. Second is the Ulster, or Heroic Cycle, revolving around a series of purportedly historical people and events of the Ulaid. Next is the Finian Cycle, which chronicles the Fiana bands and their leader, Finn mac Cunaill. The last cycle, The Kings Cycle, is less structured; simply a collection of tales of various kings of Ireland. As McCana (1970, 17) points out, however, even the last three cycles contain much mythic material. Many of the characters, especially the gods and heroes, appear in several of the cycles.

Welsh Mythology

Early Welsh mythology survives in recognisable form in six stories, while a further half dozen stories are largely medieval romances with few vestiges of purely Celtic traditions. Four of the six early stories form a loosely united whole, known since 1849 as The Mabinogion (Guest 1838-1849). The other two early stories are "Culhwch and Olwen" and "The Dream of Rhonabwy".

The earliest extant complete version of the Mabinogion is in the Red Book of Hergest, circa 1400, and is the product of a single author/redactor, who deliberately attempted to produce a unified sequence of stories (Gantz 1976, 21). Scattered fragments of stories from the Mabinogion are in the surviving part of the White Book of Rhydderch, circa 1325, as well as a few lines of two stories in the manuscript Peniarth 6, which is dated to about 1225 (Gantz 1976, 29), or perhaps

earlier (McCana 1970, 75). The volume of Welsh mythology, therefore, is much smaller than that of the Irish, and apparently took written form several centuries later.

Limitations on Interpretation

Attempts to interpret pagan Celtic religious beliefs from the Celtic vernacular literature, no matter how sophisticated the methods of analysis employed, are limited by several features inherent in the literature itself. The limitations may be classified into three types: spatial, temporal and stylistic. Because these differ slightly for the two sets of literature, they will be discussed separately and then compared with each other.

Irish Mythology

The most obvious feature of the Irish vernacular literature which limits interpretation is, of course, that it is Irish. The fact that Ireland alone among the Celtic nations did not undergo colonisation by the Romans, permitted additional centuries of local development to occur. Historical episodes would be of Irish origin; traditions and customs would assume an Irish flavour not necessarily apparent in another locale and culture. Thus, while results of a study of Irish mythology are undoubtedly applicable to Celtic material from Wales, England and France, such application must be done by careful analogy based on extensive parallels.

The second limiting factor is a temporal one. The written codification of the Irish myths was under way by about AD 700, but the stories recorded were ancient even when first written down. The recognition of an extensive period of oral transmission is now an accepted feature of the myths (see McCana 1970, 14-16, 131-137; Olmsted 1979; Jackson 1964, 43-55). K H Jackson (1964) has convincingly demonstrated that the society portrayed in the Irish myths was an heroic society, with parallels in the archaeology of Britain and Gaul, as well as with the society observed by the classical ethnographers. Furthermore, Jackson (1964, 1971) and McCana (1970) both show that the society portrayed in the myths is a pagan society, and where Christian overlay occurs, it may often be recognised as an ill-fitting and deliberate addition. The conclusion is, therefore, that the stories were being orally transmitted before the arrival of Christianity in Ireland in the early fifth century. At the very least, the stories are postulated to have survived 300 years of purely oral preservation, and possibly a much longer time span (O'Rahilly 1967, xiv). There is nothing inherently inexplicable about this, for as Jackson (1964), Gantz (1981, 18-20), Olmsted (1979, 118), and McCana (1970, 14-15) all demonstrate, the Celtic class of professional poets (filid in Irish) existed to perform just this function. Indeed, a parallel class in India (Rees & Rees 1961) preserved the Canonical Vedic texts in oral form for something approaching 3,000 years (Olmsted 1979, 118). Jackson preferred an early limit for composition of about 200 BC and a later limit of about 300 AD (1964), while O'Rahilly (1967, xiii-xiv) appears to favour the later part of this time span. An origin in the first two centuries AD seems a reasonable compromise. In any event, the milieu of these stories is a pagan Celtic society.

There are several other features of the myths which impede interpretation; these have been combined together as internal or stylistic biases. The first of these results from the status of the original scribe, for although the origin of the stories is pagan, they were all written down by trained, educated monks. Thus, the potential for alteration due to the attitudes of the monkish redactors is enormous. In practice, however, the effects appear to be less dramatic, possibly because the monks were surprisingly liberal. Wherever Christian elements have been added, or used to supplement pagan concepts, the change is relatively obvious. For example, characters and concepts may be changed without any other alterations to the pagan story (see "The Voyage of Mael Dúin", in Jackson 1971, 165-172, where a Celtic visit to the Otherworld becomes a Christian "peregrinatio").

Much more difficult to recognise is the simple omission: what and how much has been left out? Here again, the potential effect is considerable. In practice, it led Chadwick (1966, 56-58) to conclude that Celtic religion could not have had any conceptual organisation since no such elements remain. McCana (1970, 134-135) astutely notes that these are precisely the features that a monk-redactor would be most likely to find objectionable, and where he chose to combat the pagan idea by simply leaving it out, he was markedly successful. There is no simple way to recognise and fill such a lacuna, though, eventually, detailed study may fill some of the voids. Until that time, the lack of systems/concepts, and the apparently anarchical nature of Celtic myth must be simply accepted, not as a primary deficit (as Chadwick), but as a factor of their preservation.

Welsh Mythology

Many of the comments applicable to the Irish mythology are also relevant to the Welsh material, but the emphasis must be shifted slightly, for, in general, the Welsh material suffered far more at the hands of redactors than did the Irish.

The spatial limitations of the Welsh material are relatively straightforward. All the stories ramble widely, throughout not just Wales, but through Devon and Cornwall; they were current to much of western Celtic Britain.

The temporal limitations inherent in the Welsh material derive from their relatively late date of transcription.

Previous attempts to date the material of the stories, based on internal evidence and using the same techniques applied to the Irish material, have not been convincing and the matter is unresolved. Williams argued for compilation as early as 1060 (1930), while Watkins argues (1963) for a date in the thirteenth century. "Culhwch and Olwen", the earliest of the Welsh material (Gantz 1970, 24, 30), could be of the eleventh century, based on similar linguistic and thematic criteria. "The Dream of Rhonabwy", although preserving a traditional Celtic theme and style, must date in its present form to after 1150 because of the historical characters involved in twelfth century Powys (Gantz 1976, 24). Thus, the Welsh material was first written down at least four hundred years later than the Irish, and possibly even more.

The first consequence of the late date of codification is that it provided several centuries in which Christian attitudes could operate to remove or disguise the originally mythic elements of the stories; for example, the absence of any druids at all, the frequent oaths sworn to the Christian God, and the naturalness of the appearance of priest and

bishop in "Manawydan". A second aspect is the thoroughness of the "euhemerisation" (in Gantz' sense of the word, 1981,2) of many of the characters. Bran, Math, Gofannon and Rhiannon betray their origin as gods, but are consistently treated in the stories as if they were human. In like manner, cauldrons are a frequent symbol of the supernatural in the Irish myths; they appear as expected in Welsh myth, and in the correct mythic context, but their importance is understated. The third con sequence is that, by the twelfth century, Wales had long been in contact with France. One manifestation of this is the tangled relationship of Welsh tradition with the medieval romances of Crestiens de Troyes, and vice versa. This relationship is problematic (Gantz 1976, 25), but largely irrelevant here; those stories with an obvious ancestry or excessive borrowing from French romances have been disregarded. Even the remaining six stories, however, show some traces of late influence, such as those which formed the basis for the Watkins-Williams debate noted above.

One further limitation applies equally to both the Irish and Welsh myths: the use of myths to understand "belief", for myth and belief are not synonymous. Myths are not the "gospel" of a religion. Myths are stories of the activities of gods; they describe the origins of the gods, the world, man and society. Myths illustrate in parable or story form the many principles of a religion (Wallace 1966, 579). But myths may lack the connecting logic that ties all the aspects of a religion together. When the myths did contain the connecting logic, these are the parts of the myth that would have suffered in recording/ transmission. However, Dillon and Chadwick (1967, 134, 155) note that while mythology does not offer a definition of religious belief, it does offer a symbol and an example of the beliefs. These symbols can be used to understand beliefs, if there is sufficient symbolism to indicate what the original concept-referents were. This has, in fact, been an assumption of several previous surveys (Powell, 1958; Piggott 1968; Dillon & Chadwick 1967; McCana 1970).

A second problem resulting from late codification has usually been solved by an equally tacit assumption. A simple comparison of the religious beliefs in a classical ethnography of southern Gaul, circa 100 BC, with Irish myths, circa AD 400, can come dangerously close to implying a religion or lifestyle common to all Celts at all times. Such uniformity through time and across space would be highly unlikely; but this does not make all comparisons invalid. As McCana writes:

> "to speak of a Celtic Mythology is not to imply a close unity, but merely to recognise a tangible relationship based upon common (cultural) inheritance" (1970, 18).

Such cultural inheritance is clear in Powell (1958), Jackson (1964) and, on a much wider scale, in Rees and Rees (1961). The explicit assumption here is that the general, structural features of myth and religion with which this study is concerned are sufficiently basic to be part of the "Celtic-ness" of the various peoples, an assumption also made by Ross (1967), Dillon and Chadwick (1967), and McCana (1970).

ANALYSIS

The discussion above emphasises that any attempt to interpret evidence of Celtic mythology must be designed to cope with the limitations inherent in the myths as they survive in written form. For present purposes, the limitations are divided into two groups which require different management.

The first group includes the spatial and temporal aspects of the myths, which act as limitations on the applicability of results, though they are not problems in the interpretation of results. These are discussed in greater detail in chapter ten, when the results are used to begin building a picture of Celtic religion.

The second group of limitations are those labelled the "internal biases" of the myths. In general, they may take any of three forms:

1 The loss of details or elements from stories. "Element" is defined as a god, mythic personage, supernatural symbol or ritual action, relatively concrete units or parts of the myths. An example would be a druidic act of prophecy, or a god's performance of shape-changing.

2 The loss, or deliberate omission, of the linking concepts or themes of the pagan belief system (though such concepts may never have been present). The term "theme" refers to the "why" explanation that a belief system supplies to link two or more "elements" into a coherent system. An example would be sacral kingship, which related natural fertility, proper government and the powers of tutelary goddesses into one conceptual whole, which was called "The Truth of the Ruler".

3 The imposition of Christian elements and/or concepts into a story in place of pagan elements.

All of these are attributable to biases on the part of the redactor(s).

The first of these limitations, the loss of detail, can, in theory, be resolved by an analysis of many myths, using parallel episodes to fill lacunae in stories. The loss of pagan concepts, if omitted from all the stories where they originally occurred, is probably irremediable. The redactors, however, were seldom so consistent, and frequently, several parallel stories can be used to fill a lacuna in one story, or else to indicate what has been replaced by Christian concepts (eg, the example of the "Voyage of Mael Dúin"). Further, the consistent association of one or more mythic episodes may be used to infer such themes when they are left (or made) implicit. The third form of internal bias, the imposition of Christian elements, is readily recognisable and thus poses a problem only in determining the original content for which the changes were made.

The analytical procedure requires a data base on two levels. The first is a catalogue of all the gods, mythic characters, symbols, episodes, etc (ie, elements) that can be culled from a selection of myths. These can serve as the basis for the inference of themes. The second level is more abstract, and consists of a series of religious themes or concepts. These include such themes as "Sacral Kingship", "Tutelary Goddess", "Liminal Place", etc. This has, in fact, been a recurrent feature of many previous studies of Celtic mythology (Sjoestedt 1949; Powell 1958; Piggott 1968, 51-89, 102-114; Dillon & Chadwick 1967; Ross 1967; McCana 1970; Olmsted 1979) and would appear to be an acceptable procedure.

The Celtic Myths

The myths and stories used were selected on the basis of two factors: the availability of reasonably accurate and readable translations, and the relative date of the codification of the story. The first is self-explanatory; the second is done on the premise that an earlier date of written form should minimise the effects of redactor bias. The selection of stories is far from complete and totally non-random. It is intended to be representative of the mythology as a whole only in a general way. The stories used and their bibliographic sources are as follows:

IRISH MYTHS	REFERENCE NOTATION IN TEXT	BIBLIOGRAPHIC SOURCE
The Wooing of Étain	WE)	
The Destruction of Da Dergas Hostel	DDH)	
Dream of Óengus	DO)	
Cattle Raid of Fróech	CRF)	
Labour Pains of the Ulaid	LPU)	Early Irish
Birth of Cú Chulainn	BCC)	Myths and
Boyhood Deeds of Cú Chulainn	BDCC)	Sagas,
Death of Aífe's Only Son	DAS)	Gantz 1981
Wasting Sickness of Cú Chulainn	WSCC)	
Tale of MacDaThó's Pig	MDTP)	
Intoxication of the Ulaid	IU)	
Bricriu's Feast	BF)	
Exile of the Sons of Uisliu	ESU)	
Táin Bó Cúalnge	TBC	Kinsella 1969
	TBC	O'Rahilly 1967
A Celtic Miscellany	ACM	Jackson 1971
Celtic Mythology	CM	McCana 1970

WELSH MYTHS		
The Mabinogion		
Pwyll	Pwyll)	
Branwen	Branwen)	
Manawydan	Manawydan)	Gantz 1976
Math	Math)	
How Culhwch Won Olwen	Culhwch)	
The Dream of Rhonabwy	Dream)	

The myths above produced nearly two dozen separate, but closely interrelated themes under six categories: the pagan deities; remnant cosmogony; eschatology; the articulation of society with the supernatural; the articulation of the individual with the supernatural; and general features of the supernatural. For all but the first the Irish and Welsh evidence is discussed together, since (in the process of analysis) it was noted that, where Welsh evidence survived, it was confirmatory of the Irish themes and never contradictory; the lack of Welsh evidence was not interpreted as evidence of the lack of a belief.

Irish Deities

Irish mythology is extraordinarily rich in evidence for the multitude of gods. There appear to be three types of deities in the Irish mythology. These groups are not mutually exclusive; their membership may overlap and the characters certainly interact in several instances, so the distinction is perhaps more artificial than part of the Celtic belief system.

Túatha dé Dannan

The first type to be discussed here are the Túatha Dé Danann - The People of the Goddess Danu (here abbreviated simply as Túatha). The title carries implications of a hierarchy of gods, or perhaps a "mother" of gods, for which very little other evidence survives. The Tuatha were the fifth, but the last, of the divine people to conquer Ireland; they completed the creation of the country (see Cosmogony) before being, in turn, conquered by the mortal Sons of Mil, "ancestors" of the Celts. Consequent upon this defeat they retreated underground, into the Sid mounds (the prehistoric burial mounds), from which event stems the conception of the Síde-folk and the Síde Otherworld (see Eschatology). With the exception of the "Second Battle of Magh Tuired", which tells of the Túatha's conquest of Ireland (McCana 1970, 59), all other stories treat the Túatha as more or less synonymous with Síde-folk. The Túatha are discussed here only in terms of several general characteristics, for which individual examples will be provided. A more comprehensive discussion will be found in Sjoestedt (1949), Dillon & Chadwick (1967) and McCana (1970).

The first general characteristic of the Túatha is that they live in a divine society, a feature of all the stories of the Túatha. The world of the Túatha is a superlative parallel of Earth (see Otherworld) and of human society; the Túatha meet in council (as at Magh Tuired), they disagree and fight (DO), or trick each other (WE), and all the rules of Celtic society apply (as when Núada resigns office when wounded, in accord with the rules of sacral kingship, see Dillon & Chadwick 1967, 184).

Secondly, the Túatha are virtually unique among Irish deities by being clearly distinguished by individual functions. This is in clear contradiction to the "polyvalent" view of Irish deities emphasised by Sjoestedt (1949) and even by Dillon and Chadwick (1967). Examples of this are numerous: Nuada Airgetlam (meaning Silver Hand, for the artificial hand made for him); Dían Cécht the divine healer (who made the Silver Hand); the three divine craftsmen, Gobniu the smith, Luchta the wheelwright, and Creidne the metal worker. Ogma is the Champion of the divine society, and there were divine harpers, poets, cup-bearers etc. The two most prominent members of the Túatha, however, contradict

this general trend and revert to the polyvalence of Sjoestedt (1949), for which they are the two main examples. The first is the Dagda (the Good God, meaning good at everything), a sort of all-purpose god. He is also called Ruad Rho-fhessa, or Lord of Great Knowledge, as a patron god of druidism (McCana 1970, 66). The Dagda is symbolised by an inexhaustable cauldron, ensuring plenty for his people, and by a giant club with which he defends his people. It was the Dagda who directed the retreat of the Túatha into the Síd mounds. The second all-purpose Túatha is Lug, whose epithet "Samildánach" means "expert at many skills together" and who was admitted into the Tuatha for his polyvalent expertise. His symbols are the spear and sling, weapons which kill at a distance (hence his other soubriquet "Llamfadha" or "Long Arm"). Lug led the Túatha in the Second Battle of Magh Tuired in which he killed the Fomorian King Balar with a slingshot (McCana 1970, 27-29, 60-65; Dillon & Chadwick 1967).

The central characteristics of the Túatha, therefore, appear to be their social organisation, which parallels human society, and their functional differentiation. This latter, which provides a divine patron for nearly every craft (farming and animal husbandry are notable by their absence), and the dominance of the Dagda and Lug (expert at all crafts) make the Túatha an excellent possibility for what McCana called "gods of a wider significance and cult" (1970, 26).

Tutelary Goddesses

The second, and by far the most numerous, type of deity in Celtic-Ireland was the Tutelary Goddess. Considering the Dinnshenchas (see below), as well as the myths, it appears that every district, river and gathering place had its own tutelary goddess.

There are four general features which are applicable to all the tutelary goddesses. The first is that the goddess represents the social, legal and ritual dominion of the land for which she is responsible. This takes the form of the fertility of the land, making the tutelary goddess the appropriate patroness of the farming and animal husbandry functions unfulfilled by the Túatha. This ritual sovereignty or dominion takes the form of a marriage between the king and the tutelary goddess of the king's land; if such a marriage occurs and the king fulfils his responsibility of correct behaviour, the goddess ensures the continuing fertility and prosperity of the land, crops, animals, rivers, forests etc. For extended discussions see McCana (1970, 117-123).

The second general feature of the tutelary goddesses is that they are associated with definite, usually quite localised, areas. The most expansive of such associations is that of the (triplicate) eponymous goddesses of all Ireland, Ériu, Banba and Fódla (McCana 1970, 85). Otherwise, the localisation is much greater - Bóand to the River Boyne (WE), Siannon with the River Shannon, Medb with Connacht (but see discussion of Heroes), Brighid with Leinster, Macha with Emain Macha (LPU), Áine with Cnoc Áine, and Tailltiu with Tailtiu (McCana 1970, 86; Ross 1967, 219). Appropriately, the association of the goddess with fertility and regeneration means that the goddess is frequently depicted with copious sexual capacity (eg, Medb in TBC, Macha in LPU, Étain in WE, etc).

The third general aspect is a result of the localisation of the goddess and her responsibility for the land's prosperity, for such goddesses frequently take on warlike aspects in defence of their domain. For example, Medb is ruthless in command of the Connacht army (TBC), and Brighid (even using her later Christianised name, Saint Brighid) actively defends her Leinster (McCana 1970, 86).

The fourth aspect of the tutelary goddesses is that they are frequently triple. Triads are a feature of the Celtic supernatural in general, but are unusually common among the goddesses. There are, for example, three Morrígans, three Brighids, three Machas, and the three eponymous goddesses of Ireland.

The tutelary goddesses are rarely found in each other's company (hardly surprising, considered their localisation), but are found frequently with the Tuatha, as well as with heroes and with kings. This may indicate that the Tuatha and the tutelary goddesses were not distinct groups to the Celts, but rather functioned together in a sort of conceptual and ritual cooperation.

Miscellaneous Irish Deities

There remains the smallest and most diverse type of deity, a more or less miscellaneous collection of gods. They, perhaps, share little in common among themselves, but they are definitely distinct from the other two types. Principal among these is Manannán mac Lir, "Son of the Sea", the God of the Otherworld par excellence. Manannán's Otherworld is perhaps the Isle of Man, the whole of the Irish Sea, or perhaps this is just one of the series of Otherworlds, and Manannán just the most prominent of a series of Otherworld kings (WSCC mentions others). Manannán may function as a psychopomp or figure of rebirth; if so, he is the only male deity to be so directly associated with rebirth and regeneration (Dillon & Chadwick 1967, 151-154). He remains aloof from the other Irish deities, and curiously, is one of the few Otherworld figures not a member of the Túatha (but see McCana 1970, 73, for a late story in which he appears as a Túatha). Another such figure is Donn, the definitive King, or God, of the Land of the Dead (discussed under Eschatology), who remains a totally aloof, solitary, chthonic figure, with few surviving appearances in the extant texts (McCana 1970, 41-44). In contrast, Cú Roí is an eponymous and tutelary god of his native Kerry (perhaps the only male deity in this role). Cú Roí is not Túatha, nor is he associated with any other deities; he is a master of sorcery, a great traveller and warrior, and frequently he appears as a giant churl or herdsman (BF, also McCana 1970, 100-101). He also figures prominently in the Herioc Ulster cycle, at least once as a supernatural judge awarding the position of champion of the Ulaid to Cú Chulainn (BF, also "Death of Cú Chulainn" in O'Rahilly 1967).

There are several themes which are common to nearly all the supernatural figures in the Irish myths. Shape-shifting (or zoomorphism) is extremely common, and the appearance of animal avatars is nearly as prevalent. Generally, the deities have a particular animal form (or alternate human guise) into which they change. Among the Túatha, Óengus changes into a swan in quest of Cáer Ibormeith (DO), who is herself not specificallly Túatha, but is certainly Síde, and lives alternate years as swan and human. Lug takes bird form to father Cú Chulainn (in BCC), and another unspecified bird-deity fathers Conare Mor (in DDH). The Morrígans are particularly frequent shape-changers, usually into crows or ravens (Bodb, one of the three Morrígans, means

crow, her favourite alternate form, see ACM, Jackson 1971, 42-48). Morrigan, in particular, fights Cú Chulainn in the forms of eel, wolf and heifer (in TBC), and the three collectively haunt battlefields in crow form (McCana 1970, 89-90). Cú Roí appears in various, usually human, guises (especially BF). Manannán mac Lir also shape-shifts (Sjoestedt 1949, Dillon & Chadwick 1967, 151-152). Finally, and most dramatically, the two divine swineherds, both "learned in the druidic arts", Frwich and Rucht, change into crows, stags, warriors, phantoms, dragons, maggots, and eventually into the two great mythic bulls, Finnbennach and Dunn Cualnge, over which the Táin Bó Cúalnge is waged (see TBC, Kinsella 1969). Examples of animal avatars, where there is no direct evidence of shape-shifting, are equally common: Macha is associated with horses (LPU) and Étain Echrade (WE) means Étain "Horse-troop" (Ross 1967, 225). This feature also appears frequently among the Celtic Heroes.

Welsh Deities

The Welsh mythic tradition has suffered greatly through transmission, and much of the Mabinogion, while suggestive, is rarely sufficiently direct or complete to allow firm conclusions. This is certainly true of ascribing divinity to the leading characters; their divinity is clear by analogy to the Irish material, but rarely based on internal evidence. For this reason, and also because of the relative paucity of myth, some way of discussing the gods other than by "type" had to be devised. The internal structure of the Mabinogion follows the members of three families or dynasties, and this structure is substituted for type.

The first family is that of Pwyll, Lord of Dyfed, who appear in the first and third Branches of the Mabinogion (Pwyll and Manawydan - Pryderi appears only briefly in Math). The principal character is Pwyll, Lord of Dyfed. His name translates literally as "Wisdom", and this is used to justify his divine status as an Otherworld god because of his actions in Annwn (= Non-World; McCana 1970, 83-84). Pwyll, however, goes to Annwn as a substitute for the openly Otherworld King Arawn (who is thus surely a deity in his own right), a role which finds many parallels in Ireland among heroic mortals (Cú Chulainn in WSCC, for example). His ascription as a god, therefore, is conceivable, though he fits more comfortably into the class of heroes. The divine status of the second character, Rhiannon, is beyond question. Her name means "Divine Queen" (McCana 1970, 84); she is openly from the Otherworld, she first appears in unquestionably supernatural circumstances, and she is associated with horses and great equine speed (Pwyll). Furthermore, Pwyll sojourns twice in the Otherworld in order to win Rhiannon from an Otherworld rival. Later, in "Branwen" and "Manawydan", Rhiannon is associated with the three sweet-singing Birds of Rhiannon. Rhiannon is, therefore, certainly a deity, and while there are no name cognates in Ireland, there are sufficient functional parallels. The third character of Pwyll is Pryderi, son of Pwyll and Rhiannon. Pryderi's name means "Anxiety" (Gantz 1976, 64), his birth (on 1 May, Beltane, see Liminal Times) is coincidental with that of a foal to Teyrnon (= Great Lord; McCana 1970, 84) and his growth is precocious. These features indicate a close functional parallel to Cú Chulainn; neither is considered divine here, but rather as a hero.

The second potentially divine family of Wales is that of Llyr, found in the stories "Branwen" and "Manawydan". The attribution of divine status to the members of this family is marginally more secure than in the case of Pwyll. The patronym "mac Llyr" means "Son of the Sea", cognate to the Irish god and certainly suggestive of divinity. The three main characters are Bran (the Blessed, meaning Raven Son of Sea), Branwen (White Breast) and Manawydan. Bran is almost certainly a god; his giant stature, the sympathetic devastation of Ireland and Wales when he is disfigured in battle, and his head which remained living long after decapitation are all very suggestive (Branwen). Branwen plays such a minor role that conclusions must be cautiously drawn, but as a sister to Bran and Manawydan, and with her associations to birds, her divine status is reasonably certain (Branwen). The third figure is Manawydan mac Llyr, an almost exact cognate of Manannán mac Llyr of Irish myth (McCana 1970, 79). He is patient, resourceful and wise, and very skilled in "druidic arts" (Manawydan), but nowhere does he manifest any functional divine features, nor does he have any clear links with either the sea or with the Otherworld, as does the Irish Manannan. Just as Manannan is always separate from the Túatha, the main body of Irish deities, Manawydan is never associated with the Welsh Family of Don.

The differentiation of Manawydan from the Family of Don is significant because the Family of Don is unquestionably divine and contains many parallels with the Irish material. The Family consists of the brother, sons and daughter of Don, cognate with Danu, the eponymous mother of the Túatha (Gantz 1976, 99; McCana 1970, 76). Math is the brother of Don; he is a barely euhemerised god. Math can hear anything said in his kingdom and possesses tremendous magical, especially shape-changing, powers (Math). Don has three sons and a daughter, all certainly divine. One son, Gwydion, shares with Math great magical powers of shape-changing and illusion. So too does Gilfaethy, in spite of his limited appearances. The third son is Gofannon, a close cognate of Gobniu of the Tuatha, and like Gobniu, Gofannon is a divine smith who makes magical weapons (Math). The daughter of Don is Arianrhod, a sorceress who is also the mother of two further descendants with divine status. Her first son is Dylon Eil Don ("Sea Son of Wave", Gantz 1976, 106; McCana 1970, 75), who immediately upon birth and baptism (he is born as a small child) takes to the sea and "took on its nature" (Math). Her second son is eventually (through the magic and cunning of Gwydion) named Lleu Llau Gyffes, "The Bright One of the Skilful Hand" (Gantz 1976, 109), which is a direct parallel of the Irish Lug in both name and epithet. Further, Lleu preserves a few traces of the skill and craft of Lug (McCana 1970, 75-76). In "Culhwch", reference is made in passing to yet another son of Don, Amathaeon (literally, Divine Ploughman; McCana 1970, 76), who is said to be the only one who can till a section of land in a miraculously short time (Culhwch). Here, the cumulative evidence of the Family of Don is very convincing; they must derive from the same basic stock as the Tuatha in Ireland.

One further parallel exists in the known Welsh mythic character Nudd Llau Ereint, Nudd of the Silver Hand. This is, of course, a cognate of Nuadu Silver Hand of the Túatha. Interestingly, Nudd is not associated with the Family of Don, where the rest of the Welsh parallels to the Tuatha are found.

Many of the divine features of the Irish gods also appear with the Welsh gods. The Welsh characters occur in triads (Math), they shape-change (Pwyll, Manwydan, Math), and they have animal avatars (Branwen, Rhiannon in Branwen). A lacuna, however, is that there are no

tutelary goddesses known from the Welsh myths.

Heroes

Irish and Welsh mythology preserve a very strong tradition of a class of characters that is, in some sense, mid-way between mortals and the gods. This tradition is found especially in the Ulster and Fiana Cycles. The first chronicles the Ulaid (or people of Ulster) and the main character is the great Irish hero Cú Chulainn; the latter provides an account of the fiana bands and their leader Finn mac Cumaill. Dillon and Chadwick treat both groups as extensively euhemerised gods (1967, 154-155). McCana remains uncommitted about Cu Chulainn, but does consider Finn to be divine in origin (1970, 113). Both of these conclusions seem unwarranted. In both the Ulster and Fiana Cycles, other openly divine figures appear frequently; if the heroes are euhemerised gods, why were not the other gods euhemerised as well? Further, the heroes themselves manifest a range of relative divinity; Cu Chulainn perhaps displays more divine characteristics than do Conall Cernach or Fróech (CRF). This sort of postulated uneven euhemerisation does little to improve the interpretation of the myths. The resolution offered here is that the heroes were intended to represent a semi-divine status, between man and gods; they were never gods at all. This status would be perfectly in keeping with an "heroic" society in which contact with the supernatural was an everyday and continuing circumstance of life, but which occurs in a variety of forms closely related to positions in the complex Celtic social structure.

There are a number of general features or characteristics which seem to apply to the "Hero" status. Only Cú Chulainn and Pryderi seem to embody all of the features; other heroes possess only a few and are therefore considered to have a less "liminal" position in the Celtic conceptual world. To begin with, there are four features connected with the birth of heroes: first, the hero has one divine parent (Cú's father is Lug, BCC; Pryderi's mother is Rhiannon, Pwyll). Secondly, there are usually two duplicating stories of the birth to account for the double parent (Cú was born twice, BDD; Pryderi was born to Rhiannon but appears to Teyrnon to be raised, Pwyll). Thirdly, the birth of a hero is coincidental with the birth of animals and with strange weather patterns (both are associated with the birth of foals and both are born during storms). Finally, the birth of a hero occurs at one of the four great yearly ritual festival days (Cú at Samain and Pryderi at Beltane).

Another feature of the hero is that he demonstrates extreme precocity throughout his youth, especially in growth and martial skills (both Cu and Pryderi grow at twice normal rates). This leads directly to another feature, a form of martial invincibility; both Cú and Pryderi are killed only when "overtaken" by their gessa (see Gessa) (for Cu, see "Cú Chulainn and The Valley of the Deaf" in ACM, Jackson 1971; Pryderi is tricked into giving away his Otherworld pigs without fulfilling the Otherworld proviso or conditions and he is promptly killed, see Math). The last feature of the heroes is that their death, when it does occur, tends to be at one of the four great liminal festivals (Cú dies at Samain; Pryderi's death is not dated, but one must remember that the festivals are generally expunged from the Welsh mythology; Pryderi's death nonetheless occurs in a cycle of events suggesting seasonality, closely associated with the great festivals).

These characteristics clearly delineate the eminent Celtic heroes, Cú Chulainn and Pryderi. Other figures who possess some of the traits and are the "lesser heroes" are Finn mac Cumaill (who may rival Cú in stature, McCana 1970, 106-115), Fergus mac Roich (see TBC), Conall Cernach, Fróech, Pwyll, and the Welsh Gwynn, cognate of Finn. Interestingly, the Connacht Queen Medb is in a very similar position. She is treated in the literature as purely human, even in the presence of gods, yet she has a certain divinity, in particular her role as the personification of the sovereignty of Connacht (TBC, OD). McCana (1970, 85-86) treats Medb as a euhemerised tutelary goddess, an example of the sort of selective euhemerisation held suspect here; however, the concept of a hero used here would allow the mortal, but heroic, Medb to embody certain divine traits.

The principal function of the Heroes in mythology appears to be as an earthly substitute for one or more deities. In situations where certain gods had an interest in the welfare and lives of a social group or a territory, the hero is frequently employed as an instrument of the god's plans and wishes. Cú and Pryderi are both protectors of their peoples and both are instrumental in effecting social changes (eg LPU, Math). Heroes, therefore, were people with certain special relationships with the supernatural, and because of their liminal status could serve as intermediaries between the gods and men.

There is, in addition, a fascinating concept proposed by Sjoestedt (1949, chapters VI and VII) distinguishing between "Heroes of the tribe" (eg Cú, Pryderi), who typify the tribal ideals, and "Heroes outside the tribe", who are the idealised personification of all the valuable or useful traits which do not find expression in the tribal ideal (eg Finn). Without making too much of the basic distinction, it does provide an explanation for the two cycles as ways of integrating diverse values into one conceptual system of interaction with the supernatural.

Continental Parallels with Insular Celtic Mythic Figures

Numerous studies have demonstrated the wide range of parallels between the gods known from Gaulish inscriptions and those of the insular Celtic mythology. Among the most carefully reasoned are Sjoestedt (1949), Ross (1967), McCana (1970) and, with more daring, Olmsted (1979). Also useful are Bromwich (1961), Rees & Rees (1961) and Gantz (1976, 1981). Because this subject is already well examined, only a few examples will be given.

Some of the best parallels are those made between the Gaulish gods assimilated with Roman Mercury, and the Irish Lug-Welsh Lleu; a series of equations that are convincing are made by McCana (1970, 27-29), Dillon & Chadwick (1967, 143-144) and Olmsted (1979, 151-157), though the latter's extensions to include Esus and Cú Chulainn are not persuasive. Gaulish Minerva forms translate well functionally to the Irish triple Brighid (McCana 1970, 34-35; Dillon & Chadwick 1967, 144). Óengus Mac ind Óc can probably be correlated to Gaulish Maponos (McCana 1970, 33), while the Gaulish Vulcan variants clearly correlate to the Irish/Welsh pair of Gobniu and Gofannon (McCana 1970, 35-37) as divine smiths. Gaulish Ogmios is cognate to Irish Oghma, and both are Champions (the Celtic conception of a champion is less a great warrior than a master orator). The Gaulish "Dis Pater" god(s) finds a parallel in Ireland in Donn, the God of the Dead, and both were regarded as the ancestors of their respective groups (McCana 1970, 41-43). Sucellos the Good Striker, with his club and cauldron of plenty, is a functional

parallel to the Dagda, while the Gaulish god of forest and nature fertility, Cernunnos, shares a name root with Connall Cernach and shares function with Finn and, more noticeably, with Cú Roí as a giant churl/herdsman (McCana 1970, 46-48). The divine Matrona, a blatantly conflated group of goddesses, may very well parallel the many Irish tutelary goddesses (eg Ériu, Banba and Fódla).

The list is lengthy and the pattern is clear. It would seem beyond doubt that the Gauls, Irish and Welsh drew on a basic set of god forms and functions, which then developed along slightly diverging courses in each area. For example, Manannan and Manwydan are almost certainly out of the same base, though they developed differently, while a Gaulish parallel is unknown. Gaulish Maponos and Mac ind Oc are cognates but differ in function; Maponos is a healer, which is the forte of Óengas' Túatha companion, Dían Cécht. A detailed analysis of the patterns, or parallels and discontinuities, could probably elucidate much of the history of the different sets of gods, but at least the conclusion seems clear that there are extensive parallels and analogies between the Gaulish and the insular gods.

Remnant Cosmogony

A cosmogony is the set of beliefs which a people hold to explain the original creation of the world, people and society. This is precisely the sort of belief pattern, or series of concepts, which a Christian monk could be expected to omit in his transcriptions of pagan Celtic myth. Something of the sort undoubtedly did take place, producing the lack of an organised system of belief that Chadwick derided (1966, 56-58) and the anarchical nature of residue emphasised by Sjoestedt (1949) and Dillon & Chadwick (1967). McCana (1970, 132-136) reacts against this and nowhere may his arguments be better substantiated than with Celtic cosmogony. There are, in fact, traces of a Celtic cosmogony preserved in two different sources.

The more important of the two is the "Leabor Gabála Éirainn" (LGE, Book of Conquests, Cross & Slover 1936). The Book of Conquests outlines a series of six invasions and occupations by five groups of gods and lastly by humans. During the course of these conquests, Ireland developed its modern form and character, and it is this characteristic which makes the LGE appear to be a remnant cosmogony. Christian influence is clear, for example, the first conquest is by Cesair, who is sometimes credited with being a descendant of Noah, though an older pagan tradition makes Cesair a descendant of Banba, one of the eponyms of Ireland (McCana 1970, 57; Sjoestedt 1949, chapter one). The Cesair perished in The Flood (this could be Christian, but need not be, see McCana 1970, 135).

Following the flood came Partholan and his followers, who first cleared land, made fields and lakes, brought cattle and introduced social concepts such as fosterage and a legal code (Sjoestedt 1949, chapter one). Partholan also fought the first battle against a race known as the Fomorians, who are always poised on the Irish mythic horizon waiting to invade Ireland, and whom Sjoestedt viewed as the enemy in the first of many conflicts between order and light (Partholan) and the chthonic darkness (Sjoestedt 1949, chapter one). Partholan and his group were eventually wiped out by a plague.

Next came Nemed and his followers, who cleared more land and made more lakes, but who were eventually dominated by the Fomorians. A battle ensued, and the few Nemed to survive left Ireland in two groups,

later to return. The first group to return were the Fir Bolg who, with their allies the Gailioin and Fir Donanann, became the fourth wave of invaders. By this time, much of physical Ireland was created, and the Fir Bolg introduced many social elements, such as monarchy, warlike aristocracy, the five provinces, and importantly, the rapport between the righteousness of a king and the fertility of the land (Sjoestedt 1949, McCana 1970, 58). The Fir Bolg were in turn defeated at the First Battle of Moytura (or Magh Tuired) by the Túatha de Danann (the second half of the survivors of Nemed) with their superior skill in magic and craft, as illustrated by their functional specialisation. The Tuatha went on to do battle with the Fomorians at the Second Battle of Moytura when order and light finally triumphed over the chthonic darkness (Sjoestedt 1949, chapter one; Cross & Slover 1936, The Second Battle of Magh Tuired), though by this time the account of Moytura represents the Fomorians less as monstrous demons than as gods. The Battle of Tailtiu sees the Túatha supplanted by the mortal Sons of Mil; here cosmogony ends and mythic "history" begins.

There is a second source from which an even more diffused remnant of cosmogony may be salvaged. This is the body of lore (of twelfth century codification) called the Dinnshenchas or "The Lore of Prominent Places" (McCana 1970, 49). Sjoestedt described this very aptly as the "mythic geography" of Ireland (1949). It is, in fact, a comprehensive, topographic guide to Ireland. A vast number of places are described and a story recounted to explain how the place was formed/named (the two concepts are probably synonymous, see McCana 1970, 57).

Three comments are relevant to this source. First, this is one aspect of the peculiarly Irish concern with, and rapport between, nature and the supernatural. Secondly, many of the places so dealt with are prominent, not only as places created by the actions of gods or mythic creatures (eg Donn Cúalnge in the Táin, see Kinsella 1969), but because they continue to hold a "liminal" status throughout both mythic history and factual history. The third point is the dominant role of tutelary goddesses in the formation of the landscape (McCana 1970, 43-50); once again, this exhibits a rapport between man/nature/supernatural, and focuses on the regenerative/fertility aspects of the female tutelary deity as applicable to localised places.

The correlation of the features of the LGE and the Dinnshenchas must surely represent surviving traces of a Celtic cosmogony after its mutilation at the hands of monkish scribes. The particular beliefs are probably beyond recovery, but a few concepts begin to appear. In keeping with the rest of Celtic mythology is the misleadingly simple appearance of direct parallels between the supernatural and human society (or is this a result of euhemerisation?) seen in the creation of the landscape. The remarkable rapport of man/land/supernatural has been mentioned already. Also notable is the probably pagan origin of a creation-catastrophe cycle with its possible appearance in the Celtic Ethnography, where it was said that "souls were immortal though at times sea and fire may prevail".

Remnant Eschatology

Eschatology, or concepts dealing with the fate of the soul, a judgement and an afterlife, like cosmogony, can be expected to have fared badly at the hands of hostile monastic redactors. This is true, though, as in the case of cosmogony, a few traces still survive. Two

preliminary provisos must be mentioned: first, the modern concept of a soul is not appropriate for a discussion of Celtic mythology in which the dead reappear as physical beings in an Otherworld or afterlife conceived in physical terms. Second, there are no traces whatever of a "judgement" in the Christian sense; it would appear that the Celts believed that all the dead fared the same, irrespective of behaviour in this life.

The Celtic Otherworld remains a difficult place and concept to deal with. In one sense, the Otherworld is a parallel to this world, where the people live much as humans do, by farming and cattle-raising, and where they indulge in the traditional Celtic pastimes of raiding and fighting (WSCC, McCana 1970, 125-126; Sjoestedt 1949, chapter five; Dillon & Chadwick 1967). The Otherworld is not a direct parallel though, for its most common prospect is as a superlative world where harvests are plentiful, rivers are full of fish, herds are numerous, men are noble and women beautiful. All castles and homes are furnished with incredible richness, and the standard drink is sparkling wine; no one grows old or suffers sickness (WSCC, Adventure of Nera or Midhir's Invitation to Fairyland in ACM).

The superlative character of the Otherworld is well represented by the seductive names applied to it. It is called, for example, Tír inna mBeo, The Land of the Living, Tír inna mBan, The Land of Women, The Land of Promise, The Gentle Land, The Plain of Two Mists, The Plain of Delights, and many, many more. Paradoxically, though the Otherworld folk do not sicken or grow old, they may be killed (WCSS), demonstrating clearly the fluidity and inconsistency of the Celtic Otherworld (McCana 1976, 126).

Another feature of the Otherworld which demonstrates fluidity is the number of places where the Otherworld is located and the number of places through which it can be reached. The most common placement of the Otherworld, and point of access to it, are the Síd mounds (the prehistoric long barrows and hills with caves all across Ireland) to which the Túatha retreated after their defeat by the Sons of Mil. For this reason, the Túatha, the Síde folk and the Síd mounds become nearly synonymous (see WE, DO, Adventure of Nera). The Otherworld is occasionally placed undersea, as in the "Voyage of King Ruadh" (ACM), or more commonly, on an island which is usually to the southwest of Ireland but may also be Man, home of the Otherworld Lord Manannán (Dillon & Chadwick 1967, 150-152; "Voyage of Mael Duin", The Voyage of Ui Chorra, and Island of Earthly Paradise, all in ACM).

Access to the Otherworld is accomplished via many different places and by many different means. The most common point of access is the Sid mounds, followed by sea voyages, lakes (WSCC), and mists which arise while hunting (Finn, in CM, Pwyll), though virtually any place or action can serve. These points of access are not open indiscriminately (except at Samain); indeed, the access is very selective, at least for mortals to visit the Otherworld and return. It is almost by definition that both kings and heroes, and only kings and heroes, visit the Otherworld and return (WSCC, Pwyll, Finn, Nera, Conle, Conn, Ruadh, BF etc), indicative of their unique position in relation to the Otherworld.

The selectivity of access is further emphasised by another aspect, which also reinforces the fluid nature of the superlative. The motivation of the visitor determines what sort of Otherworld he finds upon arrival; the one who arrives by invitation finds the superlative world described above. The one who attempts to raid the Otherworld finds a dangerous, powerfully malevolent world waiting (as in Preiddon

Annwn, McCana 1970, 126, 128-129).

Another aspect of the fluidity of the Otherworld is the complete irrelevance of earthly conceptions of time and space. A Síd mound of hill size may encompass a whole world (eg Nera). Visitors returning from years in the Síd may re-enter this world within moments of leaving it (Bran), or they may turn to dust as the result of an incalculable passage of time (McCana 1970, 124).

There is another tradition which has suffered very badly in the process of preservation, perhaps an indication of its relative age. This complicates the simple implication that the Otherworld is the final destination of the dead, an implication that is never made truly explicit, and which may not be the case at all. There are traces of a tradition that the Land of the Dead is specifically to be found west of Munster in the sea and that its Lord is Donn. Donn, meaning "Brown" or "Dark", is the only Irish god specified as the Lord of the Dead and thereby is distinguished from all other gods (and, uniquely, he is functionally specific but not Túatha). His Land of the Dead, the House of Donn, may be a relatively more sombre place than the Elysian Otherworld, but very few traces or descriptions remain (McCana 1970, 121-129). There is virtually nothing more known about the House of Donn as distinct from the Otherworld; possibly all the connecting links have been lost. Alternatively, this may reflect another aspect of Celtic Otherworld fluidity; the Otherworld is frequently portrayed as a conceptual archipelago in which the nature of individual islands may vary tremendously (Voyage of Mael Dúinn, ACM). Thus, the House of Donn could be only a particular island of the Otherworld archipelago. Unfortunately, this does not resolve the question of where the dead went.

The Otherworld and the House of Donn almost certainly represent the last vestiges of what must have been a colourful conception of the afterlife. Several points, however, remain clear. First, the Celtic afterlife and Otherworld were conceived as a physical place, with everyday activities in parallel with this world. Secondly, the Otherworld was a place which, under specific circumstances, could be visited by specific mortals. Unfortunately, all the conceptual links, the "what did it mean?", have been lost.

Articulation of Society with the Supernatural

Sacral Kingship

There are a number of episodes in the myths which illustrate the various ways in which Irish society, or the group, interacted with the supernatural. In a monarchical, aristocratic, heroic society, this inevitably focuses on the king, not as man or individual, but as a position which carries with it certain ritual responsibilities for the society as a whole.

The myths show kingship as a focal point of several religious forces, which led McCana (1970, 117) to write of sacral kingship. The kingship passed in political terms through a family or "derbfine" by a system now called tanistry. This is the mundane, profane process, but in every case the selection and/or ratification of the king is in the hands of the supernatural. In the case of the kingship of Tara in Mide, a Bull-feast was the means of selection; a druid ate of a sacrificial

bull and then slept with an incantation chanted over him by other druids, and whoever he saw in his dream was the rightful king (DDH; McCana 1970, 119). This has parallels in the account of Geraldus Cambrensis of a rite of his own time: the sacrifice and ritual meal of a horse at another Irish kingly inauguration (Dillon & Chadwick 1967, 92).

Regardless of the method of selection, a king was always ratified by the supernatural and was constantly in the process of being confirmed. Ratification took the form of a ritual marriage between the king and a tutelary goddess representing the sovereignty of the land. This concept is presumed to hold for each of the several grades of kings; certainly, tutelary goddesses are known who are appropriate to the various sizes of territory. The continuing confirmation of a king is called "Fir Flaithemhan" or the Truth of the Ruler, by which a king's continuing right to rule and the rightness of his rule, is confirmed by the tutelary goddess and made manifest in the condition of the land. Material prosperity is the sure sign of supernatural support for the rule of a king. Should the king be blemished in body or spirit, the land becomes a blasted, devastated landscape (as in DDH, Manawydann, Branwen etc). This close connection of king, goddess and the land is yet another aspect of the Celtic conception of this world/Otherworld relations.

The deviation of a king from his "righteousness" is marked in a symbolic sense by the violation of his "gessa", or the taboos which hedge his behaviour and insulate him from the world (McCana 1970, 119-120). All Irish Celts had personal gessa (singular "geas"), but certain special additional gessa applied to kings qua kings. The gessa vary in number according to the relative status of the king; the King of Tara had seven, provincial kings had five, while lesser kings possessed only four (Dillon & Chadwick 1970, 190). Gessa and the Truth of the Ruler are linked tautologically; a king's failure will be obvious when fate forces him to violate his gessa, which in turn is the only sure sign (along with a barren land) that the king is blemished.

There are several instances in which a king is "overtaken" by his gessa and killed, frequently in a burning house at Samain. This is followed by the succession of a new king. The sequence is repetitive and consistent enough to support speculation of a tradition of the ritual murder of a king, possibly by his successor (Gantz 1981, 188-189; McCana 1970, 119).

Liminal Time Cycle

One of the most prominent aspects of social interaction with the supernatural is the yearly cycle of religious festivals. The four festivals were: November 1, Samain; February 1, Imbolc; May 1, Beltane; and August 1, Lugnasad; and they seem pan-Celtic, although their local prominence can vary (Dillon & Chadwick 1967, 92-109).

The four festivals celebrated a wide variety of more or less mundane purposes. Samain marks the end of summer grazing, Imbolc is the lambing season, Beltane the end of spring planting, and Lugnasad perhaps the beginning of harvest. Further, during the festival period, each province or tuatha met to try legal cases, review laws, levy taxes, trade, socialise etc (WE, DDH, LPU, IU). The local preference for the most important could vary: Samain at Tara, Lugnasad at Emain Macha.

Although each of the four festivals carries tremendous ritual and supernatural significance, one ranks far above the others. It is no exaggeration to say that every event of politico-religious importance

(inseparable as they are) occurs at Samain. Gods meet and procreate at Samain (WE, DO), kings are inaugurated (IU, CCH), kings and heroes are both killed at Samain (DDH, Cú Chulainn, Diarmid mac Cerbhaill). All this implies that Samain was a truly "liminal" time. The period including the night of 31 October and the day of 1 November is a time of congruence between the natural and the supernatural worlds, when natural laws are suspended. This is a manifestation of a common belief, that the time of change between two cycles, such as years, is outside of normal time, a "threshold" period (McCana 1970, 127). Thus, in Irish Celtic terms, Samain was the time when the Sid were open to human invasion and, importantly, the Túatha and Síde-folk literally walk this earth with man and sometimes interfere violently in men's affairs. For example, Tara was destroyed yearly at Samain by an Otherworld being until Finn mac Cumaill killed him (McCana 1970, 110), and the Síde of Crúachan engage Nera in his Adventure. It was thus appropriate to the Celts to conduct ritual observances on these four religiously important days, and especially on Samain when the perfect congruence of natural and supernatural would lend efficacy to the ritual.

The Welsh mythology, perhaps surprisingly, is much less definite than the Irish. Only Beltane is mentioned explicitly, though appropriately enough, it is the birth time of the Hero Pryderi (Pwyll). Otherwise, the only surviving evidence is the strong tendency for the major events of the stories to occur at one-year intervals, and at festivals or feasts at these times (eg Pwyll and Rhiannon in Pwyll, yearly travels of Manwydan and Prydin in Manawydan, the yearly shape-changing of Gwydion and Gilfaethy in Math). Each of the events occurring at these yearly feasts is in some way supernatural. Hence the suggestion is strong that the correlation of supernatural events and yearly feasts parallels the Irish ritual calendar, but presumably euhemerisation and Christianisation have robbed the Welsh mythology of the detail.

There seems to be clear evidence for a widespread Celtic yearly calendar of four parts, each marked by a profane political festival with ritual elements and a mythological origin. The yearly culmination of this cycle was at Samain, when the natural and supernatural worlds came into perfect correlation. This extreme of "liminality" made Samain appropriate for the performance of the rituals by which the society as a whole interacted with the supernatural world.

Liminal Places: Religious Locations

In parallel with the highly developed calendar of ritual events is an extensive series of places which are in some way liminal, points of contact between this world and the supernatural. Eight types of such places have been identified.

Three of the types of places acquire their liminality through their role as points of access between this world and the Otherworld. The most frequently occurring are the Síd mounds, which, as homes of the Túatha and entrances/exits to the Otherworld for all supernatural traffic, are an expected liminal place (WE, DO, CRF, BCC, ACM, CN, Pwyll, Manawydan). Lakes also figure prominently in purely supernatural action (DO, BF, Llyr) and as entry/exit points to the Otherworld (WSCC, DO, Branwen). The third such location is an island in the midst of the sea, usually to the south and west, and usually reached by a voyage (ACM, House of Donn).

A fourth liminal place follows upon what may be a prime feature of lakes and islands - water. Wells and springs are the setting for a number of clearly supernatural events (WE, DDM, DO), but the activities (not including Otherworld access) do not indicate any consistent role for such places.

Fords across rivers are also a clearly liminal location, but again, the actual significance is difficult to determine. Many if not all rivers had tutelary deities (Boand for the Boyne, Siannon for the Shannon), so the water itself may have been liminal by virtue of its close association to the goddess. Moreover, it is the crossing points, by which men cross the "threshold" of one deity's domain and enter another's, that are so consistently the scene of supernatural action (the Dagda mates with the Morrígan at a ford) and heroic combat (TBC, Pwyll, BDCC, WDCC).

A sixth liminal feature may be boundaries of all kinds, as it seems very likely that fords may be a special case of a more widespread conceptualisation of socio-political boundaries, and especially boundary-crossing points, as liminal (O'Riain 1972, 12-29). This liminality is probably derived from the act of crossing from one tutelary goddess' domain into another's domain.

The seventh liminal place may be the woods in general. The mythic evidence has been extensively euhemerised, but there are numerous supernatural consequences of hunting (as in Pwyll), or chances of entering the Otherworld (as in the many encounters of the Fiana, McCana 1970, 109). Indeed, the whole of the Fiana Cycle is very myth-like in atmosphere, as if all the Fiana and all the woods were only a step outside the Otherworld. The dichotomy here may be between the ordered familiarity of the social life and the disordered wildness of the woods; those who live in the woods (or who enter them) are outside the society and thereby closer to the supernatural world (McCana 1970, 108-110). In addition, the single reference to Celtic hunting in the Celtic Ethnographies (see chapter seven) includes the phrase "first fruits", suggesting a ritual context. Given the extremely strong liminal flavour of all hunting activities in the myths, it seems likely that hunting and hunters were potentially susceptible to Otherworld influence and were consequently constrained by many taboos and gessa.

There remains yet one more major type of liminal place. This is the series of great feast gathering places, the tribal and provincial centres where the Túatha gathered for the four yearly feasts. Principal among these is Tara in Míde, synonymous with Ireland as a whole in terms of sacral kingship (McCana 1970, 117). Provincial sacral centres are Crúachan (CRF, TBS, Adventure of Nera), Emain Macha (LPU), Uisnech Míde (WE), Temuir (DDH), and Temiur Lúachra (FU), as well as Harlech (Branwen) and Gossedd Arberth (Pwyll and Manawydan) in Wales. The sites became liminal, usually by virtue of the mythic event by which the place was created and the traditional gathering first held (Macha in LPU or Uisnech Míde of the Dagda [WE and O'Rahilly 1946, 171]) or, alternatively, because of the presence of a point of access to the Otherworld (Crúachan and the Síd Cave of Crúachan). There may also be a tradition for these festival sites or "Óenach" to serve as burial places for the territorial royalty (Waddell 1983, 21-24). Thus these sites are a liminally appropriate place for the Celts to meet to conduct both profane and ritual business. A particular subset of this is a house (or iron house within a wooden house) within which the inauguration and possibly ritual death of kings occur, as at Temiur Lúachra (IU), at an unspecified place (Branwen), at Dind Rig (Gantz 1981, 189), and at Da

Dergas Hostel (DDH). Unfortunately, no detail survives about these houses (but see DDH), though it is reasonable to presume that such houses were structurally distinctive in some manner.

There is one further point of contact between the Celtic society and the supernatural, one not limited by either time or place; this is through the actions of religious specialists.

Religious Specialists

When considering people who, by virtue of status and role, are intermediaries between society and the supernatural, the Sacral King must be given recognition. The myths no longer contain any examples of his actual duties, but his position as symbolic husband of the Land and Sovereign makes him responsible for the continuing fertility, prosperity and peace of the tuatha (land and people). While the only ceremony embodied in the texts is the ritual marriage, other such ritual functions, probably associated with fertility rituals, are likely.

A second, and much more common, group of specialists are the druids. Interestingly, in spite of at least five functions assigned to druids, there is no apparent specialisation within the class of druids. The social status of druids may be judged by the order of precedence of speaking at an assembly of the Ulaid; no common man could speak to an issue before the King, and the King could not speak before his druid. (Curiously, Gantz in IU [1981, 196] translates this as "druid", singular form, while Kinsella in TBC [1969] translates it as "his three druids".)

There are five functions assigned to druids in the Irish myths (the Welsh myths have no direct references to druids, presumably through Christian influence). First, druids are involved in the sacrifice of animals in the context of funerals (in WE and DAS) and at the bull-feast of royal succession (in DDH). The second function attributed to druids is divination; however, of the nine examples noted, druids were only specified in five cases. Three of the remaining four cases are attributed to "filid" (seer or poet, McCana 1970, 15), two of whom are women, and the fourth is a "physician" (ACM). Druidic divination also occurs in the context of the bull-feast (DDH) and in ESU by the laying on of hands. In two cases (BDCC and TBC), the divination is performed by a specific technique, a knowledge of what days are auspicious for which sorts of actions. Some days are good for taking up arms (BDCC), while others are good (or equally, not good) for undertaking military action (TBC). It is probably more accurate to see this as an example that socially important actions in this world are always linked to ritual rules, and that success or failure depends on performing the action in accordance with those supernatural rules. Otherwise, divination occurs by the seer's "insight" (BF, DDH, ACM, TBC; cf Nagy 1982, 135-143).

There are two examples of druids serving as doctors (ACM and WSCC) and a third healer is not specified as being a druid but is a "seer" (ACM). There are also several instances of healing by Otherworld figures, for example, Lug in TBC, or by taking the injured person back to the Otherworld, where he is healed (CRF).

The fourth function of religious specialists is assigned specifically to druids. This is "teaching", and although in BDCC the druid Cathbad taught 100 men regularly, the only example of the content of his teaching to be recorded is knowledge of what days are auspicious and for what events. The fifth and final function is by far the most ambiguous, being no more than the general assertion of druidic "magic",

as, for example, to make Conare Mór thirsty, and thus bring about his death (in DDH), or, more dramatically, to change shape, for example, the two swineherds in TBC and Math are all said to change shape by druidic power or skill, but since each of these people is almost certainly divine, it is unclear whence come the shape-shifting powers.

In summary then, the myths provide evidence of a variety of functions assigned to Druids, in which they possess knowledge unavailable to common men or perform acts that common men can not. The religious knowledge of the Druids includes auspicious/inauspicious days, and whatever else Cathbad taught; ritual actions include "seeing" (divination), healing, sacrificing animals, and performing magic. In each case, an otherwise normal man is enabled by inherent or learned abilities to come in contact with the supernatural on behalf of the laity.

Articulation of the Individual with the Supernatural

The Celtic myths also preserve traces of at least two ways in which the lay individual came into contact with the supernatural. Neither of these is "ritual" in the conventional sense; though rituals must have existed, they may not have been recorded in myth, or they may have been altered beyond recognition.

The first is an everyday and continuing contact with the supernatural in the form of gessa. These apparently applied to everyone, though the very nature of the heroic style of myth precludes knowledge of common folk, so the applicability of gessa to the whole population is really only a suggestion (McCana 1970, 129). A "geas" is a binding, supernaturally enforced prohibition against certain acts. Gessa are individual and apply only to one person, with the exception of those gessa which apply to anyone who becomes king. Gessa seldom serve any discernible purpose, for example, Conare's prohibition against leaving Temuir every ninth night (DDH), though some appear almost totemic in nature (Cú's geas against dog flesh and Conare's against killing birds). Probably all such gessa had a ritual significance now lost from the myths; the religious importance, however, is clearly shown by the implication of a fated breach of gessa, of which the inevitable consequence is death.

The second manner in which an individual comes in contact with the supernatural may be either deliberate, or simply as the result of accident. In the former case, the supernatural is reached through a voyage or pilgrimage undertaken for the purpose, for example, in Mael Dúin and Ui Chorra (ACM). This tradition was strong enough (and amenable enough) to be incorporated into the basic conceptual repertoire of the early Celtic Church (McCana 1970, 134). Not all such voyages, of course, were directed toward this goal; King Ruadh was unintentionally precipitated into the Otherworld while on a voyage (ACM). Hunters in woods, with their frequent Otherworld contacts, may be in an analogous situation. Both of these last two examples may indicate that the place was perhaps as important as either the action or the intention.

General Features of the Supernatural

Three classes of information remain which carry clear supernatural significance, though their specific meaning has been lost from the myths. The first group will be referred to simply as symbols of the supernatural. These are symbols which appear to represent the

supernatural in general rather than in any specific aspect. The second is the concept of triads; the grouping of three similar entities into one greater individual, or the division of one entity into three lesser, virtually indistinguishable individuals. The third is the role of the human head in ritual context.

Among symbols of the supernatural, colours play a prominent role. Red is associated with chthonic deities (DDH) and death and destruction in general (TBC). Animals which are white with red ears are always from the Otherworld (CRF, Pwyll), and the supernatural significance of pure white animals is also implicit. Green is consistently associated with the Síde-folk and hence with the Túatha (SCSS, WE), where the referent appears to be the superlative nature of the Otherworld. Red and green not infrequently occur together, as if to conceptually balance each other (WSCC and WE).

Animals are given consistently supernatural roles in the myths but lack the direct correlations implied by shape-changing or animal avatars. Birds are very common, frequently appearing joined by silver chains as supernatural indicators (DO, BCC, WSCC). Boars and stags both serve to lead mortals into contact with the supernatural, but lack any further direct association (Pwyll, Manawydan, Culhwch, and McCana 1970, 50-55, 108-110 for examples from the Fiana Cycle). A fourth, thoroughly mythic creature, which appears once in the Irish myths in purely supernatural circumstances, is the ram-headed snake (CRF), which has numerous iconographic parallels in Gaul.

Several other symbols also recur. The cauldron is directly associated with the Dagda as a symbol of plenty, and though it occurs very often without any reference to the Dagda, it may retain the same conceptual referent. Cauldrons lacking such specific attribution occur in TBC, Branwen (twice), Manawydan, and three times in Culhwch. An example of an action which betokens supernatural import is a turn to the right, called sun-wise, and the contexts indicate its meaning to be in some way propitious (TBC, LPU).

One further symbol with potentially supernatural aspects is the Ogam alphabet. Cú Chulainn used a message in Ogam several times to stop the advancing Connachta warriors until his written and binding challenge is fulfilled (TBC). It has been suggested that the Ogam letters are supernaturally binding by virtue of their origin in the Divine Champion Ogma (for whom they are named), who may be a god with binding powers (LeRoux 1961, Rees & Rees 1961), and who may best be interpreted as the champion of oratory, riddlemastery and witty conversation (as in McCana 1970, 137-141). The Ogam writing may also symbolise arcane knowledge, and any knowledge not generally held was probably a conceptual source of supernaturally derived power (Nagy 1982, 135-143).

The use of triads or triples in Celtic mythology is well documented, though the significance or meaning is less well understood. It is possible that in the many triads of deities, especially tutelary goddesses, triplication may serve to emphasise power and to associate diverse functions into a single triadic functional entity. Other forms of triads include several instances of three sequential partners of a possibly tutelary/fertility female figure, as in WE, ESU, Pwyll, Math. Here the underlying concept may well be a cycle of regeneration and fertility, for most of the sequences involve episodes of one year's duration. Otherwise, triads were a favourite form for conserving the oral literature, in both Ireland and Wales (McCana 1970, 48). Triads thus seem to serve both to intensify and to convey the conceptual wholeness of things. Other meanings were probably present as well.

The human head may also serve as a symbol of the supernatural, or perhaps some particular aspect of the supernatural. The many instances where heads are collected as war trophies (WE, DDH, DO, BDCC, IU, TBC) are treated as purely profane martial activities and seem to emphasise the head as a symbol, both of the whole man and of his skill and power. The possibility remains that the originally ritual context of these actions has been lost to euhemerisation and monkish bias, though no sign of lacunae remains.

There are, however, two scenes which are clearly of supernatural importance. The first are the sequential beheading scenes in BF (it is also a triple scene) in which Cú Roí eventually declares Cú Chulainn the Ulaid Champion. The second instance is in Branwen when the Head of Bran provides excellent company to his seven surviving companions on an 87 year sojourn, both in this world and on an Otherworld island, and only begins to decay when his dying requests (or gessa) are unheeded. These scenes probably held considerable mythic significance, but the meaning behind them is now lost.

SUMMARY: RELIGION IN IRISH/WELSH SOCIETY

The discussion presented here indicates that religion probably played a major role in Celtic life and society. The insular Celts populated both this world and an Otherworld with a multitude of deities, who could and did have an influential part in everyday life. There are clear traces of an extensive and complex cosmogony by which the insular Celt explained the origins of the world and his own society. Vestiges of an eschatology indicate that there was probably a very complex conception of the fate of man after death and his subsequent interaction with his ancestral gods. By the combination of concepts of a sacral position of kingship, the king's duties, and his relationship to the supernatural, the insular Celt could explain, and in some way hope to influence, the all important cycles of agricultural fertility. The entire yearly cycle was ordered by four great festivals, which served innumerable everyday functions, but which also explicitly tied Celtic society into the supernatural order to ensure that earthly society functioned in accordance with supernatural laws. Religion also sanctified and gave authority to the Celtic political system, by virtue of these festivals and the religiously ordained liminal centres where the festivals were held. There was a wide-ranging series of times and places where the insular Celts could expect to confront and, in a sense, experience the supernatural. Not surprisingly, an apparently extensive class of religious specialists existed who had the knowledge and skills to intercede with the supernatural on behalf of the society as a whole, as well as for individuals. There are traces of what must originally have been an enormous range of beliefs and actions, by which the individual interacted personally with the gods. Through all these aspects runs a series of symbols of the supernatural which the insular Celts used to both represent and link together all the other facets of the Celtic supernatural.

CHAPTER 9

THE ETHNOLOGY OF BURIAL AND SACRIFICE

Thus far the evidence for Celtic religion from two sources - archaeology and literature - has been discussed. The material from the latter source, including the Celtic ethnographies and the vernacular mythology, has provided much information, such as elements of belief, which can not be preserved completely in archaeology. Unfortunately, neither of these literary sources has survived unscathed to the present, and there are several instances where too much of the Celtic belief code has been lost to allow confident interpretation. In particular, the beliefs surrounding death and human mortuary rituals, and votive and sacrificial rituals, are missing or incomplete. Belief and behaviour are, however, closely linked together, and behaviour defined archaeologically may be compared with similar behaviours and beliefs found in societies studied ethnographically. This may suggest a range of beliefs that may have been correlated with the known behaviour (ie mortuary and sacrificial rituals).

ANALYSIS

General-Comparative Analogies

The use of ethnographic analogy (or perhaps misuse) by archaeologists is well-known (Orme 1981, 1-16). The preferred alternative to piecemeal analogy is a more holistic approach (Orme 1981, 18-24; Flannery 1972, 29; Ucko 1969, 262). Ideally, there should exist a number of close parallels, in terms of subsistence, environment, and general social and political complexity, between an archaeological culture and an ethnographic culture before particular analogies are drawn between the two (eg Levy 1982, 19). The greater the number of known parallels, the more convincing a further postulated parallel becomes. This requires very close control of the evidence. These conditions are not easily, or often, fulfilled (Ucko 1969, 262-263; Orme 1981, 27-28). If a close and detailed parallel is difficult or impossible to find, the ethnographic (or more probably, the ethnologic) literature may be used to locate and study consistent relationships between material culture remains, social relations, and belief patterns among a selection of known societies (Naroll 1962; Binford 1971), what Levy called general-comparative analogies (1982, 18). The goal is to define consistent patterns between behaviour and belief among many societies, which can in turn be used to suggest the belief which may be

related to behaviour known from an archaeologically defined society.

This chapter is divided into two sections. The first deals with beliefs about death and consequent mortuary rituals; this is relevant to the discussion of human burials in the Iron Age of southern Britain. The second section is focused on beliefs and rituals of sacrifice, which may be reflected in the metal finds from watery contexts, ritual shafts and animal burials.

Death and Mortuary Rituals

The survey of the archaeological evidence allowed the definition of six varieties of human burial or mortuary remains in Iron Age Britain. Briefly these were:

1 Complete single inhumations

2 Single partial inhumations

3 Multiple partial inhumations

4 Burials of articulated limbs and joints

5 Skulls

6 Single bones

Several points should be re-emphasised. First, the total number of individuals represented is only a small fraction of the Iron Age population. Secondly, at least three different mortuary rituals must be represented, two of which result in the deposition of only parts of bodies. Thirdly, the burials occur on all kinds of settlement sites, possibly in the context of rubbish. These observations are true of the Iron Age burials in central southern Britain - can ethnology suggest beliefs and rituals that would produce such results?

The death of individual members is the most universal event with which cultures must cope and the cultural responses are as varied in form as death is universal (Huntington & Metcalf 1979, 1). Not surprisingly, this has led to the accumulation of a massive ethnological literature (Huntington & Metcalf 1979; Bloch & Parry 1982; Humphreys & King 1981; Bartel 1973, 1982; Habenstein & Lamers 1963; and Hertz 1960; to name only a few). The application of this literature to archaeological evidence is now well developed (Saxe 1970; Binford 1971; Goldstein 1976; Tainter 1978; Bartel 1973, 1981, 1983; and now O'Shea 1984).

Much of the "archaeology of death" and some of the "anthropology of death" literature is irrelevant to present purposes because it deals with mortuary rituals applied to most or all of a population, while the archaeological evidence discussed here represents the disposal of only part of the population.

The first, and still most influential study of mortuary rituals is that of Robert Hertz: "A Contribution to the Study of the Collective Representation of Death" (1960 [1907]). Hertz' approach was thematic, and dealt with a series of practices which involved at least two funerary ceremonies, separated by varying lengths of time. Relevant to the present interest is that this provides an opportunity for either purposeful or accidental manipulation of the remains, in the process of which some body parts are saved or lost, while the remainder are dis-

posed of in the second funeral. Hertz' original study was of societies in Borneo and Indonesia, but similar funerary practices are now recognised in a wide variety of cultures from all over the world, including: the Huron of North America (Hertz 1960, 71; Driver 1961), South America (Crocker 1977), Melanesia (Hadden 1908, 149; Tuzin 1977), Central Asia (Lopatin 1960, 90-114), Madagascar (Bloch 1971, 1982), Greece (Alexiou 1974, 47-49), New Hebrides (Gurait 1963, 230, 240), Australia (Goode 1951, 210), New Britain (Valentine 1965), Oceania (Miles 1965), Africa (Rattray 1959) and in parts of the Judaic tradition (Meyers 1971). In general, such practices are referred to as secondary funerary (or mortuary) rituals. In spite of the variety of societies represented here, there are several beliefs and practices which consistently occur together and appear functionally related. Following Hertz, the beliefs are examined first, and then the behavioural consequences are considered.

The most basic, and therefore most common belief associated with secondary funerary rituals forms the core of Hertz' analysis. This is the perception of death as a process, not an event; a process of transition from one status to another, from fully alive to fully dead. This process becomes a period of liminality between two states. This concept of liminality was more fully developed by a contemporary of Hertz, A Van Gennep (1960 [1909], cf Turner 1967), in which death was used as a prime example of a class of rituals designed to alter an individual's status, known as rites of passage (Van Gennep 1960, 191). Both the beginning and end of death as a process of transition are arbitrary, but the minimal definitions indicate that death is usually thought to begin when breathing and heartbeat stop, and is not complete until the final dissolution of the physical body (Hertz 1960, 45; Huntington & Metcalf 1979, 12-14).

There are several correlates of this central belief in death as a transitional, enduring period. First, and most importantly, this presupposes a belief in a soul which survives physical death to complete the "passage" to a new status (Huntington & Metcalf 1979, 13-14; Hertz 1960, 34). Secondly, these beliefs also require the belief in an "otherworld" to which spirits go after death is final. This leads to a third correlate, which is an element of body-soul parallelism, in which the fate of the body represents the fate of the soul. In other words, the spirit is part of the body in life, caught between this world and the next during death, and enters the otherworld only when all links to this world are severed by the final decomposition of the physical body (Hertz 1960, 34-37, 95; Huntington & Metcalf 1979, 14). This final event completes the transition and is usually celebrated with a second funerary ritual. A fourth correlate of a belief in death as a transitional state is a fear and horror of the soul, without its body and caught between this world and the otherworld where it should be; the soul partakes of the supernatural power of the otherworld, but remains in this world, where that power is an unnatural and fearsome thing. Consequently the whole process of death and burial becomes fraught with danger to the survivors.

These beliefs are made manifest in a sequence of funerary rituals. The first occurs just after death begins (ie heartbeat stops) and involves the partial separation of the soul from the body. This is marked by mourning ceremonies and a primary disposal of the body - burial and exposure are the most commonly used alternatives. A second funeral celebrates the arrival of the spirit in the otherworld by a

second disposal of the remains in a final resting place. The minimum time between the two funerals is the time it takes for the body to completely decompose to bare bones or to be ritually dismembered. The upper limit for this interval may be many years, as the second funeral frequently involves elaborate feasting to celebrate the soul's arrival with the spirit world, and the cost of the feast may be considerable, necessitating a long period of savings (eg Goode 1951, 95-98).

There are several almost accidental by-products of this ceremonial sequence which are essential to the current enquiry. The first is that the longer the period between first and final funeral, the greater the likelihood that part of the body will not be gathered and finally disposed of. Some societies collect only such bones as are convenient or representative for re-disposal (Huntington & Metcalf 1979, 86). In other cases the activities of domestic and wild scavengers (eg dogs, pigs, hyenas, cats etc) serve to disturb the first "burial" and spread some human remains over a wide area, ending up in refuse contexts.

In most of the societies discussed the secondary funeral rituals are "normative" - they are what all members of a society should receive to ensure the proper transfer of their spirits into the otherworld. This would contradict the fact that the archaeological evidence represents only a part of the population. This contradiction may be more apparent than real, for either of two reasons. First, norms are rarely applied universally, and in particular it is likely that most societies employ an abridged version of the normative funeral when that normative funeral is expensive. When elaborate feasting is involved the cost can be astronomical (eg Goode 1951, 95-98) and thus available only to the more wealthy families or lineages. Thus, many people do not receive the full set of rituals culminating in a secondary funeral, as among the Berawan (Huntington & Metcalf 1979, 78) and other groups in Borneo (Miles 1965). In most cases, the body is never recovered or re-disposed, it simply remains in its place of primary interment. The second alternative, of course, is simply that rituals of a secondary funeral may be applied only to a population sector, not by the subconscious procedure noted above, but by a deliberate choice. Motivations for this choice are discussed below.

In summary, secondary funeral ceremonies are associated with a belief in a soul, an afterlife, and death as a period of transition between this world and the next. A two-stage funeral is employed to separate the soul from this world and then to ensure its acceptance into the otherworld. A frequent concomitant of these practices is that remains, varying from single bones to complete limbs, are missed in the second funeral and may find their way, by a variety of means, into refuse contexts.

There would appear to be only one other alternative mortuary practice which would result in the scattering of human remains among a variety of contexts on settlement sites. This is the use of exposure of the corpse as a disposal practice. As the body decomposes various body parts separate and can, through scavenger activity, be quite widely distributed. If done at a distance from a settlement, this would probably leave no archaeological trace - which makes it a particularly attractive explanation for the majority burial rite in the Iron Age (as discussed above, chapter four; cf Cunliffe 1978, 316). If excarnation is the normative rite, and occurs at a distance from the settlement, it remains possible that post-decomposition manipulation of the remains, as described above, was accorded to some of the dead as a minority rite;

the result could be the complete and partial remains on sites. The motivation for the secondary manipulation and disposal of the remains could be either complimentary (as for a chief), or derogatory (as for a criminal).

There are several minority groups which commonly receive a distinctive burial ritual. In general, these represent either the pinnacle of the social scale - religious or political elites - or else they are considered to be outside society in some way. Hertz was the first to recognise that purely emic definitions are used to separate such outcast groups (1960, 84-86): in his sample societies both young children and elderly adults were buried differently from the rest of the population. This was done on the basis that they were not fully functioning members of society - they had not yet developed a social life, or no longer maintained their social ties. This means that they were less involved in this world and thus were relatively closer to the otherworld. Consequently, they neither required nor deserved the funerary rituals appropriate to other people. Similar reasoning and selection occurs among central Asian societies (Lopatin 1960, 71, 96), among the Malekula (Lyard 1942), and the Asante (MacLeod 1981, 37).

Another class of people who frequently receive distinctive funerals are those considered to be socially unclean, or who died inauspicious deaths. Definitions of inauspicious deaths may vary, but Hertz found that violent deaths, women who die in childbirth, those killed by lightning or drowning, and suicides are all inauspicious deaths in Borneo (1960, 85), as they are in Central Asia (Lopatin 1960, 96), in New Guinea (Hoglin 1965), and the Asante (MacLeod 1981, 36-39). People who are in some way unclean (what an anthropologist or sociologist might call "deviant") are also subject to distinctive funerary rituals. Social uncleanness usually includes those who are "incomplete" (as in the children and elderly, above) as well as those whose lifestyle is unacceptable: witches, criminals and the violently anti-social, and religious heretics, all are buried distinctively (Saxe 1970; Binford 1971, 14, 19, 21, 23; Hertz 1960, 85 in Borneo; Crooke 1899, 279 in India; Wedgewood 1927, 395 in Melanesia; McLeod 1981, 38 in the Asante). Interestingly, the Asante bury all the unclean and inauspicious deaths in village refuse middens, and mutilation of the remains occasionally occurs (McLeod 1981, 37-39) - a close parallel to the archaeological results noted above. All of these groups are, by virtue of their lifestyle or mode of death, set outside the normal population.

Another group of people who frequently are selected for special burial are those who are at the peak of the social structure - the religious and political elite. Priests, shamans or witch doctors receive special funerals in Central Asia and Tibet (Lopatin 1960, 113), among the Berawan (Huntington & Metcalf 1979, 85), and among both the medieval Christians and Moslems (eg Alexander 1979, 219). More strictly political elites nearly always receive an elaborated version of the normative rite (Binford 1971, 19, 21, 23; Saxe 1970; for cross-cultural comparisons, cf Bloch 1971 among the Merina; Rattray 1959 and MacLeod 1981, 37-39 among the Asante; and Huntington & Metcalf 1979, 122-152 among the Berawan and Dinka). In most societies less industrialised and secularised than in the modern world the social elite class is a blend of both religious, political and economic functions. In these situations the elites usually function as intermediaries between the general populace and the supernatural and so, like young children and the very elderly, have one foot in the otherworld already (eg Ancient Egypt in Huntington & Metcalf 1979, 122-152; Dahomey, Goode 1951,

141-152). Elites not only receive an elaborate, distinctive funeral, they also frequently maintain a place of interment (eg burial, excarnation, cremation etc) which is restricted to members of the elite class or lineage. Such a tradition is usually associated with class or lineage control of crucial resources and legitimation of status by descent from the ancestors (frequently but not necessarily an ancestor cult) (Saxe 1970, 119). This association has been extensively tested cross-culturally (Binford 1971, 21-23 on forty societies; Goldstein 1976, on thirty societies).

This brief review of the ethnographic literature concerning mortuary rituals has provided several patterns of belief and behaviour which are applicable to the archaeological evidence from the Iron Age in southern Britain. The most likely normative rite is probably exposure, possibly involving secondary manipulation of the remains, all occurring at a distance from settlement sites. The non-normative rite was almost certainly exposure, with secondary rituals occurring in or around settlements, followed by both deliberate and accidental depositions of human remains in settlement sites. The minority sector of the population for whom this rite was reserved was probably comprised of the outcast and unclean members of Celtic society.

Sacrificial and Votive Offerings

Thus far evidence has been presented from two sources which indicate that the Celts practised sacrificial offerings. In the first source, archaeology, sacrifices take two forms: the sacrifice of animals (represented by the animal burials, chapter five), and the votive offerings of valuable objects (the fine metalware from watery contexts, chapter two, and the objects from ritual shafts, chapter three). The second source that indicates that sacrifice was an element in Celtic religion is the Celtic ethnographies (chapter seven). Accounts from Roman observers refer to the sacrifice of both humans and animals for divinatory, propitiatory, and healing purposes. There are also references to stores of objects in religious precincts dedicated to the gods - surely votive offerings. The conclusion that the Celtic ethnographies refer to rituals that lead to animal burials and objects in watery contexts and shafts, is supported by the very nature of "sacrifice", which requires the permanent removal of otherwise useful and valuable objects from use in everyday life - animals and food must be destroyed and objects placed beyond recovery. This central characteristic of sacrifice certainly applies to the archaeological evidence. It does not, however, explain the role and function of ritual sacrifice in Celtic religion. Role and function can only be suggested by analogy, using ethnological evidence.

The subject of ritual sacrifice has received relatively little attention in the ethnological literature. The definitive work on the subject is Hubert and Mauss, Sacrifice: Its Nature and Function (1964 [1899]). They developed an "emic" (Harris 1968, 571-575) functional definition of sacrifice as "a religious ritual which, through the consecration of a victim, modifies the condition of the moral person who accomplishes it or that of certain objects with which he is concerned" (1964, 13). Using this definition, and evidence gathered primarily from Hebraic and Hindu religious practices, Hubert and Mauss derived a series of general features characterising sacrifice as ritual.

The first general feature of sacrifices is the defining characteristic of sacrifice encountered above. This requires that the sacrifice of animals includes their death, while material objects are broken and/or placed beyond human recovery (Hubert & Mauss 1964, 9; cf Firth 1965, 324-333). The belief which motivates this behaviour is nearly universal: that the value or life-force of a sacrifice cannot enter the otherworld, and so be of use to a supernatural force, while the object still is tied to this world. The only way to sever all connections to this world would be to kill the victim, destroy it, or place it where no man can recover it (Firth 1965, 331-332). The reasoning here is closely related to the body-soul parallelism found above in mortuary rituals.

The second general feature of sacrifice was a careful separation of the various personnel involved, and the role or function each fulfilled in the ritual. The first of these is the person or group responsible for providing the victim/object (ie, they pay for the victim and cost of the ceremony). This person Hubert and Mauss call the sacrifier (1964, 9). The second is the person who actually conducts the ceremony and performs the act of sacrifice. This person, the sacrificer, is a religious specialist who has the ability to come into close contact with the supernatural power during the course of the ritual (Hubert & Mauss 1964, 20, 23-24). The third person involved is the person (or group) to whom will accrue the benefits of the sacrifice: this beneficiary is frequently the same as the sacrifier but need not be (Hubert & Mauss 1964, 9, 19). The fourth participant is the victim: human, animal, vegetable food or an object. The victim serves as the medium to shift supernatural forces from the supernatural world (eg a deity) to the beneficiary of the ritual, while keeping the sacrificer from too close contact with the supernatural world (Hubert and Mauss 1964, 29-44). These roles are all conceptually distinct, though clearly they may be combined - one man can easily be the sacrifier, sacrificer and beneficiary - but this becomes progressively less likely as the value of the victim and seriousness of the goal increases.

The goal of shifting a supernatural force from the supernatural world to a beneficiary in this world was the subject of Hubert and Mauss' third general feature of sacrificial rituals. These goals or purposes of sacrifices are, of course, emic motivations, and Hubert and Mauss distinguish two criteria to apply to all sacrifices. The first of these divides sacrifices into two categories, depending on whether the beneficiary is a person or object - personal and objective sacrifices (Hubert & Mauss 1964, 13-15). Secondly, sacrifices may be performed in order to either increase or decrease the amount of sacred force in a person or object (this presupposes that all living creatures and objects with which man has contact may embody a sacred force, usually of low power, as "mana"). These two processes are called sacralisation and desacralisation (Hubert & Mauss 1964, 51-60). The goal of increasing or decreasing the amount of sacred force in the beneficiary may be:

1 Curative (presupposing that illness is caused by too much or too little sacred force)

2 Propitiatory (eg, to repay a deity for, or cajole or bribe a deity into, a desired act)

3 Confirmatory (to seal or consecrate an agreement between men or between men and the supernatural)

4 Divinatory (to act as a medium to provide men with an understanding of events and processes beyond their immediate control or knowledge).

This fourfold division of goals is still accepted, and may be correlated with the seven varieties of ritual discussed in chapter one: rituals of sanctification, of passage, technological magic, and mortuary rituals may all include examples of confirmatory sacrifice, while fertility rituals could include propitiatory sacrifices, divination may involve divinatory sacrifice, and so on.

Another general feature of sacrifices, according to Hubert and Mauss (1964, 25-26), is that they are always performed at specific, sacred sites. Such sites are usually traditional and used repeatedly; the sanctification of the site is sometimes a consequence of the sacrificial rites. Unfortunately, Hubert and Mauss do not make any other observations about the places of sacrifices.

Their work, important as it is, is limited by two factors. First and foremost is the small sample of societies used: Hindu and Hebraic. This is usually thought very inadequate for general comparisons (though in fact their conclusions are still accepted as valid). Secondly, they rely entirely on emic factors - what the participants believe is the purpose and nature of the ritual. "Etic" factors, which are directly observable by a non-participant, receive scant attention (eg the place where sacrifices are performed). These two factors limit the confidence with which their results may be used and, more importantly, restrict the applicability of the results to archaeological interpretation. The alternative is clearly a cross-cultural study which places greater reliance on etic characteristics of sacrificial rituals.

The only cross-cultural study of sacrifice since Hubert and Mauss is that of Levy (1982), designed to aid in the interpretation of ritual deposits of the Danish Bronze Age. Levy used an ethnographic sample of twenty-eight societies, drawn from the Human Relations Area Files (1982, 18-19). Although the sample is not random, Levy convincingly argues for five general characteristics of ritual deposits (ie sacrifices/votive offerings) which appear to be very common among cultures. These five characteristics are all applicable to the evidence presented here and very usefully supplement the theoretical basis supplied by Hubert and Mauss.

The first general characteristic of sacrifices that Levy makes concerns the place where ritual deposits occur (1982, 19). There are four points of interest that consistently apply to loci for ritual deposits. Ritual loci always have restricted access, that is, some parts of the population are forbidden to enter, and much of the rest of the population may only enter in the course of a ceremony. This occurs because the ritual locus is a liminal place, a point of contact between this world and the supernatural: contact with the supernatural is dangerous unless it occurs within the context of a ritual. Ordinary people and ordinary domestic life must be kept from too close contact with the supernatural. Ritual loci occur in a wide variety of forms, which correlate loosely with the social status of the sacrifier. In other words, sacrifices offered on behalf of a regional group will usually occur at a "central place" of the region, while sacrifices on

behalf of a village usually occur in a sacred precinct in the centre of, or on the perimeter of the village (Levy 1982, 19, 56-57). Not surprisingly, the size and location of ritual loci also bears some correlation with the quality and quantity of objects sacrificed or deposited there. One qualification to this general characteristic is that the separation of ritual and profane areas in a site is largely conceptual, and a loose fence of stakes may be sufficient to separate a ritual locus from a domestic area, especially where the ritual locus is intended to serve a small hamlet or farmstead.

The second general feature of ritual sacrifices is a series of prescriptions that a religious code applies to the selection of appropriate victims or objects. Although there is very little cross-cultural consistency in what objects are sacrificed in particular circumstances, or for particular goals, Levy notes that most religions specify the species, age, sex and colour of animals which are appropriate for sacrifice, and the quality of material objects is also stipulated (1982, 20). Also, Kuper (1973) has suggested that personal ornaments and weapons are particularly likely to be imbued with symbolic meaning (and therefore appear in sacrificial contexts, for example, grave goods in funerary offerings). Kuper suggests that this is due to their obvious links to social status and differentiation (1973, 346-373). A more general formulation of this point was made by W Goode: "symbols and items used in sacrifices will be limited in part by the items which are important within a society" (1951, 256); those items which a society uses to mark important social, economic and political relationships will figure prominently in ritual circumstances. The correlation of this point to rituals of sanctification (above, chapter one; Drennan 1976, 346-348) is obvious.

Levy also found some indication of a consistent correlation between the sacrifier and the object sacrificed. In particular, the social status of the sacrifier is reflected in the quality/quantity (eg value) of the objects sacrificed (1982, 56). Thus, elites, usually (but not always) acting on behalf of a social group, tend to sacrifice greater value, in the form of more or finer animals/objects, than do average members of a society. When the sacrifice is on behalf of the group (ie the group is the beneficiary) then the group will have had some responsibility to contribute towards the cost of the ceremony (for example, through taxation) and the ceremony tends to be a public one. Sacrifices by an elite, which are intended to benefit the elite as a person, family or lineage, will be performed in private ceremonies. Unfortunately, the ethnographic literature concerning public versus private sacrificial ceremonies is ambiguous or unavailable and these two trends are hypothetical.

Equally unproveable, but nonetheless reasonable, is a correlation between the value of the sacrifice and the place of sacrifice. If the elite do indeed sacrifice greater value, then such sacrifices should occur where the elite are - on or near elite sites. Furthermore, when such sacrifices are made on behalf of the group they should occur on or near the central place or religious capital of the group (usually, but not necessarily, the same place as an economic and political central place). Sacrifices of this sort should correlate to the "ecclesiastical" cult institutions discussed above (chapter one), and also serve as rituals of sanctification (above, chapter one, cf Drennan 1976) linking religious and political institutions together into a functioning whole.

In so far as ritual is stereotypic, patterned and repetitive behaviour (Firth 1970, 199; Rappaport 1971, 62) the use and organisation of the various elements of ritual are standardised. A consequence of this is that the remains of ritual are standardised. Logically, therefore, the arrangement of items in a deposit, which is the goal and result of a ritual, should also be standardised. Levy found this to be true in a minority of her sample societies (1982, 20), although the ethnographic literature was consistently uninformative on this detail. The consistent layering and arrangement of items in the ritual shafts, discussed above (chapter two), are almost certainly examples of this point.

The fifth and last general characteristic of ritual sacrifices is an association of food in the ritual. This may take the form of ritual slaughter of animals, destruction of vegetable food, ritual feasts, or libations of blood or liquor poured for the supernatural. Levy found this association of sacrificed/votive offerings and food to be nearly universal (1982, 20). In many instances, the food eaten is part of the remains of the animal or food sacrificed, and serves to transfer the supernatural force to the beneficiary, as proposed by Hubert and Mauss (1964, 36-38; cf the Dahomey in Goode 1951, 57-64, 188-194; the Asante in McLeod 1981, chapter four; the Nyoro in Beattie 1967, 255-287). The sacrifice of material objects is also associated with feasting, functioning to promote social solidarity and a shared experience of the supernatural among the assembled congregation.

It is unfortunate that the ethnographic literature is so uninformative about what happens to the remains of the animals sacrificed, after they have been either dedicated to the supernatural and burned, or buried, or eaten by observers. Because the animal once embodied force or mana, much of which was transferred to the beneficiary, it is expected that some mana should remain. This would in turn require a "proper" (ie ritualised) disposal of the remains, but this is entirely hypothetical.

The studies reviewed here indicate that the place of offering, the value of the offering, and the number of people involved are all very closely linked (cf Levy 1982, 56-57). Lower value offerings, which occur on all types of occupation sites, may represent the activities of family sized groups. Slightly more valuable offerings should correlate with communal activity, conducted by part-time religious officials on behalf of a community (communal cult institution, see chapter one). Large offerings, valuable because of the quantity involved or the quality of items, which occur on sites of elite occupation or "central place" sites, can probably be attributed to rituals conducted by professional religious specialists, representing an ecclesiastical cult institution (cf chapter one), on behalf of a regional group (tribe, chiefdom or state). Following Levy's suggestion (1982, 56), offerings of a few items, each of high value due to quality or variety, probably represent offerings of a cult institution restricted to a socio-political elite. Clearly, there is considerable correlation between the implications of sacrificial and votive offerings for religious structure and the structure of cult institutions derived from features of organisations (as in chapter one, cf Wallace 1966). Unfortunately, there are no apparent correlations between the type of offering made and either the deity involved, or the functional goal of the offering (eg divinatory, propitiatory, curative, or confirmatory), in any general-comparative sense. Each culture specifies exactly what should be offered to which deity, and for what purpose, but there is no

cross-cultural consistency. This makes it very difficult to attribute offerings to the cult institution of any particular deity, though the level of the cult institutions (either communal or ecclesiastical), the specialists involved, and the group benefiting from the offering may all be discernible.

SUMMARY: ETHNOGRAPHY AND ARCHAEOLOGY

The purpose of this chapter was to investigate general cross-cultural patterns in the relationship between material remains and social relations or belief patterns. Two aspects of the archaeological evidence, mortuary and sacrificial rituals, were not elaborated in the discussion of the Celtic ethnographies, or the Celtic vernacular literature, because neither source contained sufficiently detailed evidence. Thus, lacking any more direct method of interpretation, cross-cultural comparative analogies have been presented.

The first aspect of the archaeological evidence for which analogy has been sought was the presence of at least three different mortuary rituals, representing a small part of the Iron Age population. Analysis of the ethnologic literature on mortuary rituals indicated that two segments of a population are likely to be disposed of in distinctive manners - a socio-political elite, or a series of social groups which can be conflated as outcast/unclean. Because the Iron Age burials occur on even relatively minor sites and comprise several different forms of mortuary rituals, it is unlikely that an elite class is represented. This suggests that in the Iron Age several classes of people, who were in some manner ritually "unclean" or "inauspicious", received a mortuary ritual involving a secondary manipulation or mutilation of the remains and concluding in disposal in ditches and pits around domestic sites.

The second aspect of the archaeological evidence which was not elucidated by direct literary sources were three varieties of ritual offerings - animal sacrifice, and votive offerings of objects in watery contexts or shafts. Analysis of the ethnologic literature indicates that the value of the offering, the person or group paying for the offering (sacrifier), the person who conducts the ceremony (sacrificer), and the person or group who receive the benefits (beneficiary) are all closely correlated. On this basis it is possible to suggest that animal sacrifice was widely practised, performed for even quite small communal groups (family, clan, lineage?), by either communal religious officials or local representatives of a more widespread cult institution. The presence of very valuable status items (swords, cauldrons, shields etc) in watery contexts almost certainly represents a cult institution restricted to an elite class, possibly associated with elite rituals of sanctification. The presence of much material of moderate value in ritual shafts, associated with both Iron Age occupation sites and non-domestic, presumptively ritual sites, may represent either communal offerings, or offerings conducted on behalf of a regional social group by an elite, or more probably a combination of both. Unfortunately, it has thus far proved impossible to correlate the type of offering with the functional goal of the ritual in any consistent cross-cultural pattern. Lacking any more specific method of interpretation, it is probably safest to allow each of the offerings any of several possible motivations.

CHAPTER 10

THE NATURE AND ROLE OF RELIGION IN THE IRON AGE

The previous eight chapters have assembled the evidence available pertaining to Iron Age religious practices and beliefs. For the sake of clarity, each chapter discussed only one set of evidence and cross-referencing was kept to a minimum. This, however, creates an artificial and misleading distinction between behaviours which were once part of a single belief system. It is now necessary to begin the process of integrating all of the evidence together into a more coherent whole, based on the framework or model presented in the first chapter.

The general integration of evidence will be performed in each of the three basic chronological periods used in the analysis heretofore. These phases are not simply chronological periods arbitrarily chosen, but rather represent three periods during which cultural and social evolution in southern Britain proceeded along particular trajectories, and during which social characteristics, such as economy, political structures, settlement pattern, subsistence farming etc, did not change greatly in kind (the north of England probably followed a different, as yet less well understood course). During such periods of relative social stability, religious practices may also have been stable, resulting in consistent behaviour that may be visible archaeologically. During the Iron Age there were two short periods in which rapid and drastic social changes occurred - the whole direction of social evolution shifted, to result in new social patterns (eg Cunliffe 1984b). The first of these occurred about 400 BC, the second around 100 BC, and they serve to demarcate the Early, Middle and Late Iron Ages. Social changes of this magnitude may have resulted in decisive changes in religious practices, which may serve to highlight the consistent practices of the three major periods and aid in the correlation between religious ritual practices and other features of society.

The integration of evidence for Iron Age religion will, therefore, proceed in a three step sequence, corresponding to the major phases of social evolution during the Iron Age. . Within each of these three steps the social context, or nature of society during that phase of the Iron Age will be very briefly reviewed. Particular attention is paid to those elements of society that appear to be most closely associated with contemporary religious practices. Following this, the evidence for ritual behaviour is summarised, and the probable correlations between features of secular Iron Age society and religious practices will be discussed in greater detail.

THE EARLY IRON AGE: CIRCA 700-400 BC

The Social Context

One of the most prominent features of the Early Iron Age is the diminution and then failure (during the sixth century BC) a pan-European system of regional trade networks, based on valuable, well-made, bronze prestige items. This trade system, which began in the Bronze Age, moved items long distances, creating widespread artifact styles which were copied to produce local variants (Megaw & Simpson 1981, 255-259, 297-340; Bradley 1984, 114-124, 128-132; Cunliffe 1978, 330-331). Ordinary tools were traded through small scale networks and travelled much shorter distances. The prestige items, such as swords, body armour, vessels and some ornaments, probably served as symbols of elite status and were used in the performance of social relations between elite individuals and groups (Bradley 1984, 96-127). Through social custom, such social relations as marriage, alliance formation, and tribute would be performed using the accepted artifacts as tokens. The failure of this system by the sixth century BC may have been due to increasing economic pressure or limited resources (both copper and tin are rare, or have limited distribution) by expanding social systems (Megaw & Simpson 1981, 331-339; Bradley 1984, 127, 132). In any case, the causes of its failure lie outside Britain. Although the bronze trade, or cross-channel trade in general, did not stop completely, by the fifth century BC it was only a small fraction of its former volume and scale and, as a consequence, Britain was increasingly cut-off from developments on the continent, and both artifact styles and social developments are progressively more insular in nature (Cunliffe 1978, 152-157; 1984, 31).

Concurrent with the dwindling of the European bronze trade is a shift in settlement patterns in the British Early Iron Age. The pattern which had evolved in the Late Bronze Age was one of scattered hilltop enclosures serving as tribal, seasonal social centres used for management of flocks and herds and also for the performance of social interaction (Cunliffe 1978, 243-286; 1984, 30-32; Megaw & Simpson 1981, 355-367). More densely scattered farmsteads appear to be economically self-sufficient and may represent the residences of much of the population (Bradley 1984, 113, 138). The final element of this settlement pattern is riverside valley sites which may be involved in specialised commercialised trade and manufacture (eg Runnymede, Needham & Burgess, 1980; and Needham and Longley in Barrett & Bradley 1980). However, during the course of the Early Iron Age the hilltop enclosures are either abandoned or receive quite dramatically improved defensive earthworks on a scale implying the organisation and direction of labour on a wide scale; almost certainly the elite wielding its authority (Bradley 1984, 134-136; Cunliffe 1978, 243-287; 1984b, 13-23). These early hillforts show evidence of consistent and intense domestic occupation, unlike the seasonal use of the hilltop enclosures. Further, the military nature of the early hillforts is clearly represented by their defences and the stores of slingstones (Cunliffe 1984b, 31). Other functions of the early hillforts appear to be grain storage (Gent 1983, Jones 1984) and as centres for lambing and calving (Grant 1984). The earlier fortlets are abandoned at this time. This suggests that the elites shifted residence from the fortlets to the early hillforts during the Early Iron Age. There appears to be little change in the nature and

placement of rural farmsteads (Bradley 1984, 131-133; Cunliffe 1978, 161-193).

Throughout the Late Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age the subsistence economy was both stable and consistent, based on mixed arable farming with cattle as common as sheep as the prime pastoral resources (Jones 1984, Grant 1984).

During the course of the Late Bronze Age, regional ceramic styles succeed the earlier, and more generalised, Deverel-Rimbury traditions. It is speculated that these regional ceramic styles may represent the territories of ethnic groups (Cunliffe 1978, 31-67, 83-114, 331-332).

At least two large scale social processes may be seen in the Early Iron Age, and they must be causally related. The first is the diminution of the bronze trade, and the second is the shift in the nature of the elite classes. During the Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age the elites seem to have maintained their status through control of the bronze trade and the possession of bronze prestige goods. As the supplies of bronze dwindled the elite status system was threatened and an alternative basis for social status sought. Beginning in the Late Bronze Age on the Downlands this alternative was land: direct control of land and subsistence production gradually supplemented control of trade (Cunliffe 1984, 30-32). Riverine social groups, with closer access to trade routes, may have relied on control of trade more than their upland neighbours. However, the control of the bronze trade, and possession of bronze items remained important enough to the Early Iron Age elite for the final collapse of the trade system, during the sixth century BC, to have drastic consequences. Society across much of southern Britain apparently underwent a short period of intense social stress at this time, represented by the attack, sack and destruction of many of the early hillforts (Cunliffe 1984b, 30; Bradley 1984, 134-136, Fig 6.3; Cunliffe 1978, 268-278). This period of social stress changed the course of social development in Iron Age Britain, and is now conventionally used to separate the Early from the Middle Iron Age.

Two further points should be emphasised. The first of these is the role of the development of iron technology in this process of social change. This is as yet very poorly understood. Knowledge of iron technology had been available for several hundred years (Champion 1975; 1980; Bradley 1984, 128-132, 134), during which time it appears to have been used and circulated as a prestige item. The dwindling supplies of bronze during the seventh and sixth centuries BC could have promoted an increasing use of iron as an alternative metal. On the other hand, the wide availability of iron compared with copper and tin may have played a more active role in the failing bronze trade. Unfortunately, beyond these simplistic observations very little may be usefully said.

The second point to emphasise is that the changes at the end of the fifth century BC were part, not of a single event, but of a period of rapid culture change that was the consequence of several social processes that each reached phases of stress, and in interacting, combined to produce an alteration in the course of social change.

Ritual Behaviour

During the centuries of the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age there are three kinds of behaviour that almost certainly represent religious rituals. The first of these is the presence of the many swords of Gundlingen type, vessels of bronze found in rivers and bogs. These watery deposits are distinctive, both in the types of artifacts

represented and their context. The consistency indicates a deliberate behaviour, but the value of the objects and the irretrievable context makes the behaviour very uneconomic. The most likely motivation and explanation for this behaviour is that it represents votive offerings made in rivers and bogs (cf Needham & Burgess 1980; Bradley 1980, 1984). This tradition first appears in the Bronze Age and continues into the Early Iron Age.

Ethnographic research by Levy (1981) suggests that offerings of valuable objects are typical of rituals performed by and for elite individuals or social groups. Further support is provided by Kuper (1973), who noted the use of items that symbolise important social relations in religious rituals. A final clue may be inferred from Drennan (1976), that rituals making prominent use of social symbols are likely to function (implicitly) to sanctify the social relations symbolised. The conclusion, therefore, is that these objects were deposited in rivers and bogs by elite individuals in rituals belonging to an elite cult institution, and that such rituals provided legitimation or sanctification of both the elite class and of the social relations that the elite class dominated (cf discussion in Rowlands 1980, 15-21, 46-48).

An interesting feature of these elite, prestige items is their martial aspect - swords predominate. This may suggest that the elite was, at least in part, a military elite and that some of the social relations symbolised may have involved military domination.

The consistently watery contexts of these deposits suggests that rivers and bogs were thought to be liminal places through which humans could effectively contact the supernatural world. This may involve water deities, but need not, as the nature of the liminal feature (eg a river) does not necessarily correlate with any particular feature of the otherworld.

The choice of only east flowing rivers for prestige deposits may be due to either the locations of trade routes and of elite groups controlling trade, or based on religious principles.

The second set of evidence for religious behaviour during the Early Iron Age is the human mortuary rituals. This evidence is drawn largely from the downland sites, and thus belongs to a social system in which elite status is increasingly based on control of land and production as well as control of trade. Although most of the evidence is from hillforts, what evidence is available from settlements presents a similar picture.

The normative mortuary rite is one that left no archaeological traces. Cremation or exposure at locations distant from occupation sites are alternatives, with the latter perhaps more likely. However, several minority rites may represent up to five percent of the population. This minority sector of the Early Iron Age population, represented archaeologically, are nearly all adults. Most are represented by single bones, a few as complete inhumations (in pits or under hillfort ramparts), and a few partial burials and single skulls appear on hillforts.

Single bones and complete inhumations occur on all sites; the partial burials and skulls appear only on hillforts. The fact that none of these minority rites involve cremation indicates that exposure is the more likely normative rite. Since virtually none of the single bones or partial inhumations show evidence of deliberate dismemberment, it is likely that the period of exposure was interrupted in the minority rites

and the partially decomposed remains manipulated in a ritual and then parts disposed of, eventually finding their way into the contexts of discovery. A series of mortuary rituals involving this second manipulation of the remains are called, in general, secondary mortuary rituals.

Ethnographic research indicates that secondary mortuary rituals are usually associated with four closely linked beliefs. These include the conception of an immortal soul; death as a liminal, transitional process (not an event); a body-soul parallelism in which the fate of soul and flesh are linked; and a belief in an "otherworld" to which the soul goes after death has been finalised by the final destruction/deposition of the physical body. It should be emphasised that such beliefs may be held without practising secondary mortuary rituals, but that when such rituals are found, these beliefs consistently form the conceptual foundation for the rituals. If these four beliefs are postulated as part of the Early Iron Age belief code, the mortuary rituals are more easily explainable.

In a system where the normal deposition was off-site, and in which body-soul parallelism occurs, the appearance of complete inhumations implies a ritual designed to retain the soul at the place of burial. The appearance of such burials under ramparts suggests foundation burials, incorporating the soul of the deceased into the physical defences to protect the interior from supernatural assault as well as physical attack. Likewise, burials in pits might be intended to return the soul to the earth in a fertility oriented ritual - the connection of burials and grain storage pits has been made previously (Cunliffe 1983, 164). Both of these kinds of deposits could imply human sacrifice preceding disposal.

The series of inhumations of partial bodies, occurring only on hillforts, may similarly hint at sacrifice. In this case, however, the dispersal of the remains surely indicates some different treatment of the soul as well - for example, this may involve an alternative to either sending the soul to the otherworld, as in the normative rite, or to retaining the soul in the place of burial.

Human sacrifice, which may be behind these mortuary rituals, usually occurs in religious rituals performed on behalf of larger social groups - it rarely occurs in the context of family rituals for example. The deposits occurring only on hillforts - the residences of elites and possibly "central places" of social groups - are therefore more likely to be sacrifices. Deposits such as inhumation in pits, which occur on small rural farmstead sites, are much less likely to be due to sacrifice. An alternative is that these latter are fertility oriented burials of natural deaths, which could occur in rural contexts.

The consistent occurrence of single, adult, male skulls in pits on hillforts may imply either ritual headhunting or, more likely, the collection of heads as martial trophies. In this case, the final deposition of the skull probably served apotropaic functions, as did the rampart burials.

The mortuary ritual that resulted in single bones was employed far more often than the preceding rituals. These bones appear widely scattered across sites. These probably represent people who either did not deserve, or did not need, the normative rites, a sector of the population referred to here as outcast or unclean. Outcast and unclean status burials could occur in rural contexts, such as the farmsteads and settlements, as well as on hillforts.

The presence of distinct mortuary rituals based on social status (probably defined by religious criteria) suggests a social system of considerable complexity. Nothing in the archaeological evidence contradicts this suggestion, but equally, supporting evidence is not yet known.

The third set of evidence for Early Iron Age ritual is the series of special animal deposits. These belong to the same sites, and therefore same social system, as the human mortuary rituals. The animals involved are the five prime domestic species - cattle, sheep, horse, pig and dog. The deposits represent a tradition of consistent, uneconomic behaviour. The best explanation is that the remains represent several varieties of animal sacrifice, differentiated by species, and the parts of the animal buried - whole or nearly complete bodies, skulls, or articulated limbs. This hints at a very complex set of underlying rituals.

Several general points, however, can be made about these deposits. First, during the Early Iron Age, hillforts and settlements show some similarities in ritual practices. Sheep are numerically most common, but when considering the greater meat value of a cow, cattle are remarkably prominent. Horses are equally common on both types of sites. Pigs, however, occur only on hillforts, and dogs are much more common on settlements. On both types of sites most special deposits are of skulls. This makes economic sense, as the deposit of a skull may be symbolically acceptable, while allowing most of the meat products to be consumed, probably in a ritual meal.

These animal deposits occur exclusively in the disused storage pits, whose potential association with fertility, as grain stores of considerable economic significance, has already been mentioned. Although there are problems in establishing contemporaneity, the pits containing animal burials appear to be more closely situated to either houses, or other domestic structures, than was true for human burials. This pattern holds true for both settlements and hillforts, and animal deposits are common on settlements. This implies that the rituals resulting in such deposits were performed by residents on all sites, and the association with domestic structures could indicate that the rituals were performed by leaders of small social groups, such as a family, lineage or clan.

The presence of animal sacrifices and human burials in pits probably indicates that the pits have a significance beyond the economic importance of grain storage. Just as the deposition of votives in water implies that the rivers were liminal places, the use of pits to hold sacrifices and burials indicates that they too were liminal features.

Human and animal sacrifices imply several features of the Early Iron Age conception of the deities and the supernatural world. Foremost amongst these is the belief that the performance of these sacrificial and votive rituals influenced the supernatural and natural worlds. In particular, it is probably natural fertility which is the goal of the rituals. Although it is impossible to distinguish between the exact forms that such influence could take - ranging from bribery, to coercion, to respectful thanks - the basic belief is the same: the correct rituals ensure that the supernatural and natural worlds will more closely conform to man's wishes. A closely related belief is that fertility and prosperity are of divine or supernatural origin. Fertility rituals involving sacrifice are ethnographically common means to ensure prosperity.

Unfortunately, the three sets of behaviour considered here are the only ones at present archaeologically visible in the Early Iron Age. The first, the ritual deposition of fine metalware in rivers, probably represents an elite's cult institution in which rituals of sanctification are prominent. When the economic trade system that the elite depended upon, and which supplied the prestige metalware that featured prominently in the associated rituals, was threatened from outside the region, the elite, their cult, and eventually much of the dependent social system was endangered. By the sixth century BC, the economic system more or less collapsed. Interestingly, a final period of particularly intense deposition may have occurred at this time (Needham & Burgess 1980).

Two further Early Iron Age cult institutions are visible, a mortuary cult and probably a fertility cult. Both of these are more common on the downlands, where they are closely associated, although there is some evidence for their presence in the Thames Basin and other lowland areas. Whether or not the elite's votive cult institution and the mortuary and fertility cults overlapped and were practised by the same social groups is as yet indeterminable.

The collapse of the bronze trade, which so threatened the elite cult institutions, was also associated with changes which eventually affected the downland social groups - witness the sacked hillforts. Here, however, there is little evidence of that elite cult institution and instead the ritual emphasis appears to be on fertility. This parallels the use of land and produce as the basis of social status that the hillforts represent. Here then, the religious system was based on commodities that were not threatened, and social upheaval and change may not have caused any permanent changes in religious beliefs and practices.

THE MIDDLE IRON AGE: CIRCA 400-100 BC

The Social Context

By the end of the fifth century BC there emerged from the social upheaval of the collapse of the European bronze trade, and the crumbling of the social system dependent upon that trade, a Middle Iron Age society, different in nature from that of the Early Iron Age. Although cross-channel trade did not stop completely, during the Middle Iron Age it was very small in scale. Lacking the supplies of bronze objects essential for their social interaction, the Early Iron Age elite systems fell apart. New social systems arose, probably using land, crop produce and animals as symbols of prestige and authority and as tokens in social exchange. These new social systems developed along their trajectories for three centuries before a second phase of social stress developed.

Following the destruction of many of the "early" hillforts at the end of the fifth century BC, a new form of "developed" hillfort appeared. Developed hillforts may be either refurbished "early" forts or new foundations; they are fewer in number, more widely and more regularly spaced, thus dominating larger territories (Cunliffe 1978, 243-286; Bradley 1984, 128-129; Cunliffe 1984b, 30). The new hillforts are massively defended and thus required far greater labour in construction, implying more social control by an elite than in the Early Iron Age. Furthermore, the developed hillforts exhibit evidence of intense permanent occupation, with organised interiors divided into

areas for housing, grain storage, stock management etc, and once established, this organisation could be maintained for several centuries (Cunliffe 1984b, 30-38; Guilbert 1975; Alcock 1972; Stanford 1970, 1974, 1981; Wheeler 1943). The developed hillforts also seem to have served as central grain stores for territories much larger than could be farmed directly from the sites, and recent evidence indicates that some probably served as lambing and calving centres (Grant 1984a, 1984b). Hillforts also show evidence of extensive craft production (Cunliffe 1976, 138-141). In short, the developed hillforts manifest increasing centralised control over farming and manufacturing by a resident elite. Within the hillfort territories are numerous small farmsteads and settlements (both enclosed and open), situated to exploit available resource zones - some such sites become increasingly specialised in the later part of the Middle Iron Age (Megaw & Simpson 1981, 367-375; Bradley 1984, 141).

The mixed arable farming system, which had been stable since the Bronze Age, was more intensively applied during the Middle Iron Age. Sheep become far more numerous than cattle, probably reflecting their use for manuring fields, in addition to providing wool, meat etc. With intensification this system may have become unstable through progressive degradation of the arable land's fertility (Cunliffe 1984b, 30-31). By the end of the Middle Iron Age there is evidence of disease in domestic animal populations, which may indicate that both farming and animal husbandry practices were reaching a state of chronic stress (Grant 1984b).

Throughout the Middle Iron Age new sites appear and established sites may expand which, combined with evidence for increased arable land being more intensively cropped, may indicate a growing population (Bradley 1984, 139-142; Cunliffe 1984b, 31; 1983, 173). An increasing population, coupled with a progressively stressed farming system, could have reached a situation where the population approached a socially perceived carrying or holding capacity of the land. This, in turn, would put pressure on the society to adapt its customs, resulting, in turn, in social stress. The Middle Iron Age emphasis on massive defences and weaponry, and periodic evidence of warfare may also represent increasing social stress (Cunliffe 1984b, 31).

The Middle Iron Age is a period of developing craft specialisation, both within and between sites. This is particularly true of ceramics, seen in the development and consolidation of the regional style zones which originated in the Early Iron Age, some of which may represent full-time craft production. Also during the Middle Iron Age, specialised sites for mining, salt production, glass making and textiles, as well as ceramics, appear (Bradley 1984, 140; Megaw & Simpson 1981, 382-401; Cunliffe 1978,287-310). There is evidence for standardised units of size and value for some commodities, such as salt, bronze and iron (Allen 1967; Cunliffe 1978, 273), and cattle and sheep probably had traditional exchange value as well. Much of the craft specialisation may be associated with the hillforts, and have occurred under elite patronage (Bradley 1984, 142-143). Throughout the Middle Iron Age, as a consequence of the greatly reduced trade with the continent, British craft products become insular in nature and diverge from continental styles.

In summary, the Middle Iron Age is characterised by the development of a social system, dominated by an elite resident in hillforts, whose authority was based on control of land and produce. The development of craft specialisation implies a developing social hierarchy with various

status positions, many craftsmen probably working under elite patronage. Evidence from hillforts indicates that they dominated blocks of land and received tribute of grain and animals from the surrounding territory. In general terms, these hillforts and territories may approximate the "chiefdoms" known ethnographically. Larger social ethnic groups may be discernible in the ceramic style zones that show continuity from Early Iron Age origins.

Sometime towards the end of the second century BC, the Middle Iron Age agricultural regime may have reached a critical level of stress and, as a consequence, warfare may have become endemic. At the same time, events known historically in the expansion of the Roman empire began to impinge forcefully upon southern Britain. The combination of these processes led to a phase of major social reorientation, ending the Middle Iron Age "trajectory" of social evolution.

Ritual Behaviour

The decline of the Late Bronze Age bronze trade, with its dramatic social consequences, might have been expected to involve changes in the elite cult institution so closely linked to the social system. Such a change in religious practices is clearly visible. The deposition of fine metalware in watery contexts does not stop completely, but is very reduced in scale. A few of the areas previously so prominent have a few sword deposits (no shields or vessels are known): these may be areas where the elite managed to preserve their control over the reduced trade and local manufacture, and thus maintained the traditional cult institution which legitimated their social authority. The appearance of iron swords in this context may represent a broadening of the resource base the elites controlled, and hence used, in the rituals of their cult institution.

During the second half of the Middle Iron Age, swords and other prestige items appear on normal domestic sites in the Dorset-Somerset region. There is nothing in the contexts of these finds to suggest ritual activity, and they probably represent a different set of belief and behaviour patterns. In particular, there appears to have been no tradition related to the elite cult in the eastern river valleys.

There is demonstrable continuity of human mortuary rituals in southern Britain from the Early to Middle Iron Age. There is now positive evidence for these practices from a wider variety of sites, over a much wider area, which may represent the spread of the beliefs or, more likely, reflects the relatively poor data base in the Early Iron Age. Some slight changes are also visible during the Middle Iron Age, apparently differences in practices on hillforts and settlements, which may correlate to different levels in the social hierarchy. On hillforts, all of the old practices continue - the rampart burials, pit burials, partial burials, single skulls and single bones. There is, however, an increase in the relative number of complete burials in pits, and a commensurate decrease in the relative number of individuals represented by single bones. The additional pit burials are mostly of infants, although burial of adults also increases. A second possible change on hillforts in the Middle Iron Age is a shift from predominantly perimeter locations of remains (ramparts and ditches), as in the Early Iron Age, to interior contexts (mostly pits). In neither period do the contexts clearly relate to any contemporary domestic structures or activity areas.

If the mortuary rituals practised on hillforts are only slightly changed from the Early Iron Age, the rituals on settlements deviate more dramatically. There is a rapid increase in the occurrence of single inhumations in pits, especially of infants, but adults too become far more numerous. The partial burials and skull deposits are extremely rare on settlements. The mortuary rituals resulting in the deposition of single bones were apparently performed much less frequently. This shift in deposits from single bones to inhumations may represent a dramatic reduction of the period of exposure (and decomposition) allotted to the dead of certain sectors of society.

The upsurge in the number of infant burials must mark another change in practice, if not in belief. These infant burials represent the extension of traditional practices in a new direction, to apply to a new minority set of the population. During the Early Iron Age, the mortuary ritual applied to normal infant deaths was the normative rite, leaving no archaeological trace. This remains true for the Middle Iron Age, since the known infant burials are probably too few to represent the "normal" level of infant death. Therefore, these burials represent a sub-set of infant deaths. They are unlikely to represent sacrifice, since infants are rarely the subject of sacrifice, and because such rites are unlikely to occur on small settlements where infant burials are so common. Two sorts of infant deaths seem applicable - those who died before a ritual of naming/baptism occurred, or the victims of infanticide. In neither case would the normative mortuary rite be necessary, as such infants would not have "officially" entered this world (such an entry is officially noted at rites of passage such as naming or baptism). The shift in minority rites involving a reduced period of exposure could apply here as well, since scattered single infant bones would rarely be preserved and recognisable and so would not appear in the Early Iron Age mortuary evidence.

One further point may be of interest here. Infanticide is usually practised by social groups who perceive their population as approaching the carrying capacity of their land (though this social carrying capacity is usually well below a "real", or theoretical carrying capacity) (Harris 1977, 17-28, 56-64). This could correlate with suggestions made above and elsewhere that the Middle Iron Age subsistence economy was threatened by diminishing returns and an increasing population.

Two normative mortuary traditions appear during the Middle Iron Age which have left good archaeological evidence. The first of these is the by now well known Arras tradition of east Yorkshire (Whimster 1981, 75-128; Stead 1965, 1977, 1979; Dent 1978; Brewster 1976). The normative rite of this probably intrusive, social group was inhumation under small barrows, in small square ditched enclosures. Grave goods occur, including pottery, ornaments, weapons and a few vehicles, all reminiscent of a presumed cultural homeland in the Marne region of northeast France (Stead 1977, 1979). This distinctive funerary tradition does not imply any particular set of eschatological beliefs, though those postulated here as current during the Early Iron Age, when southern Britain was closely integrated with the continent (and thus could have shared beliefs), are not incompatible with the evidence.

The second known mortuary tradition to appear during the later Middle Iron Age is the Cornish cist burial tradition (Whimster 1981, 60-74). Here inhumations occur within stone lined cists and are only rarely accompanied by grave goods (which include metal ornaments and

other objects imported from other areas of Britain, as well as from France and Spain). This tradition becomes prevalent in the second century BC and continues to the Roman conquest. Again, the use of inhumation as a normative rite is not incompatible with the beliefs discussed here.

In neither the Arras nor Cornish traditions have minority mortuary rites, such as are visible in central southern Britain, as yet been identified. If minority rites did exist and were applied to similar sectors of those societies, as discussed above, it would be more probable that a similar set of underlying beliefs were present.

The special animal deposits which were so apparent a feature of the Early Iron Age ritual practices become even more numerous in the Middle Iron Age. On hillforts, where the greatest continuity in practices occurs, cattle become less common than previously. Most of the special deposits take the form of burials of skulls, following the Early Iron Age tradition. On settlements greater changes appear. Burials of skulls are replaced with deposits of complete animals and of articulated limbs, and burials of dogs become increasingly common. Whatever these changes may mean in detail, the general practices of animal sacrifice and deposit, presumably with fertility overtones, continue unchanged.

The decrease in the prominence of cattle may be correlated with the more general changes in animal husbandry discussed above, in which sheep become a more important element of agriculture. Further, the expansion of arable land may have occurred at the expense of marginal land and woods previously used for pig forage, as pig burials become less common. Ritual practices in a fertility cult might be expected to vary with changes in agricultural practices, and this seems to be the case in the Middle Iron Age.

A fourth set of evidence of religious practices appears in the Middle Iron Age - formalised religious structures or shrines. Three shrines appear in Middle Iron Age contexts on hillforts (Danebury, Maiden Castle and South Cadbury) and a fourth in a nucleated settlement at Heathrow. These are consistently small rectangular buildings, located in open areas within the occupation sites - the hillfort shrines are all located in the most prominent location in the interior of the sites. They appear to be designed to shelter icons and votives, and at most small groups of worshippers. Communal worship, if it occurred, must have been an open air activity. There is, as yet, no positive evidence to associate any of these shrines with any particular deity or cult, although at South Cadbury the animal burials near the shrines may suggest links to the fertility cult.

The appearance of shrines on nucleated sites parallels the types of sites on which craft specialisation occurs. As the craft specialisation implies an increase in social complexity with new status positions, this may be true of religion as well: a class of full time religious specialists may be seen developing under elite patronage in the Middle Iron Age. The likelihood of religious institutions' organisation paralleling the organisation of social institutions has already been suggested.

In summary, the Middle Iron Age witnesses the continuation on a small limited scale of the Early Iron Age elite cult of votive deposits. This cult may continue as an elite cult in a few restricted areas, while elsewhere it loses its elite association.

Meanwhile, much of southern England can now be seen to practise a series of fertility cults involving animal sacrifice, and several mortuary cults are visible. The animal sacrifices, practised at all social levels, but more intensely by a hillfort resident elite, and certain types of sacrifice of certain animals (especially pigs) may also be restricted to the elite. Similarly, it is likely that human sacrifice was conducted in this same fertility context, also as part of elite ceremonies. These elite ceremonies may involve an increasingly professional class of religious specialists. Ordinary human mortuary rituals, including specialised rituals applied to a minority sector of the population (probably outcast/unclean groups) were performed at all social levels on all sorts of occupation sites. Because the mortuary rituals and much of the animal sacrifices occur on sites with no direct evidence for an elite, they are probably parts of cult institutions organised at a communal level, as was the case in the Early Iron Age. Certain specific rituals (either human sacrifice or particular forms of animal sacrifice) restricted to hillforts may be associated with an elite cult, based on similar beliefs, conducted by increasingly professional religious specialists.

The Middle Iron Age ritual practices imply the continuation of beliefs which were prevalent in the Early Iron Age. These include eschatological beliefs about man's soul and the nature of death and the otherworld. Other beliefs implied are that the supernatural world (and through it the natural world) was open to influence, and that the performance of sacrifice and votive offerings were a major form of influence.

THE LATE IRON AGE: CIRCA 100 BC - AD 43

The Social Context

According to the scenario developed thus far, it would appear that during the second century BC, society in southern Britain suffered chronic stress due to an expanding population meeting static or diminishing agricultural production. A social hierarchy of some depth had developed, and craft specialisation, manufacturing insular artifact styles, had grown to replace the earlier bronze trade; iron was universally used. An elite drawing its authority from control of land and produce dominated local territories from proto-urban hillforts. Larger ethnic groups may be perceived in distinctive ceramic style zones. One of the most influential of these characteristics may be the agricultural stress which can make a social system vulnerable to outside influences; beginning in the last decades of the second century BC outside influences intruded forcefully into southern Britain.

The Roman conquest of southern Gaul in the late second century BC prompted a revitalisation of the western trade routes by which the Mediterranean world had traded with Britain in earlier centuries. Although the trade routes were used in the Middle Iron Age, entrepreneurial Roman merchants greatly increased the scale of the trade. One of these routes was through the Carcassone Gap to the Gironde, up the west coast of Gaul to Brittany, and thence to central southern England. The second route went up the Rhone river, across to and then down the Seine, and then across the Channel again to central southern England (Cunliffe 1982; Megaw & Simpson 1981, 417-421; Bradley 1984, 144-146). Products traded into Britain included wine, fine ceramics and manufactured goods, while British exports included

(according to Strabo) hunting dogs, minerals, grain and slaves. Beginning shortly before 100 BC, and continuing until the mid-first century BC, this trade system flourished, with such trade entrepots as Hengistbury Head serving as nodal points (Cunliffe 1978; Megaw & Simpson 1981, 417-421).

Although the causal connections are not yet clear, considerable social changes occurred in central southern England during this period, and the resurgence of trade and social changes can hardly be unrelated. Into this period of change must also be thrown the vexed question of the Belgae. Caesar refers to their raiding and then settling in "maritime Britain" before his British campaigns in the mid-first century BC. For long, this process was thought to be represented by the appearance of coinage, ceramics and cremation burials, all with Gaulish antecedents in Kent, Essex and Hertfordshire. Recent research and new chronologies now make this association less convincing (Birchall 1963; Rodwell 1976; Kent 1981; Stead 1976; Cunliffe 1978, 67-82, 161-192, 287-326). An alternative interpretation has been proposed by Cunliffe (1984b; also see Sellwood 1984), which hypothesises a Belgic settlement north of the Solent, based on Belgic coinage and ceramics. The evidence is tenuous (Cunliffe 1984b, 36). Both of these candidates for the Belgic invasion can be explained adequately by trade contacts as well as invasion, and although Caesar's description leaves little doubt that the invasion occurred, neither its time, place nor consequent culture changes can be identified archaeologically with assurance (Bradley 1984, 184).

The most dramatic of the apparent changes to occur about 100 BC in central southern England may be a widespread abandonment of hillforts as densely occupied centres. Although positive evidence of abandonment is limited to a handful of sites, there are very few hillforts where a first century BC occupation of any magnitude can be demonstrated (Cunliffe 1978, 243-286, 327-344; 1984b, 32-38).

Concurrent with the abandonment of hillforts are two changes in the rural settlement pattern. The first is a shift from small independent farmsteads to larger, loosely nucleated, modular settlements of farmsteads stretched along trackways or in clusters (Cunliffe 1984b, 34). This shift may be seen earlier, especially in eastern England, where nucleated villages dominate the settlement pattern (Cunliffe 1978, 161-192; Megaw & Simpson 1981, 374). Also contemporary with these changes is the beginning of reorganisation in the agricultural landscape, with larger, linear field systems and clearly defined track systems developing, especially in some river valleys (Hingley & Miles 1984; Miles & Palmer 1983a, 1983b; Miles 1983). Some new crops became common, and specialised sites are more common as well (Jones 1984; Grant 1984b; Cunliffe 1978, 186-191).

The trend to greater craft specialisation, which began in the second half of the Middle Iron Age, accelerated in the Late Iron Age across most of southern England. This includes the introduction of the potter's wheel and ceramics of north Gaulish inspiration (Cunliffe 1984b, 33; Megaw & Simpson 1981, 402; Cunliffe 1978, 287-310). Another new development is the appearance of coinage of Gaulish inspiration minted in quantity, possibly including small denomination coins to facilitate exchange of goods and services (Sellwood 1984; Kent 1981; Cunliffe 1981; Rodwell 1976; Haselgrove 1979, 1982).

Most of these changes may be no more than a sudden acceleration of trends in Middle Iron Age society and economy in response to new trade opportunities. The abandonment of hillforts, should it prove to be as dramatic as it now appears, would hint at deeper more significant

changes. However, this social system in the midst of rapid change was strongly affected by Julius Caesar's conquest of all of Gaul during the mid-first century BC.

Caesar's conquest of Gaul brought Celtic Britain and the Roman Empire into more direct contact (Cunliffe 1984, 33; Bradley 1984, 144-156) than had existed previously. In the present discussion two consequences are important. First, it shifted the prime trade axis from Seine-to-Solent to the east, turning up the Rhone, then across to and down the Rhine, and then a cross-Channel route to the Thames Estuary and the Essex coast (Rodwell 1976; Cunliffe 1976; 1978, 67-82, 327-344; 1984b). Concomitant with this was a major decline in the volume of trade passing along the Seine-Solent and Atlantic coast routes, though both routes continued to function. The second consequence was a vast increase in the scale of trade, with far greater quantities of continental goods entering eastern England, and presumably increased British exports as well. Within a decade or two it is likely that a "Prestige-Goods Economy" was operating in eastern England, centred on a core area of Kent, Essex and Hertfordshire (Haselgrove 1982). Political repercussions include the development of incipient states (as seen in the dynastic emphasis on inscribed coinage and the very rich burials of Welwyn type) (Bradley 1984, 144; Cunliffe 1978, 75-81; Stead 1967, 1976). A further aspect of political development and centralisation is the oppida which almost certainly held urban functions as political, market, manufacturing and possibly religious centres. The best known examples include Verulamium (Rodwell 1976, 325-339), Colchester/ Camulodunum (Hawkes & Hull 1947; Hawkes 1980) and Chichester (Bradley 1971). Many further possible examples are less well known (Rodwell 1976; Cunliffe 1976; 1978, 284-286, 338-339).

By late in the first century BC, dynastic kingdoms had developed in a "core" area of east England, whose names are preserved in the Roman administration, including the Cantiaci (Kent), Trinovantes (in Essex), Catuvellauni (Hertfordshire) and Atrebates (in Surrey, Sussex and east Hants). Surrounding these chiefdoms/kingdoms was a "periphery" of chiefdoms with less craft specialisation and probably a less hierarchic society, which were exploited as sources of raw trade goods by the societies in the "core" (Haselgrove 1982). These chiefdoms include the Durotriges, Dobunni, Coritani and Iceni.

It should thus be clear that after 50 BC eastern England experienced unprecedented political and economic development, and political centralisation. Central, southern England (Wessex) during this same period failed to keep pace and continued social change occurred more slowly: the centre of social development shifted from the Solent to the Thames. Independent Celtic social development in Britain ended with the Claudian invasion in AD 43, and subsequent changes occurred in a progressively more Roman context.

The rapid pace of social change in the first century BC and early first century AD may well have led to consequent changes in both religious beliefs and practices. However, this period was too short for social, economic and political practices to reach equilibrium, and religious practices likewise may have remained in flux. If so, new religious practices may be difficult to identify and interpret. The general trends, however, do remain clearly discernible.

Ritual Behaviour

There is much more evidence for ritual practices in the Late Iron Age than in previous periods. Also, and more importantly, the Celtic ethnographies and the Celtic vernacular literature, which originate in the Late Iron Age, include a large amount of evidence about religious beliefs to supplement the evidence of ritual. In order to accommodate this increase in evidence, the discussion follows a different course. First the archaeological evidence is very briefly reviewed. To this foundation, the literary evidence is added in a speculative discussion of several generalised cult institutions (as defined in chapter one), which are probably common themes in much of Celtic religion.

During the Late Iron Age there is evidence of a general revival of the old tradition of votive deposits in watery contexts. However, these Late Iron Age deposits, though more numerous than in the Middle Iron Age, are widespread rather than in the clusters that began in the Bronze Age/Early Iron Age (only in the Fenlands and central Lincolnshire are there enough deposits to represent a cluster). From this it would appear that the Early Iron Age elite cult institution, following the collapse of the bronze trade, had devolved into a common votive practice acceptable in most areas, but perhaps no longer an independent cult, and certainly no longer an elite institution. The basic beliefs, such as the efficacy of water deposits in influencing the supernatural and the liminality of water, survived intact. The majority of artifacts in this revival of river and bog deposits are cauldrons, which seem to have enjoyed either a great resurgence, or perhaps the development of a prominent status as religious symbols in the Late Iron Age. Interestingly the Dorset/Somerset region is still distinctive in the occurrence of metalware on occupation sites - probably reflecting different beliefs about either the appropriate forms of votives, or the liminality of water, or both.

The use of shafts or wells for deposits of votive character becomes widespread in the Late Iron Age, although there is evidence of a long period of development in the earlier Iron Age and even the Bronze Age. These ritual deposits include metalware, animal sacrifices, food offerings in ceramic vessels, and burnt offerings. Some local traditions are discernible in the different votives (eg, the presence of bird and dog bones in shafts in Kent and Surrey). This practice corroborates beliefs about the efficacy of votive offerings and the liminality of pits and shafts implied by Middle Iron Age evidence. The nature of the deposits in shafts seems overwhelmingly focused on fertility in the natural world.

Two new normative mortuary rituals appear during the Late Iron Age, in addition to the two that originated during the Middle Iron Age. The first of these is the use of simple flat inhumations, sometimes in cemeteries and sometimes with a few grave goods. This rite is apparently a normative rite in the area of the Durotriges, especially in Dorset (Whimster 1981, 37-59). The second rite is one of cremation, followed by urned burial in cemeteries, and "family clusters" are sometimes discernible. This mortuary rite is diagnostic of the so-called Aylesford-Swarling "culture" and is prominent in Kent, Essex and Hertfordshire (Whimster 1981, 147-166; Birchall 1965; Stead 1967, 1976; Rodwell 1976). The appearance of both of these traditions may be as easily attributed to culture contact along the two major Late Iron Age trade axes as to actual migrations of people. The two older normative

rites - the Arras barrow burials and the Cornish cist burials - both continue into the Late Iron Age. In central southern Britain the Late Iron Age normative rite probably continues to be exposure. The minority rites that supplement the normative rite of exposure can also be seen continuing through the Late Iron Age. On hillforts, for as long as they were occupied, the Middle Iron Age practices continued nearly unchanged, with most human remains appearing as single bones, as well as small numbers of single skulls, partial burials and complete inhumations. On settlements, the Middle Iron Age trend from rites resulting in single bones to rites leading to complete inhumations continues; single bones are now a small minority, skulls and partial burials occur not at all, and most remains are complete inhumations. The beliefs implied by these rites in the Early and Middle Iron Age, including an immortal soul, death as a transitional phase, body-soul parallelism, and an otherworld, are all likely to persist without major change into the Late Iron Age. As noted earlier, the adoption of a new normative rite frequently occurs without any change in beliefs. Thus, these beliefs are likely to be very basic elements in Celtic religion. The use of pits for deposits of human remains in the Late Iron Age reinforces the suggestion that pits and shafts were viewed as liminal features.

The fourth ritual practice observed archaeologically is that of animal sacrifice, as represented by the special animal deposits which continue uninterruptedly from the Early Iron Age. As with mortuary rituals, there is relatively little evidence for animal sacrifice and burial on hillforts in the Late Iron Age. On settlement sites, there appears to be a change in the performance of the sacrificial ritual, reflected in the burial of complete animals and articulated limbs instead of skulls, for most species. In spite of these changes in detail it is apparent that the general sacrificial and deposition practices continued. The implied beliefs therefore also continue, including the use of sacrifice to influence natural fertility and the liminality of pits.

Archaeological evidence of ritual is also found in the many more Celtic shrines which have been identified in the Late Iron Age. These remain small, generally rectangular structures, apparently designed for individual or small group ceremonies, leaving communal worship to occur in the open air. These Celtic shrines, like most Celtic domestic structures in Britain, were oriented east/southeast; this may indicate that this direction was auspicious, which is hinted in the Irish myths. A number of Romano-Celtic temples continue Late Iron Age Celtic foundations, suggesting that the shrines were sufficiently well integrated into Celtic religion and society to have been perpetuated under Roman occupation. Shrines in the Late Iron Age sometimes occur in small clusters in nucleated settlements and it is likely that, at least in the south and east, most settlements larger than villages contained shrines. More rural locations are also known, including old religious foundations in hillforts now largely abandoned, possibly within the even older early hillforts and plateau enclosures, and along Celtic political boundaries. All of these locations were later used for Romano-Celtic temples. There is little positive evidence to associate shrines with any of the other ritual practices, and the evidence of the later Romano-Celtic temples also indicates that shrines probably served several cults and functions and may have been generalised ritual structures.

Cult Institutions

The literary evidence available during the Late Iron Age indicates that the ritual practices observed archaeologically were the active parts of cult institutions whose beliefs and other details are known, particularly through the Irish myths. The following discussion therefore presents a speculative model of several of the major themes of Celtic religion. Each theme, discussed as a cult institution, has an ancestry stretching back through the Iron Age, traceable in the archaeological evidence of ritual. These cult institutions are considered in some detail, drawing together the inferences from the earlier chapters, and pointing out relations between the various cults. The relationship between the cults and other aspects of Late Iron Age society is given particular attention in order to illustrate the role of religion in Celtic society. This discussion undoubtedly makes Celtic religion a too passive element of Celtic society, but this is probably unavoidable in a general study, such as attempted here. In reality, Celtic religion probably played a dynamic role in the daily course of Celtic society.

Fertility Cults

Both the Celtic ethnographies and the Celtic vernacular literature contain evidence about beliefs and practices concerned with the fertility of the natural world, and the prosperity of the social group. This, in fact, forms a large part of the information available about religion, perhaps slightly over-represented but nonetheless appropriate to the rural agrarian social contexts of Celtic society.

The basic purpose of the fertility cults was undoubtedly to maintain the fertility of land, crops and animals. The several basic beliefs implied in the archaeology are confirmed in the literary sources. The most basic belief was that fertility of the natural world is not a part of nature, but originates in the supernatural world of the gods. A direct action on the part of a deity is necessary in order to shift the fertility into the natural world. The deities responsible for this are open to influence by the actions of men - without human ritual the deities may withhold fertility. The way in which the Celts sought to prompt the gift of fertility from their gods was through maintaining a balance in the flow of fertility - what the gods sent was returned to them by the sacrifice of animals or the offering of material votives. It is not possible to determine if this relationship was thought to be contractual or propitiatory.

The fertility cults are seen in four sets of behaviour, all found in both archaeology and the literary evidence. These include the deposition of metal votives in watery contexts, of which cauldrons, probably symbolising prosperity, are a major element; the variety of votives in ritual shafts, all probably for fertility and prosperity; animal sacrifices, for fertility; and possibly human sacrifices as well. Each of these four sets of rituals has been shown to subsume a variety of slightly differing practices, and it is likely that a number of different cults are conflated into a generic term of fertility cult.

The religious specialists officiating in the fertility cults probably belong to several levels in the hierarchy of specialists proposed above. Both the Celtic ethnographies and Celtic vernacular literature agree that the sacrifice of animals and humans required

officials called Druids and Vates. Both sources also agree that by the Late Iron Age the Druids were a supra-tribal organisation, and although this means that the organisation must have begun development much earlier, there are no earlier sources to document when this occurred. It may have been a part of the development of centralised kingdoms, but at least some of the associated rituals, such as fertility sacrifices, have a much earlier origin. This suggests that at least some of the fertility cults of the Late Iron Age were "ecclesiastical" cult institutions. Other fertility rites, including some of the sacrifices and the votive offerings, have no named officiants and may belong to more locally administered and practised "communal" cult institutions.

At least four locations were considered to be liminal and used for fertility rituals - rivers, bogs (lakes?), pits and shafts. All figure prominently as the scenes of religious events in the Celtic vernacular literature and Celtic ethnographies, as points where the natural and supernatural worlds meet. There is a strong theme in the Irish myths of considering boundaries between two entities, and especially places where the boundaries are crossed, as powerfully liminal. This suggests that there was a Celtic tradition of considering places that were both religious and socio-political boundaries as especially important, to be celebrated by the intense performance of cult rituals.

The fertility cults were undoubtedly directed principally at the tutelary goddesses, who are synonymous with the fertility and legal dominion of land in the Irish myths. Tutelary goddesses were apparently responsible for specific localised areas, varying in size from small plots to kingdoms, and even all Ireland. Examples are known from both the British Isles and Gaul, indicating a wide currency of the goddess-type. The different sizes of territory of each goddess may be correlated to different levels of cult organisation, ranging from communal to ecclesiastical.

A variant associated with personal and social prosperity rather than local fertility may be rites directed toward the god-patrons of various crafts, such as blacksmithing, woodworking, medicine etc. Examples of this type of god (most, but not all, were male deities) are found in the Tuatha de Dannan and Family of Donn in Britain, and also in some of the deities known iconographically in Gaul. These cults may have appealed to different social groups (free, non-noble craftsmen?) in Celtic society and may be supra-tribal "ecclesiastical" cults.

The multitude of deities with overlapping spheres of influence, all associated with fertility and prosperity in some manner, probably means that individual Celts participated in many fertility cults. By participating in cults of all the deities under whose dominion he worked and lived, a Celt could hope to ensure the necessities of life.

Mortuary Cults

The archaeological evidence demonstrates unequivocally that a number of mortuary rituals were used by the Late Iron Age Celts, which may represent different mortuary cults. Unfortunately, the literary evidence offers little detail about these various rituals, and the beliefs behind the rituals have also suffered through time. The following cult institution is therefore an amalgam, utilising the ethnographic evidence to link the few points of ritual and belief known. The rituals studied are all from central, southern Britain and the cult proposed applies most directly to this area. If the other major mortuary rites (Arras, Cornish and Dorset inhumations, Aylesford

cremations) can be shown to have used a similar series of distinctions of people and minority rites, it is more likely that the other rites are simply variants on this cult theme.

The basic purpose of the mortuary cult was to effect the transfer of the soul of the deceased to the afterlife or otherworld through correct ritual. One aspect of this process was probably to maintain proper relations between the human and supernatural worlds.

The eschatological beliefs which form the foundation for this Celtic mortuary cult were that man has an immortal soul, and that there is an afterlife in an otherworld following physical death. The nature of the Celtic otherworld is known from the Irish myths, where it is distinctive as a fluidly superlative version of this world (although it is often implied that this is where the souls of the dead go, this is never explicitly stated). Other important elements of Celtic eschatology probably include beliefs about a body-soul parallelism, wherein the body and soul remained linked during death until the final dissolution of the physical body freed the soul, and a belief that death was a transitional phase between two states. These two beliefs are implied in the specific rituals practised, but cannot be corroborated in the literary sources. The belief of death as a transitional phase correlates well with the Celtic conception of boundaries.

The Celtic mortuary cults apparently employed a variety of specific rituals, dependent upon the type of person involved. The normative rite, applied to the great majority of the population, was probably exposure followed by a final disposal of the remains (the other normative rites fill the same role), all serving to convey the soul of the deceased to the Otherworld. A series of minority rites are known which all entail a different disposal rite, varying both the length of exposure and the final disposal of the body. In the case of victims of human sacrifice, it appears that the whole body was buried under ramparts before the flesh decomposed, thus fixing the soul into the physical defences of the site. Other rites, more commonly practised, involve the burial of complete or partial bodies in pits after short periods of exposure, and are probably associated with one or several classes of outcast and unclean persons. Through the Iron Age there is a shift in the disposal of these classes, from retaining a few representative bones, to the burial of the whole body.

Mortuary rituals invariably have a religious specialist of some sort directing the proceedings. This official is never specified in either the Celtic ethnology or Celtic vernacular literature. Considering that the Druids (probably used as a generic class) had at least half-a-dozen other duties specified, it seems likely that Druids did not conduct funerary rituals. Thus either some other comparable class of specialist that was never named must be postulated (which is unlikely), or else the officials were local community leaders, such as village or clan elders. The presence of human remains on most, if not all, Late Iron Age occupation sites in central southern England, even small hamlets where a resident elite would be unlikely, may support this alternative. Also, the prominence of family-lineage in the pagan Irish Celtic society, in both myth and the law codes, as a paramount element in social organisation could further confirm this. If so, it is likely that Celtic mortuary cults were conducted as local communal cult institutions, although based on widely shared beliefs.

The attribution of the mortuary cult (or cults) to specific Celtic deities is a difficult task. In Gaul, there was a Celtic equivalent to Dis Pater as Lord of the Underworld, but his Celtic name (or names) is

unknown. In Irish myth, where the Otherworld is multifaceted, the god Donn is specified as the Lord of the Dead, but the relationship between Donn and his House of Donn (the Otherworld) and Manannon Mac Lir (also Lord of the Otherworld) is never really clear. They may represent different cults, or alternate Otherworlds within the same cult. Too many elements of belief have been lost from the Irish myths to allow any firm conclusion.

There is some degree of overlap between the Celtic fertility cults and some of the mortuary rituals, especially human sacrifice, but other rites as well. Besides the aspect of sacrifices, both cults make use of the already disused storage pits as the prime place of burial. This makes it difficult to find consistent explanations for what may have been very different rituals.

This overlap in the beliefs and rituals of fertility and mortuary cults was probably paralleled by extensive sharing of religious officials (possibly local civic leaders in each case) and certainly of membership.

Cult of Sacral Kingship

A third cult institution which must have played a central role in Celtic religion and society is not clearly represented in the archaeological record, but nonetheless pervades the Celtic vernacular literature. This is the cult of the king or ruler as a sacred personage. Sacral kingship should not be interpreted to mean that the ruler as a person was sacred, but rather that the status of kingship involved the person in intimate, continuing contact with the supernatural world and thus set him apart from the rest of society.

The cult of the sacral ruler (for it apparently could apply to both kings or queens) had two apparent purposes which were conceptually indivisible in Celtic thought. The first of these is to ensure the fertility of the land and the people, and the second, to ensure correct governance of the land. Political rule had to be ritually correct or else it would disrupt proper relations between society and the supernatural world. Such a disruption would result in the death of the ruler and an impoverished land.

The basic beliefs behind this cult are already familiar, since they were also at the core of the fertility cults. Prime amongst these is the belief that the fertility of a land is derived from the appropriate tutelary goddess. Secondly, such goddesses were not merely open to influence, but may actually have required certain ritual actions (eg sacrifice) by men, in order to bless the land with fertility. In this manner a happy, productive life depended on active co-operation between men and the gods.

Several of the rituals of this cult may be discussed with some confidence, if only in general terms. Perhaps the most important of these was a ritual "marriage" between the king (or queen?) and the tutelary goddess. This ritual was probably a most important aspect of the ritual, ceremonial inauguration of a new ruler. Other rituals included the use of sacrifice in divinatory rituals in selecting a candidate for the kingship, propitiatory sacrifices to the goddess, and sacrifices confirming the marriage. Unless the king "married" the goddess his rule was not sanctified by her, and neither his land nor his people would prosper. A proper inauguration of a ruler was alone insufficient to ensure continuing fertility - the rule of a king was continually being confirmed in a process known as the Truth of the

Ruler. This required that the king act in accordance with certain ritual taboos, or gessa (singular geas). These were divine rules regulating his behaviour, both personal and public, and violating a geas indicated the ruler was no longer acting in harmony with the gods. In Celtic thought the consequence was the death of the king and/or a desolated land.

These beliefs place the ruler in a liminal position, as part of both this world and also the supernatural world, but not wholly belonging to either. This suggests that Celtic kings may have played an active part in religious rituals. Fertility rituals invoking the tutelary goddesses are an obvious example. The Irish myths also specify that "Druids" (apparently used as a generic label) were also involved in performing most or all of these rituals - certainly those involving the king's selection, inauguration, marriage and confirmation.

In the Irish myths the kings' principal residence and the capital of his government is also the site of the celebrations of the four great religious festivals. All of these functions occur at these places because the place was created by the tutelary goddess of the territory (and so is liminal) and is also probably the conceptual "centre" of the territory and may be where the tutelary goddess lives. All of these functions occurring in one place, and frequently all at the same time at the four festival periods (which were also liminal), means that all were intricately interrelated and each served to reinforce and sanctify the others. This concentration of ritual elements may be archaeologically visible (eg Megaw & Simpson 1981, 465), but is as yet poorly studied.

It should be clear that the principal deities involved in this cult were the tutelary deities associated with the appropriate territories. The various goddesses associated with overlapping territories of different sizes may indicate that this cult was practised at different levels, ranging from local clan lands to territorial kingdoms, even up to include all of Ireland (eg equating the High King of Ireland at Tara with the goddesses Eriu, Banba and Fodla). It may be an oversimplification to speak of only tutelary goddesses, as Cu Roi was definitely the tutelary god of Kerry, and other members of the Tuatha de Dannan, such as the Dagda and Oengus Mac Oc, may also have held similar positions in the land around the River Boand.

Although the overt purpose of this cult was undoubtedly to promote fertility and maintain proper governance, it may also have fulfilled a more subtle, latent role in stabilising the Celtic social system. In the first instance the cult, linking together the Ruler and his government with the fertility of the land, would provide a powerful element of legitimation to the king's authority. This would ensure that civil unrest and confusion were minimised - everyone would cooperate if the directives were of divine origin. In the second instance, however, the cult would also insure the social hierarchy from disruption, by placing the responsibility for proper stable rule and prosperity on the king. Should a disaster occur only the king was responsible, not the noble class. The selection of a new king became the first step in combating the disaster. Thus, the general security and stability of society were carefully protected. How this system would respond to a long term chronic threat, such as the economic stress hypothesised above during the Middle Iron Age, is unknown; in Ireland the cult probably survived until the arrival of Christianity, indicating that either no such stress arose there, or else the cult found some way to adjust. Further evidence will be necessary to reach any conclusions on this point.

There are many aspects of Celtic religion that appear in either the Celtic ethnographies or the Celtic vernacular literature that cannot be linked directly to any of these cults. This may in time be overcome by more detailed studies of both the Celtic vernacular literature and Celtic iconography. Prominent among these are the Celtic cosmological beliefs, concerning the creation of and nature of the world. Celtic cosmogony was clearly a bright, flamboyant and elaborate series of beliefs, with its multitude of multifunctional localised gods who settled in and created Ireland. All of the landscape and all of the social customs originated in the activities of members of one or more of the five waves of divine invasions of Ireland, and each place or custom remained under the influence of the eponymous deity. In Celtic cosmogony it appears that the act of naming something was synonymous with creating it - the name conferred a religiously defined status and made it "real" (and hence the burial of infants may represent those infants who died before a "naming" ceremony could be held for them). Clearly, the thoughts behind such beliefs were subtle.

Another aspect of Celtic religion is probably under-emphasised in the Irish myths, due to the elite heroic nature of the society. This is the Celtic conception of gessa, which are explicitly said to apply to all the noble men. It is, however, likely that other, more general gessa applied to all people, not just the kings and chieftains in oppida and hillforts, but also all the common farmers as well. These gessa kept the Celts in a ritually correct relationship with the supernatural world. Considering that in Celtic thought the Otherworld was always all around and thoroughly intermixed with this world (just out of sight around a corner), it was important not to break any commandments. Direct contact with the supernatural world was always hazardous and often fatal. Even if he survived, someone who violated his geas was impure and became a social outcast - are some of the minority mortuary rites reserved for such unfortunates?

A further aspect of Celtic religion is hinted in the Celtic vernacular literature in particular, and this is the strong correlation of hunting and hunters and the supernatural world. This, plus comment on hunting trophies as first-fruit sacrifices, and the general scarcity of wild animal bones on Iron Age sites in southern England, may suggest that hunting was an activity regulated by general taboos and ritual regulations.

Other aspects of Celtic religion find no place in a general discussion such as this. The multitude of sacred symbols, events, personages, and so on make Celtic religion a fascinating subject and provide a wealth of finely detailed information. Careful study of such detailed evidence, following some of the general outlines established here, could provide a still more comprehensive picture of Celtic religion.

The development of a Romano-Celtic society and religion in Britain in the first century AD, following the Roman Conquest, also provides interesting and useful information about the indigenous pagan beliefs and practices. Many, if not most, of the ritual practices continued into the early Roman period. This surely indicates a basic continuity of religious belief, and suggests that Celtic religion was sufficiently flexible, and independent of the Celtic political structures to continue to function under Roman rule. The nature of the Celtic deities is seen, though perhaps not easily interpreted, in the complicated process of conflation and association that occurred under the Interpretatio Romana. Caesar's shorthand sketch of Celtic deities in terms of the Roman

pantheon is useful enough on a superficial level, but it conceals the underlying complexity that can be seen in the combinations of Sulis and Minerva at Bath, Apollo and Cunomaglus at Nettleton, Hercules Saegon at Silchester, and in many other dedications. The evidence from Romano-Celtic temples is equally useful, providing clues to Celtic customs of ritual and worship and to the role that ritual structures may have fulfilled in Celtic religion.

In short, Celtic religion no more stopped at AD 43 than did Celtic society or language. All aspects of Celtic culture persisted, while gradually contributing to the hybrid successor of Romano-Celtic culture and religion. Even the brief overview allowed in this discussion points out elements of continuity as well as change, and both are useful for understanding Celtic religion.

FUTURE RESEARCH ON CELTIC RELIGION

The present study has probably proceeded as far as present evidence allows towards establishing a general model of the nature and role of religion in Celtic society. The use of all of the major sources of evidence about Celtic religion, within a framework capable of interpreting such diversity of evidence, has produced a very useful model of Celtic religion in Britain where none existed previously, but in the process has made use of most, if not all, of the kinds of evidence presently available. This is not to say that there is no more to be done - clearly there is scope for, and a need for, new research. One of the strengths of the approach adopted in this study over previous research models is in linking religious belief and behaviour to other aspects of social life. Each of the specific links proposed here, such as the presence of a cult of sanctification associated with the manipulation of the bronze trade by an elite in the Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age, needs to be examined in detail and then tested against new and better data. Similarly, the hints at regional practices seen in the Late Iron Age could be set in regional contexts of both social and economic systems, in order to proceed towards a more detailed understanding of the nature and role of religion.

However, all of the next level of studies will require an improved data base. This must take two forms. The use of rigorous excavation techniques on excavations designed to provide answers to specific questions, such as the nature and diversity of votive offerings in pits, is of prime importance. The use of increasingly sophisticated adjuncts to excavation - such as trace-element analysis to identify the presence of organic deposits in pits which have long since disappeared from the view of the excavator's eye (Cunliffe pers comm) - also holds tremendous promise. Improved evidence from excavations must be paralleled with the use of improved techniques of analysis. In particular, the use of the simpler varieties of non-parametric statistics to describe and differentiate groups of evidence within the data base can allow more objective and detailed interpretation of prehistoric behaviour patterns.

The research model of religion developed here has been equal to the variety and quality of data available for study. Furthermore, the model has pointed out areas where new evidence is needed, and also suggested areas where it can be tested against other data, both that currently available as well as evidence yet to be sought in excavation. However, just as the evidence must be improved to clarify and expand an understanding of Celtic religion, so too must the research model be refined

as it becomes possible to hypothesise in detail about the nature of rituals and cults practised, and the links between the cults and other aspects of Celtic society.

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APPENDICES

AND

BIBLIOGRAPHY

APPENDICES 271

Appendix I Finds from Watery Contexts 272
Swords, Daggers and Scabbards 273
Bronze Vessels 293
Spoons or Scoops 302
Shields and Helmets 304
Torcs 310

Appendix II Ritual Shafts 320
Ritual Shafts 321
Chi-squared Tests 337

Appendix III Special Animal Burials 341

Appendix IV Human Remains 357

Appendix V Celtic Shrines 385

Appendix VI Romano-Celtic Temples 394

BIBLIOGRAPHY 431

INTRODUCTION TO APPENDICES

In order to reduce the volume of detail in the text, it has proved a practical necessity to present such detail in the form of a series of appendices. These are designed to provide the reader with the basic information on each artifact or site, as well as the major sources for reference.

The following six appendices are arranged in parallel order to the six chapters of the text, that is, river finds, ritual shafts, special animal burials, special human burials, Celtic shrines and Romano-Celtic temples. None of the gazetteers is comprehensive of their respective subjects (details on selection are in the introductory paragraphs to each appendix) though all readily available examples up to 1982-1983 are included.

A consistent format has been used for all the gazetteers, though minor variation occurs due to the nature of the different subjects (as specified in the introduction to each appendix).

General format:

Site Name, County

1 National Grid Reference (six figures used, if available; otherwise, an approximate four-figure reference is used)

2 Reference number of entry, used in text and distribution maps

3 Context of find

4 Description of artifact or feature

5 Date of artifact/feature/site

6 Bibliographic references

Entries are by alphabetical order of site name. As an aid to cross-referencing, an index is presented at the end of each gazetteer listing all of the entries in numerical order of the reference number.

APPENDIX I

FINDS FROM "WATERY" CONTEXTS

INTRODUCTION

The following gazetteer contains all of the artifacts found in "watery" contexts (eg rivers, bogs) which were considered in the text. The gazetteer is not exhaustive of the various types of artifacts.

The section on swords from rivers is based on the two major works on the subject: Jope (1961) and Cowen (1967), to which a number of examples have been added from less comprehensive works such as Piggott (1950), Clarke and Hawkes (1953), Stead (1967, 1968) and MacGregor (1976). In addition to these, volumes of the following journals, published since 1970, were reviewed to supplement the published material: Proceedings Prehistoric Society, Oxoniensia, Antiquaries Journal and Archaeological Journal. Thus, the gazetteer is deliberately not comprehensive, that being beyond the scope of the present work, but it is reasonably complete and certainly representative of the material known up to 1982.

The format of this appendix follows that outlined in the Introduction to Appendices. Each artifact entered has a unique reference number with a letter prefix:

Swords = A

Cauldrons = B

Spoons = C

Helmets/Shields = D

Torcs = E

SWORDS, DAGGERS AND SCABBARDS

AMERDEN, TAPLOW, Bucks
1 SU 9082.
2 A 1.
3 River Thames.
4 Bronze sword scabbard.
5 Second century BC - first century AD.
6 Piggott 1950, 25; VCH Bucks I, 186.

AYLESFORD, Kent
1 TQ 730592.
2 A 93 (Thames type 13 in Cowen 1967).
3 Unprovenanced, River Medway?
4 Bronze sword, Thames type.
5 Hallstatt C, probably seventh century BC.
6 Cowen 1967, 450.

BARN ELMS, near High Bridge, Surrey
1 TQ 0272.
2 A 2 (No 13 in Jope 1961).
3 River Thames.
4 Two bronze scabbards.
5 Third-second century BC.
6 Jope 1961a, 332; Read 1913, 57.

BATTERSEA, Surrey
1 TQ 2776.
2 A 3.
3 River Thames.
4 Bronze sword scabbard.
5 First century BC - first century AD.
6 Piggott 1950, 25; Kemble 1863, pl xviii 4.

2 A 4 (No 6 in Jope 1961).
3 River Thames.
4 Iron dagger blade.
5 Hallstatt D, probably sixth-fifth century BC.
6 Jope 1961, 331.

2 A 5.
3 River Thames.
4 Bronze sword scabbard.
5 Third-second century BC.
6 Smith 1925, 110; Piggott 1950, 28.

2 A 6 (Nos 171-173 in Cowen 1967).
3 River Thames.
4 Three bronze swords, Gundlingen type.
5 Hallstatt C, seventh century BC.
6 Cowen 1967, 442; Smith 1925, pl II 3.

2 A 26 (No 4 in Jope 1961).
3 River Thames.
4 Iron dagger in sheath.
5 Hallstatt D, probably fifth century BC.
6 Jope 1961, 330.

2 A 42 (No 17 in Jope 1961).
3 River Thames.
4 Bronze dagger sheath.
5 Third-second century BC.
6 Jope 1961, 335.

BERTHA, Tayside
1 NO 0529.
2 A 94.
3 Ritual pits along confluence of Rivers Tay and Almond.
4 Iron swords, no number published.
5 First-second century AD.
6 Stuart, 1852, 205.

BEXLEYHEATH, Kent
1 TQ 4975.
2 A 95 (Thames type, No 12 in Cowen 1967).
3 Hoard.
4 Bronze sword, Thames type.
5 Hallstatt C, probably seventh century BC.
6 Kendricks & Hawkes 1932, 133-134, pl xiv; Cowen 1967, 450; Cowen 1952, 145.

BILLINGHAY DALES, Tattersall, Lincolnshire
1 TF 2158.
2 A 7 (Nos 189-190 in Cowen 1967).
3 Confluence of Billinghay Skirth and River Witham.
4 Two bronze swords, Gundlingen type.
5 Hallstatt C, probably seventh century BC.
6 Phillips 1933, 142, pl xiii B; Cowen 1967, 443.

BOURNE END, Bucks
1 SU 8985.
2 A 96 (No 10, Thames type in Cowen 1967).
3 River Thames.
4 Bronze sword, Thames type.
5 Hallstatt C, probably seventh century BC.
6 Cowen 1967, 450.

BOWLING, Dumbarton
1 NS 4473.
2 A 97 (Gundlingen type, No 208 in Cowen 1967).
3 River Clyde.
4 Iron sword.
5 Hallstatt C, probably seventh century BC.
6 Cowen 1967, 446.

BOXMOOR, Herts
1 TL 0306.
2 A 8.
3 Unprovenanced.
4 Bronze sword scabbard.
5 First century BC - first century AD.
6 Franks 1880, 254; Piggott 1950, 28.

BREDON, Hereford and Worcester
1 SO 9236.
2 A 9.
3 Hillfort.
4 Iron sword scabbard.
5 First century AD.
6 MacGregor 1976, 77; Piggott 1950, 25; Hencken 1938, pl xiii.

BRENTFORD, Middlesex
1 TQ 5993.
2 A 10 (Gundlingen type Nos 175, 176 in Cowen 1967).
3 River Thames.
4 Two bronze swords.
5 Hallstatt C, probably seventh century BC.
6 Cowen 1967, 442; Peake 1922, pl xiv 5.

2 A 98 (Thames type Nos 3-6, in Cowen 1967).
3 River Thames.
4 Four bronze swords, Thames type.
5 Hallstatt C, probably seventh century BC.
6 Cowen 1967, 449-450; Cowen 1952, 145, pl xvii 5.

BROGYNTON SELATTYN, Salop
1 SJ 2734.
2 A 99 (Gundlingen type, No 194 in Cowen 1967).
3 Unprovenanced.
4 Iron sword.
5 Hallstatt C, probably seventh century BC.
6 Cowen 1967, 444.

BUGTHORPE, East Yorkshire
1 SE 7758.
2 A 12.
3 Burial.
4 Bronze sword scabbard.
5 First century BC - first century AD.
6 Piggott 1950, 26; Smith 1925, 115.

BULBURY, Dorset
1 SY 929942.
2 A 13.
3 Hoard, hillfort.
4 Iron sword hilt.
5 First century BC - first century AD.
6 Piggott 1950, 26; Cunnington 1882, 115-120.

CABURN CAMP, Sussex
1 TQ 444089.
2 A 14.
3 Hillfort.
4 Iron sword, iron dagger.
5 Second century BC - first century AD.
6 Piggott 1950, 25; Curwen & Curwen 1927, 1-56, pl iv.

CAMBRIDGE FENS, Cambridgeshire
1 TL 5648.
2 A 15.
3 Bog.
4 Iron sword.
5 Third-second century BC.
6 MacGregor 1976, 77.

CAMBUSKENNETH, near Stirling, Stirlingshire
1 NS 8094.
2 A 100 (Gundlingen type, No 201 in Cowen 1967).
3 Unprovenanced.
4 Iron sword.
5 Hallstatt C, probably seventh century BC.
6 Cowen 1967, 445.

CAMERTON, Avon
1 ST 6856.
2 A 18 (No 37 in Jope 1961).
3 Occupation site.
4 Iron dagger.
5 Second century BC - first century AD.
6 Jope 1961, 340; Piggott 1950, 26; Horne 1937, 161.

CARHAM, Borders
1 NT 8039.
2 A 17.
3 River Tweed.
4 Bronze sword scabbard.
5 First century BC - first century AD.
6 Piggott 1950, 26; Smith 1925, 109; Munro 1894, 50.

CARLINGWARK, Dumfriess
1 NX 4560.
2 A 123.
3 Hoard? Possibly from Loch.
4 Points of eight iron swords.
5 Second century BC - first century AD.
6 Piggott 1950, 28.

CARRY HOUSE CAMP, Birtley, Northumberland
1 NY 8878.
2 A 121.
3 Hillfort.
4 Iron sword.
5 Second century BC - first century AD.
6 Piggott 1950, 28.

CHATHAM, Kent
1 TQ 7567.
2 A 19 (Hybrid type, No 1 in Cowen 1967).
3 River Medway.
4 Bronze sword.
5 Hallstatt C, probably seventh century BC.
6 Cowen 1967, 449; Jessup 1930, 105, pl v 5.

CHELSEA, Middlesex
1 TQ 2778.
2 A 20 (No 11 in Jope 1961).
3 River Thames.
4 Bronze dagger scabbard.
5 Third-second century BC.
6 Jope 1961b, 69-83, pl 111a; Piggott 1950, 25; Smith 1925, 109; Jope 1961a, 331.

CHISWICK, Middlesex
1 TQ 2077.
2 A 101 (Thames type, No 2 in Cowen 1967).
3 River Thames.
4 Bronze sword, Thames type.
5 Hallstatt C, probably seventh century BC.
6 Cowen 1967, 449; Cowen 1952, 145, pl xvii 1.

CLOTHERHOLME, near Ripon, Yorkshire
1 SE 3171.
2 A 21.
3 River Swale.
4 Iron sword.
5 Second century BC - first century AD.
6 Piggott 1950, 26; Read 1915, 214.

COOKHAM, Berks
1 SU 8884.
2 A 22 (No 25 in Jope 1961).
3 River Thames.
4 Bronze dagger and bronze scabbard.
5 Third-second century BC.
6 Clarke & Hawkes 1955, 226, No 41; Piggott 1950, 25; Smith 1925, 110.

COTTERDALE, North Yorkshire
1 SD 8394.
2 A 23.
3 River Ure.
4 Iron sword.
5 First century BC - first century AD.
6 Piggott 1950, 17-20; Smith 1925, 108; Franks 1880, 251-266.

CRAWLEY NEW TOWN, Charlwood, Surrey
1 TQ 2541.
2 A 24 (Gundlingen type, No 207 in Cowen 1967).
3 Polesfleet Stream near River Wandle.
4 Bronze sword.
5 Hallstatt C, probably seventh century BC.
6 Cowen 1967, 442; Lowther 1958, 122-123.

CULLODEN, Inverness
1 NH 4170.
2 A 102 (Gundlingen type, No 207 in Cowen 1967).
3 Unprovenanced.
4 Iron sword.
5 Hallstatt C, probably seventh century BC.
6 Cowen 1967, 445.

DATCHET, Berks
1 SU 9876.
2 A 25.
3 River Thames.
4 Two iron swords.
5 Second century BC - first century AD.
6 Piggott 1950, 20; Lawrence 1929, 74.

EBBERSTON, near Pickering, North Yorkshire
1 SE 8983.
2 A 27 (Gundlingen type, No 195 in Cowen 1967).
3 Burial.
4 Two bronze swords.
5 Hallstatt C, probably seventh century BC.
6 Cowen 1967, 444; Elgee 1930, 172, pl xxv 3 and 5; Brewis 1923, Fig 45.

ELCHO, Tayside
1 NO 1621.
2 A 103 (Gundlingen type, No 203 in Cowen 1967).
3 River Tay.
4 Iron sword.
5 Hallstatt C, probably sixth century BC.
6 Cowen 1967, 445.

EMBLETON, Cockermouth, Cumbria
1 NY 1731.
2 A 28.
3 Bog?
4 Iron sword.
5 First century BC - first century AD.
6 Piggott 1950, 17-21; Smith 1852, 153; Kemble 1863, pl xviii 3.

FENDOCH, Tayside
1 NN 9128.
2 A 29.
3 River Tay.
4 Iron sword.
5 First century AD, probably Roman.
6 Piggott 1950, 20-21.

FLASBY, Skipton, West Yorkshire
1 SD 9456.
2 A 30.
3 Unprovenanced.
4 Sword scabbard.
5 Third-first century BC.
6 Piggott 1950, 17-21; Franks 1880, 253.

GELLINIOG-WEN, Anglesey
1 SH 459658.
2 A 31.
3 Burial.
4 Iron sword.
5 First century BC - first century AD.
6 Piggott 1950, 28.

GLASTONBURY, Somerset
1 ST 493408.
2 A 32 (Nos 33 and 34 in Jope 1961).
3 "Lake" village site.
4 Two iron swords.
5 Third-second century BC.
6 Jope 1961, 339-340; Piggott 1950, 26.

GRIMTHORPE, Yorkshire
1 SE 816534.
2 A 33.
3 Burial.
4 Iron sword.
5 First century BC - first century AD.
6 Piggott 1950, 26.

HAM HILL, Somerset
1 ST 478170.
2 A 34 (No 40 in Jope 1961).
3 Burial.
4 Iron sword (dagger?).
5 Second century BC - first century AD.
6 Jope 1961, 341; Clarke & Hawkes 1955, 226; Piggott 1950, 26.

2 A 117.
3 Unprovenanced.
4 Iron dagger with anthropoid hilt.
5 Third-second century BC.
6 Piggott 1950, 26; Walter 1923, 149.

HAMMERSMITH, Middlesex
1 TQ 2279.
2 A 35 (Nos 18 and 24 in Jope 1961).
3 River Thames.
4 Two bronze dagger scabbards.
5 Third-second century BC.
6 Jope 1961, 337; Piggott 1950, 25;
Lawrence 1929, 87, Fig 2.3.

2 A 36.
3 River Thames.
4 Four iron swords and three bronze scabbards.
5 Second century BC - first century AD.
6 Piggott 1950, 26; Lawrence 1929, 87-88.

2 A 53 (No 26 in Jope 1961).
3 River Thames.
4 Iron dagger with bronze sheath.
5 Hallstatt D, probably fifth century BC.
6 Jope 1961a, 338; Jope 1961b, pl iii d.

HEADPILE EYOT, near Bray, Berks
1 SU 9079.
2 A 37 (Gundlingen type, No 180 in Cowen 1967).
3 River Thames.
4 Bronze sword.
5 Hallstatt C, probably sixth century BC.
6 Cowen 1967, 443.

HENLEY, Oxon
1 SU 763825.
2 A 38.
3 River Thames.
4 Iron sword.
5 First century BC.
6 Rutland 1972, 345-346.

2 A 119 (Gundlingen type, No 181 in Cowen 1967).
3 River Thames.
4 Bronze sword, Gundlingen type.
5 Hallstatt C, probably seventh century BC.
6 Cowen 1967, 443.

HERTFORD WARREN, Suffolk
1 TL 8564.
2 A 39 (No 15 in Jope 1961).
3 Bog.
4 Iron dagger and bronze scabbard.
5 Second century BC - first century AD.
6 Jope 1961a, 333-334; Clarke & Hawkes 1955, 198-227; Piggott 1950, 26.

HOD HILL, Dorset
1 ST 857106.
2 A 40.
3 Hillfort.
4 Four iron swords.
5 First century BC - first century AD.
6 Brailsford 1962; Piggott 1950, 1-28.

HOLME PIERPOINT, Notts
1 SK 6239.
2 A 41 (Gundlingen type, No 192-193 in Cowen 1967).
3 River Trent.
4 Two bronze swords.
5 Hallstatt C, probably seventh century BC.
6 Cowen 1967, 444.

HUNSBURY, Northants
1 SP 738583.
2 A 43.
3 Hillfort.
4 Two iron swords, one with bronze scabbard, one with iron scabbard.
5 Second century BC - first century AD.
6 Piggott 1950, 26; Fell 1936, 57, 64-65.

ISLEWORTH, Middlesex
1 TQ 1675.
2 A 44 (Hybrid type, No 2 in Cowen 1967).
3 River Thames.
4 Two bronze swords.
5 Hallstatt C, probably seventh century BC.
6 Cowen 1967, 449.

JORDAN HILL, Dorset
1 SY 6882.
2 A 124.
3 Ritual pit in Romano-Celtic temple.
4 Iron sword.
5 Late first century BC or early first century AD.
6 Manning 1972, 224-250.

KATESGROVE, Berks
1 SU 7272.
2 A 104 (Thames type, No 11 in Cowen 1967).
3 River Kennet.
4 Bronze sword, Thames type.
5 Hallstatt C, probably seventh century BC.
6 Cowen 1967, 450.

KINGSDOWN CAMP, Mells, Somerset
1 ST 718517.
2 A 45 (No 38 in Jope 1961).
3 Hillfort.
4 Iron dagger.
5 Third-second century BC.
6 Jope 1961a, 341; Piggott 1950, 26.

KINGSTON, Surrey
1 TQ 1869.
2 A 41 (Gundlingen type, No 177 in Cowen 1967).
3 River Thames.
4 Bronze sword.
5 Hallstatt C, probably seventh century BC.
6 Cowen 1967, 443.

2 A 105 (Thames type, No 9 in Cowen 1967).
3 River Thames.
4 Bronze sword, Thames type.
5 Hallstatt C, probably seventh century BC.
6 Cowen 1967, 450.

LAKENHEATH, Suffolk
1 TL 7182.
2 A 47.
3 Unprovenanced.
4 Iron sword and bronze scabbard.
5 Second century BC - first century AD.
6 Piggott 1950, 26; Fox 1923, pl xviii 1.

LINCOLN, Lincs
1 SK 9872.
2 A 48.
3 River Witham.
4 Iron dagger in bronze scabbard.
5 Second century BC - first century AD.
6 Piggott 1950, 26; Kemble 1863, pl xviii 2.

2 A 49.
3 River Witham.
4 Iron sword in bronze scabbard.
5 First century BC - first century AD.
6 Piggott 1950, 28; Hawkes 1946, pl iii; Kemble 1863, pl xiv 2.

LEUCHLAND FARM, Brechin, Grampian
1 NO 6060.
2 A 106 (Gundlingen type, No 205, 206 in Cowen 1967).
3 Bog.
4 Two iron swords.
5 Hallstatt C, probably seventh century BC.
6 Cowen 1967, 445.

LLYN-CERRIG-BACH, Anglesey
1 SH 305760.
2 A 124.
3 Bog.
4 Eleven iron swords.
5 Second century BC - first century AD.
6 Piggott 1950, 26; Fox 1946.

LOCHLEE CRANNOG, Tarbolton, Strathclyde
1 NS 4327.
2 A 122.
3 Loch.
4 Five iron swords or daggers, very fragmented.
5 Second century BC - first century AD.
6 Piggott 1950, 28; Munro 1894, 125.

LONDON (no more precise provenance)
1 TQ 3380.
2 A 50 (Gundlingen type, No 182-183 in Cowen 1967).
3 River Thames.
4 Two bronze swords.
5 Hallstatt C, probably seventh century BC.
6 Cowen 1967, 443.

2 A 51.
3 River Thames.
4 Iron sword in bronze scabbard.
5 Second century BC - first century AD.
6 Piggott 1950, 26; Kemble 1863, pl xv 2.

2 A 118.
3 River Thames (Gundlingen type, No 184-186 in Cowen 1967).
4 Four bronze swords.
5 Hallstatt C, probably seventh century BC.
6 Cowen 1967, 443.

LONG WITTENHAM, Oxon
1 SU 5493.
2 A 52.
3 River Thames.
4 Iron sword.
5 Second century BC - first century AD.
6 Rutland 1972, 345-346.

MEARE, Somerset
1 ST 445422.
2 A 54 (No 35 in Jope 1961).
3 "Lake" village.
4 Iron dagger.
5 Third-second century BC.
6 Jope 1961a, 340; Piggott 1950, 26; Bulleid & Gray 1917, 236, pl 1.

MILDENHALL, Suffolk
1 TL 7174.
2 A 55.
3 River Wissey.
4 Iron sword.
5 Second century BC - first century AD.
6 Piggott 1950, 26; Lethbridge & O'Reilly 1930, 152.

MORTLAKE, Surrey
1 TQ 2075.
2 A 56.
3 River Thames.
4 Iron sword in bronze scabbard.
5 Second century BC - first century AD.
6 Piggott 1950, 26; Smith 1925, 19.

2 A 115 (No 2 in Jope 1961).
3 River Thames.
4 Iron dagger in bronze sheath.
5 Hallstatt D, probably sixth century BC.
6 Jope 1961a, 330.

2 A 116 (No 1 in Jope 1961).
3 River Thames.
4 Iron dagger in bronze sheath.
5 Hallstatt D, probably sixth century BC.
6 Jope 1961a, 329.

MORTONHALL, Edinburgh, Lothian
1 NT 2574.
2 A 57.
3 Unprovenanced.
4 Bronze sword scabbard.
5 First century BC - first century AD.
6 Piggott 1950, 27; Kemble 1863, pl xviii 5.

MUGDRUM, Newburgh-on-Tay, Tayside
1 NO 2219.
2 A 107 (Gundlingen type, No 202 in Cowen 1967).
3 River Tay.
4 Iron sword.
5 Hallstatt C, probably seventh century BC.
6 Cowen 1967, 444.

NEWARK, Notts
1 SK 8054.
2 A 58 (Gundlingen type, No 191 in Cowen 1967).
3 River Trent.
4 Bronze sword.
5 Hallstatt C, probably seventh century BC.
6 Cowen 1967, 444.

NEWBRIDGE, Standlake, Oxon
1 SU 3902.
2 A 74.
3 River Thames.
4 Iron sword.
5 Second century BC - first century AD.
6 Piggott 1950, 25.

2 A 11.
3 River Thames.
4 Iron sword.
5 Third-second century BC.
6 Piggott 1950, 26.

NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE, Tyne and Wear
1 NZ 1971.
2 A 59 (Gundlingen type, No 198-200 in Cowen 1967).
3 River Tyne.
4 Three bronze swords.
5 Hallstatt C, probably seventh century BC.
6 Cowen 1967, 444; Evans 1881, 281, Fig 344; Haverfield 1905, 207; Bell 1892, 160.

NEWSTEAD, Roxburgh, Borders
1 NT 565335.
2 A 60.
3 Ritual pits?
4 Two iron swords.
5 First century BC - first century AD, probably Roman.
6 Piggott 1950, 17-21; Curle 1911, 184-185.

NORTH GRIMSTON, East Yorkshire
1 SE 829669.
2 A 61.
3 Grave.
4 Iron dagger.
5 Second century BC - first century AD.
6 Piggott 1950, 26; Mortimer 1905, 154.

OWSLEBURY, Hants
1 SU 525246.
2 A 108.
3 Grave.
4 Iron sword.
5 First century BC - first century AD.
6 Collis 1968, 18-31.

OXFORD MINSTER DITCH, Oxon
1 SP 5106.
2 A 63 (No 14 in Jope 1961).
3 Possibly from relict channel of River Thames.
4 Bronze dagger scabbard.
5 Third-second century BC.
6 Piggott 1950, 25; Read 1913, 497-498; Jope 1961a, 332-333.

PERTH, Tayside
1 NO 1123.
2 A 109.
3 River Tay.
4 Iron sword.
5 Hallstatt C, probably seventh century BC.
6 Cowen 1967, 445.

2 A 74 (Gundlingen type, No 204 in Cowen 1967).
3 River Tay.
4 Bronze sword.
5 Hallstatt C, probably seventh century BC.
6 Cowen 1967, 445.

PILLING MOSS, Lancs
1 SD 4146.
2 A 64.
3 Bog.
4 Bronze sword scabbard.
5 First century BC - first century AD.
6 Piggott 1950, 17-21; Haverfield 1906b, 247.

QUATRE BRAS, Peverell, Dorset
1 SY 6690.
2 A 65.
3 Land find, unprovenanced?
4 Iron sword.
5 Third century BC - first century AD.
6 MacGregor 1976, 91.

RICHMOND, Surrey
1 TQ 1874.
2 A 66.
3 River Thames.
4 Iron sword.
5 Hallstatt C, probably seventh century BC.
6 Lawrence 1929, 69-90.

2 A 67 (Thames type, Nos 7 and 8 in Cowen 1967).
3 River Thames.
4 Two bronze swords.
5 Hallstatt C, probably seventh century BC.
6 Cowen 1967, 450; Cowen 1952, 145, pl xvii 3.

2 A 68 (No 16 in Jope 1961)
3 River Thames.
4 Bronze dagger scabbard.
5 Third-second century BC.
6 Jope 1961a, 333; Brailsford 1953, 62; Piggott 1950, 25; Smith 1925, 110.

2 A 110 (Hybrid type, Nos 4 and 5 in Cowen 1967)
3 River Thames.
4 Two bronze swords.
5 Hallstatt C, probably seventh century BC.
6 Cowen 1967, 449; Cowen 1952, 145 and pl xvii 3.

SADBERGE, Durham
1 NZ 3417.
2 A 69.
3 River Wear.
4 Iron sword and scabbard.
5 First century BC - first century AD.
6 Piggott 1950, 17-21; Greenwell 1895, 4.

ST LAWRENCE, Isle of Wight
1 SZ 5376.
2 A 111.
3 Burial.
4 Iron sword.
5 First century BC - first century AD.
6 Stead 1968. 148-190.

SEA MILLS, near Bristol, Avon
1 ST 5477.
2 A 70 (No 39 in Jope 1961).
3 River Avon.
4 Iron dagger with anthropoid hilt.
5 Second century BC - first century AD.
6 Jope 1961a, 341; Clarke & Hawkes 1955, 226; Piggott 1950, 26.

SHOULDHAM, Norfolk
1 TF 683085.
2 A 71.
3 Burial.
4 Iron sword with anthropoid hilt.
5 Second century BC - first century AD.
6 Clarke & Hawkes 1955, 198-200; Piggott 1950, 26.

SOUTHWARK, Surrey
1 TQ 3179.
2 A 72 (No 28 in Jope 1961).
3 River Thames.
4 Iron dagger.
5 Second century BC - first century AD.
6 Jope 1961a, 339; Clarke & Hawkes 1955, 227; Piggott 1950, 26.

SPETTISBURY RINGS, Dorset
1 ST 915020.
2 A 73.
3 Hillfort.
4 Iron sword and scabbard.
5 Second century BC - first century AD.
6 Piggott 1950, 26; Gresham 1939, 124.

STANWICK, Melsonby, North Yorkshire
1 NZ 1908.
2 A 75.
3 Possibly oppidum
4 Iron sword and bronze scabbard.
5 First century BC - first century AD.
6 MacGregor 1962, 17-57; Greenwell 1906, 289; Kemble 1863, pl xviii 2.

STOKE ABBOT, Dorset
1 ST 4500.
2 A 76.
3 Unprovenanced.
4 Iron sword.
5 Second century BC - first century AD.
6 MacGregor 1976, 91; Piggott 1950, 27.

SUTTON-ON-TRENT, Notts
1 SK 7966.
2 A 77.
3 River Trent.
4 Bronze sword scabbard.
5 First century BC.
6 Rutland 1972, 345; Clarke & Hawkes 1955, 215-216; Phillips 1934, 105-106, Fig 5.

TAPLOW, Bucks
1 SU 9082.
2 A 78 (Gundlingen type, No 179 in Cowen 1967).
3 River Thames.
4 Bronze sword.
5 Hallstatt C, probably seventh century BC.
6 Cowen 1967, 443; Hawkes 1938, 185-187, pl LIV.

TEDDINGTON, Middlesex
1 TQ 1671.
2 A 79 (Gundlingen type, No 178 in Cowen 1967).
3 River Thames.
4 Bronze sword.
5 Hallstatt C, probably seventh century BC.
6 Cowen 1967, 443.

TEMPLE NEWSON, Leeds, West Yorkshire
1 SE 3632.
2 A 80 (Gundlingen type, No 162 in Cowen 1967).
3 Unprovenanced.
4 Bronze sword.
5 Hallstatt C, probably seventh century BC.
6 Cowen 1967, 444.

THORPE BRIDLINGTON, East Yorkshire
1 TA 1867.
2 A 81.
3 Unprovenanced? Burial?
4 Iron sword.
5 First century BC - first century AD.
6 Piggott 1950, 17-21; Greenwell 1906, 257-258.

THRAPSTON, Northants
1 SP 998800.
2 A 112.
3 River Nene.
4 Iron sword.
5 First century BC - first century AD.
6 Megaw 1976, 165-170.

WALTHAMSTOW, Essex
1 TQ 3788.
2 A 82.
3 Unprovenanced.
4 Iron sword.
5 Second century BC - first century AD.
6 Piggott 1950, 26.

WANDSWORTH, Surrey
1 TQ 2574.
2 A 83 (Thames type, No 1 in Cowen 1967).
3 River Thames.
4 Bronze sword.
5 Hallstatt C, probably seventh century BC.
6 Cowen 1967, 449.

2 A 84 (Gundlingen type, No 174 in Cowen 1967).
3 River Thames.
4 Bronze sword.
5 Hallstatt C, probably seventh century BC.
6 Cowen 1967, 442.

2 A 85 (one is No 19 in Jope 1961).
3 River Thames.
4 Two bronze dagger scabbards.
5 Third-second century BC.
6 Jope 1961a, 335; Piggott 1950, 25, pl 12; Smith 1925, 110, Fig 120.

2 A 16 (No 22 in Jope 1961).
3 River Thames.
4 Iron dagger in bronze scabbard.
5 Second century BC - first century AD.
6 Piggott 1950, 25; Smith 1925, 110, Fig 119; Kemble 1863, pl xviii 3.

WASHINGBOROUGH, Lincs
1 TF 0270.
2 A 120.
3 River Witham.
4 Two iron swords.
5 Second century BC - first century AD.
6 Piggott 1950, 28; Phillips 1934, 97-187.

WEST BUCKLAND, Somerset
1 ST 1720.
2 A 86 (No 21 in Jope 1961).
3 Unprovenanced.
4 Bronze dagger scabbard.
5 Third-second century BC.
6 Jope 1961a, 336; Piggott 1950, 25; Read 1913, 57-58.

WESTMINSTER, Middlesex
1 TQ 2979.
2 A 87 (No 12 in Jope 1961).
3 River Thames.
4 Bronze dagger scabbard.
5 Third-second century BC.
6 Piggott 1950, 25; Lawrence 1929, 87; Jope 1961a, 331.

WEYMOUTH, Dorset
1 SY 6778.
2 A 113 (Thames type, No 14 in Cowen 1967).
3 Bay.
4 Bronze sword, Thames type.
5 Hallstatt C, probably seventh century BC.
6 Cowen 1967, 450.

WHITCOMBE, Dorset
1 SY 711880.
2 A 114.
3 Burial.
4 Iron sword.
5 Second century BC.
6 Aitken 1967.

WINDSOR, Berks
1 SU 9676.
2 A 88 (No 20 in Jope 1961).
3 River Thames.
4 Bronze dagger sheath.
5 Third-second century BC.
6 Jope 1961a, 336.

WISBECH, Lincs
1 TF 4609.
2 A 89 (No 29 in Jope 1961).
3 River Nene.
4 Iron sword in bronze scabbard.
5 Third-second century BC.
6 Jope 1961a, 339; Piggott 1950, 5.

WITHAM, Lincs
1 SK 9872.
2 A 90 (No 31 in Jope 1961).
3 River Witham.
4 Iron dagger and scabbard.
5 Third-second century BC.
6 Jope 1961a, 339; Clarke & Hawkes 1955, 214-216; Kemble 1863, pl xxvi 2.

TATTERSALL FERRY, WITHAM, Lincs

1 TF 2158.
2 A 91.
3 River Witham.
4 Iron sword.
5 Third-second century BC.
6 Piggott 1950, 3-4; Kendricks 1939, 194.

WORTON, Lancs

1 SD 492728.
2 A 92.
3 River?
4 Iron sword and bronze scabbard.
5 First century BC - first century AD.
6 Piggott 1950, 17-21; Smith 1925, 108, Fig 117; Kemble 1863, pl xviii 1.

INDEX: SWORDS, DAGGERS AND SCABBARDS

A 1 Amerden, Taplow, Bucks
A 2 Barn Elms, Surrey
A 3 Battersea, Surrey
A 4 Battersea, Surrey
A 5 Battersea, Surrey
A 6 Battersea, Surrey
A 7 Billinghay Dales, Lincs
A 8 Boxmoor, Herts
A 9 Bredon, H & W
A 10 Brentford, Middlesex
A 11 Newbridge, Standlake, Oxon
A 12 Bugthorpe, East Yorks
A 13 Bulbury, Dorset
A 14 Caburn Camp, Sussex
A 15 Cambridge Fens, Cambs
A 16 Wandsworth, Surrey
A 17 Carham, Berwick
A 18 Camerton, Avon
A 19 Chatham, Kent
A 20 Chelsea, Middlesex
A 21 Clotherholme, North Yorks
A 22 Cookham, Berks
A 23 Cotterdale, North Yorks
A 24 Crawley, Surrey
A 25 Datchet, Berks
A 26 Battersea, Surrey
A 27 Ebberston, North Yorks
A 28 Embleton, Cumbria
A 29 Fendoch, Tayside
A 30 Flasby, West Yorks
A 31 Gelliniog-Wen, Anglesey
A 32 Glastonbury, Somerset
A 33 Grimthorpe, North Yorks
A 34 Ham Hill, Somerset
A 35 Hammersmith, Middlesex
A 36 Hammersmith, Middlesex
A 37 Headpile Eyot, Berks
A 38 Henley, Oxon
A 39 Hertford Warren, Suffolk
A 40 Hod Hill, Dorset
A 41 Holme Pierpoint, Notts
A 42 Battersea, Surrey
A 43 Hunsbury, Northants
A 44 Isleworth, Middlesex
A 45 Kingsdown Camp, Somerset
A 46 Kingston, Surrey
A 47 Lakenheath, Suffolk
A 48 Lincoln, Lincs
A 49 Lincoln, Lincs
A 50 London
A 51 London
A 52 Long Wittenham, Oxon
A 53 Hammersmith, Middlesex
A 54 Meare, Somerset
A 55 Mildenhall
A 56 Mortlake, Surrey
A 57 Mortonhall, Edinburgh, Lothian
A 58 Newark, Notts
A 59 Newcastle-upon-Tyne, T & W
A 60 Newstead, Roxburgh
A 61 North Grimston, East Yorks
A 62 North Grimston, East Yorks
A 63 Oxford, Oxon
A 64 Pilling Moss, Lancs
A 65 Quatre Bras, Dorset
A 66 Richmond, Surrey
A 67 Richmond, Surrey
A 68 Richmond, Surrey
A 69 Sadberge, Durham
A 70 Sea Mills, Avon
A 71 Shouldham, Norfolk
A 72 Southwark, Surrey
A 73 Spettisbury Rings, Dorset
A 74 Perth, Tayside
A 75 Stanwick, North Yorks
A 76 Stoke Abbot, Dorset
A 77 Sutton-on-Trent, Notts
A 78 Taplow, Bucks
A 79 Teddington, Middlesex
A 80 Temple Newson, West Yorks
A 81 Thorpe Bridlington, East Yorks
A 82 Walthamstow, Essex
A 83 Wandsworth, Surrey
A 84 Wandsworth, Surrey
A 85 Wandsworth, Surrey
A 86 West Buckland, Somerset
A 87 Westminster, Middlesex
A 88 Windsor, Berks
A 89 Wisbech, Lincs
A 90 Witham, Lincs
A 91 Witham, Lincs
A 92 Worton, Lancs
A 93 Aylesford, Kent
A 94 Bertha, Tayside
A 95 Bexley Heath, Kent
A 96 Bourne End, Bucks
A 97 Bowling, Dunbarton
A 98 Brentford, Middlesex
A 99 Brogynton Selattyn, Salop
A100 Cambuskenneth, Stirling

A 101 Chiswick, Middlesex
A 102 Culloden, Inverness
A 103 Elcho, Tayside
A 104 Katesgrove, Berks
A 105 Kingston, Surrey
A 106 Leuchland Farm, Grampian
A 107 Mugdrum Island, Tayside
A 108 Owslebury, Hants
A 109 Perth, Tayside
A 110 Richmond, Surrey
A 111 St Lawrence, Isle of Wight
A 112 Thrapston, Northants
A 113 Weymouth, Dorset
A 114 Whitcombe, Dorset
A 115 Mortlake, Surrey
A 116 Mortlake, Surrey
A 117 Ham Hill, Somerset
A 118 London
A 119 Henley, Oxon
A 120 Washingborough, Lincs
A 121 Carry House Camp, Northumberland
A 122 Lochlee Crannog, Strathclyde
A 123 Carlingwark, Kirkcudbright, Dumfriess
A 124 Jordan Hill, Dorset

ABERCAIRNEY, Tayside
1 NO 0529.
2 B 1.
3 Bog, near confluence of Tay and Almond.
4 Bronze cauldron, Battersea type.
5 "Late Iron Age".
6 MacGregor 1976, 170, No 300 in gazetteer.

ARTHOG, Gwynedd
1 SH 6515.
2 B 42.
3 Unprovenanced.
4 Bronze bucket.
5 Probably ninth-eighth centuries BC
6 Hawkes & Smith 1957.

BAGENDON, Glos
1 SP 0006.
2 B 32.
3 Hillfort/oppidum.
4 Bronze bowl, Rose Ash type.
5 First century AD.
6 Clifford 1961, 182-183, Fig 36.4.

BARMOUTH, Clwyd
1 SH 6116.
2 B 33.
3 Bog.
4 Bronze bowl, Lamberton Moor type.
5 First century BC - first century AD.
6 Evans 1921, 4, Fig 32.

BASCHURCH, Salop
1 SJ 4222.
2 B 3.
3 Bog, once a stream course.
4 Bronze cauldron.
5 Undated.
6 Smith 1907, 324.

BATTERSEA, Surrey
1 TA 2776.
2 B 2.
3 River Thames.
4 Bronze cauldron, Battersea type.
5 First century AD.
6 Fox 1946; Smith 1918, 87-88; 1907, 328-329.

BEWCASTLE, Cumbria
1 NY 5675.
2 B 4.
3 Bog.
4 Bronze cauldron, Santon type.
5 First century AD.
6 Curle 1932, 277-397; Hawkes 1951, 183; MacGregor 1976, 170 (No 308 in gazetteer).

BIRDLIP, Glos
1 SO 9214.
2 B 34.
3 Burial, female.
4 Two bronze bowls, Rose Ash type.
5 First century AD.
6 Fox 1961, 194-195 and pl xxxiv a and b.

BLACKBURN MILL, Berwick, Borders
1 NT 7771.
2 B 5.
3 Peat bog, originally a loch.
4 Two bronze cauldrons, Battersea type.
5 First-second century AD.
6 MacGregor 1976, 170 (No 301-302 in gazetteer); Piggott 1953, 31, 40; Curle 1932, 313-317; Hawkes 1951, 183.

BULBURY, Dorset
1 SY 929942.
2 B 35.
3 Hillfort, probably from a female burial.
4 Bronze bowl, Rose Ash type.
5 First century AD.
6 Cunliffe 1972, 298-299, Fig 4 and pl lvii.

CARLINGWARK LOCH, Kirkcudbright, Dumfriess
1 NX 4560.
2 B 6.
3 Loch.
4 Bronze cauldron, Santon type.
5 First-second century AD.
6 Hawkes 1951, 183; Curle 1932; Skene 1866, 7; MacGregor 1976, 170, No 309 in gazetteer.

COLCHESTER, Essex
1 TM 0025.
2 B 7.
3 In a pit.
4 Bronze cauldron.
5 Probably Late Bronze Age
6 Hawkes & Smith 1957, 160-165, Fig 14.

2 B 36.
3 Female burial.
4 Bronze bowl.
5 First century AD.
6 Fox 1958, Fig 58.

CRUMMOCKDALE, West Yorkshire
1 SD 7768.
2 B 8.
3 Bog.
4 Bronze cauldron.
5 Undated.
6 Hawkes 1951, 180-185, Fig 47; Mattison & Palmer 1837, 164-165.

ECKFORD, Roxburgh, Borders
1 NT 7126.
2 B 9.
3 Loch, now drained.
4 Bronze cauldron.
5 Undated.
6 Piggott 1953, 1-50.

ELVANFOOT, Lanark, Borders
1 NS 9517.
2 B 10.
3 Bog.
4 Bronze cauldron, Battersea type.
5 First century AD.
6 MacGregor 1976, 170 (No 303 in gazetteer);
Spratling 1971, 111-112; Burns 1969, 29-34.

EWARTY SHANK, Alnham Moor, Northumberland
1 NT 9911.
2 B 11.
3 Unprovenanced.
4 Bronze cauldron, Battersea type.
5 Probably first century AD.
6 MacGregor 1976, 170 (No 304 in gazetteer).

FELMERSHAM-ON-OUSE, Beds
1 TL 9957.
2 B 37.
3 In pit.
4 Bronze bowl.
5 First century BC.
6 Watson 1949, 42-45, Figs 5 and 6.

FELTWELL, Norfolk
1 TL 7093.
2 B 50.
3 Bog.
4 Bronze cauldron.
5 Second century BC - first century AD.
6 Cunliffe 1978, 323.

GAYTON THORPE, Norfolk
1 TF 7418.
2 B 38.
3 Unprovenanced.
4 Bronze bowl, Rose Ash type.
5 Probably first century AD.
6 MacGregor 1976, 168.

GLASTONBURY, Somerset
1 ST 493408.
2 B 39.
3 Bog, outside "lake" village.
4 Bronze bowl.
5 Undated.
6 Bulleid & Grey 1911, 179-181 and pl I.

HAM HILL, Dorset
1 ST 478170.
2 B 40.
3 Hillfort.
4 Bronze bowl, Rose Ash type.
5 Probably first century AD.
6 Gray 1924, pl xiii E 7.

HEATHERY BURN CAVE, Stanhope, Durham
1 NY 9939.
2 B 12.
3 Cave.
4 Bronze cauldron.
5 Probably eighth century BC.
6 Hawkes & Smith 1957, 149; Evans 1881, 412-414; Greenwell 1892, 88-105.

HOD HILL, Dorset
1 ST 857106.
2 B 41.
3 Hillfort.
4 Two bronze bowls, Rose Ash type.
5 Probably first century AD.
6 Smith 1925.

IPSWICH, Suffolk
1 TM 1744.
2 B 13.
3 Unprovenanced.
4 Bronze cauldron, Battersea type.
5 Probably first century BC - first century AD.
6 Clark, 1939, 73; MacGregor 1976, 170.

KINCARDINE MOSS, Stirling, Central
1 NS 9387.
2 B 14.
3 Bog.
4 Bronze cauldron, Battersea type.
5 Probably first century BC - first century AD.
6 Piggott 1953, 1-50; Fox 1946; Anderson 1885, 313.

LAMBERTON MOOR, Berwick, Borders
1 NT 9758.
2 B 15.
3 Bog.
4 Four bronze bowls, Lamberton Moor type.
5 Circa 100 AD.
6 MacGregor 1976, 168 (Nos 292-296 in gazetteer); Stevenson 1966, 31, pl 26; Anderson 1905, 371-372, Fig 3.

LETCHWORTH, Herts
1 TL 233339.
2 B 16.
3 Ditch of an enclosure.
4 Fragmentary bronze cauldron, Battersea type.
5 Probably second century BC.
6 MacGregor 1976, 70; Moss-Eccardt 1976, 173-177.

LLANENDDWYN, Gwynedd
1 SH 5623.
2 B 43.
3 Unknown.
4 Two bronze bowls, Lamberton Moor type.
5 First century BC - first century AD.
6 MacGregor 1976, 168; Evans 1921, 103-104.

LLANYCIL, Gwynedd
1 SH 9135.
2 B 44.
3 Unprovenanced.
4 Bronze bowl.
5 First century BC - first century AD.
6 MacGregor 1976, 170.

LLYN-CERRIG-BACH, Anglesey
1 SH 3177.
2 B 17.
3 Bog.
4 Two bronze cauldrons, Battersea type.
5 Second century BC - first century AD.
6 Fox 1946, 87-88.

LLYN FAWR, Glamorgan
1 SN 9204.
2 B 18.
3 Bog.
4 Two bronze cauldrons.
5 Probably seventh century BC.
6 Hawkes 1951, 180; Fox 1939, 372-373

LOCHAR MOSS, Dumfriess
1 NY 0471.
2 B 19.
3 Bog.
4 Bronze bowl, Lamberton Moor type.
5 First century BC - first century AD.
6 MacGregor 1976, 168 (No 297); Smith 1925, 158; Wilson 1863, 448-449, pl III.

LONDON
1 TQ 3380 (approximate).
2 B 20.
3 River Thames.
4 Bronze cauldron.
5 Probably sixth century BC.
6 Hawkes & Smith 1957, 191.

LOUND RUN, Suffolk
1 TM 5099.
2 B 21.
3 Unprovenanced.
4 Bronze caudron, Santon type.
5 Probably first century BC - first century AD.
6 Clarke 1939, 109, pl xx; MacGregor 1976, 170; Hawkes 1951, 179.

MOUNT BATTEN, Devon
1 SX 5152.
2 B 45.
3 Burial.
4 Bronze bowl.
5 First century BC - first century AD.
6 Spence 1866, 504; MacGregor 1976, 170.

NANNAU, near Dolgelly, Gwynedd
1 SH 7421.
2 B 22.
3 Lake.
4 Bronze cauldron.
5 Probably ninth-eighth centuries BC.
6 Hawkes & Smith 1957, 131-134.

ROSE ASH, Devon
1 SS 766208.
2 B 46.
3 Bog.
4 Bronze bowl, Rose Ash type.
5 Probably first century BC - first century AD.
6 Fox 1961, 190-192, Fig 5.

SANTON, Norfolk
1 TL 8187.
2 B 47.
3 Unprovenanced.
4 Five bronze bowls, 1 Santon type, 1 Rose Ash type, 3 atypical.
5 First century AD.
6 Smith 1909, 154-155; MacGregor 1976, 168, 170.

STANTON DOWNHAM, Suffolk
1 TL 809848.
2 B 23.
3 Hoard.
4 Bronze cauldron, Santon type.
5 First century AD.
6 Clark 1939, 71-73; Smith 1909, 146-163, pl xv.

SHIPTON, Oxon
1 SP 4716.
2 B 24.
3 River Cherwell.
4 Bronze cauldron.
5 Probably seventh-fifth century BC.
6 Leeds, 1930, 1-36.

SILCHESTER, Hants
1 SU 6262.
2 B 25.
3 In a pit or well.
4 Bronze cauldron, Santon type.
5 First century AD.
6 MacGregor 1976, 170; Fox & St John Hope 1901, 246.

SOMPTING, Sussex
1 TQ 1605.
2 B 26.
3 Pit.
4 Bronze cauldron.
5 Probably seventh century BC.
6 Curwen 1948, 157-163.

SPETTISBURY, Dorset
1 ST 915020.
2 B 27.
3 Hillfort.
4 Bronze cauldron, Battersea type.
5 Probably second century BC - first century AD.
6 MacGregor 1976, 170; Smith 1925, 135, Fig 147.

STANWICK, Melsonby, North Yorkshire
1 NZ 1908.
2 B 28.
3 Hoard.
4 Two bronze bowls, Lamberton Moor type.
5 Probably first century AD.
6 MacGregor 1976, 168 (No 298 in gazetteer);
MacGregor 1962, No 121.

WALTHAMSTOW, Essex
1 TQ 3788.
2 B 29.
3 "Pile dwellings".
4 Bronze cauldron, Battersea type.
5 Probably second century BC - first century AD.
6 MacGregor 1976, 170; Smith 1907, 329.

WELWYN GARDEN CITY, Herts
1 TL 2412.
2 B 49.
3 Burial.
4 Bronze bowl, Rose Ash type.
5 First century BC - first century AD.
6 Stead 1967, 23-25, Figs 12, 13 and pl v.

WHITEHILLS MOSS, Dumfriess
1 NY 1575.
2 B 30.
3 Bog.
4 Bronze cauldron, Battersea type.
5 First century BC - first century AD.
6 Burns 1969; Mitchell 1890, 16.

WORMGAY, Norfolk
1 TF 6611.
2 B 31.
3 Unprovenanced.
4 Bronze cauldron, Santon type.
5 Probably first century BC - first century AD.
6 MacGregor 1976, 170.

YOULTON, Cornwall
1 SX 2090.
2 B 48.
3 Bog.
4 Bronze bowl, Rose Ash type.
5 Probably first century BC - first century AD.
6 Fox 1961, 192 and pl xxxiii a and b; MacGregor 1976, 168.

INDEX: BRONZE VESSELS

B 1 Abercairney, Tayside
B 2 Battersea, Surrey
B 3 Baschurch, Salop
B 4 Bewcastle, Cumbria
B 5 Blackburn Mill, Berwick
B 6 Carlingwark, Dumfriess
B 7 Colchester, Essex
B 8 Crummockdale, West Yorkshire
B 9 Eckford, Roxburgh, Borders
B 10 Elvanfoot, Lanark, Borders
B 11 Ewarty Shank, Northumbria
B 12 Heathery Burn Cave, Durham
B 13 Ipswich, Suffolk
B 14 Kincardine Moss, Stirling, Central
B 15 Lamberton Moor, Berwick, Borders
B 16 Letchworth, Herts
B 17 Llyn-Cerrig-Bach, Anglesey
B 18 Llyn Fawr, Glamorgan
B 19 Lochar Moss, Dumfriess
B 20 London
B 21 Lound Run, Suffolk
B 22 Nannau, near Dalgelly, Gwynedd
B 23 Stanton Downham, Suffolk
B 24 Shipton, Oxon
B 25 Silchester, Hants
B 26 Sompting, Sussex
B 27 Spettisbury, Dorset
B 28 Stanwick, North Yorkshire
B 29 Walthamstow, Essex
B 30 Whitehills Moss, Dumfriess
B 31 Wormgay, Norfolk
B 32 Bagendon, Glos
B 33 Barmouth, Clwyd
B 34 Birdlip, Glos
B 35 Bulbury, Dorset
B 36 Colchester, Essex
B 37 Felmersham-on-Ouse, Beds
B 38 Gayton Thorpe, Norfolk
B 39 Glastonbury, Somerset
B 40 Ham Hill, Dorset
B 41 Hod Hill, Dorset
B 42 Arthog, Gwynedd
B 43 Llanenddwyn, Gwynedd
B 44 Llanycil, Gwynedd
B 45 Mount Batten, Devon
B 46 Rose Ash, Devon
B 47 Santon, Norfolk
B 48 Youlton, Cornwall
B 49 Welwyn Garden City, Herts
B 50 Feltwell, Norfolk

ANDOVER, Hants
1 SU 3645.
2 C 1.
3 Unprovenanced, no associations.
4 One bronze spoon, engraved with "+" on scoop.
5 First century BC - first century AD.
6 Anonymous 1933, 464-465.

BURNMOUTH, Berwick, Borders
1 NT 9661.
2 C 2.
3 Burial.
4 Pair of bronze spoons.
5 First century BC.
6 Craw 1924, 143-160.

CROSBY RAVENSWORTH, Westmorland, Cumbria
1 NY 6215.
2 C 3.
3 Bog, near a spring.
4 Pair of bronze spoons.
5 First century BC.
6 Way 1869, 52-83.

DEAL, Kent
1 TR 3752.
2 C 4.
3 Burial.
4 Pair of bronze spoons.
5 First century BC - first century AD.
6 Craw 1924, 143-160.

LLANFAIR, Denbigh, Clwyd
1 SJ 1455.
2 C 5.
3 Unprovenanced, no association known.
4 Pair of bronze spoons.
5 First century BC - first century AD.
6 Way 1869, 52-96.

LONDON
1 TQ 3380.
2 C 6.
3 River Thames.
4 One bronze spoon with perforated edge.
5 First century BC - first century AD.
6 Way 1869, 52-96.

2 C 7.
3 Brickhill Lane, no associations.
4 One bronze spoon.
5 First century BC - first century AD.
6 Way 1869, 52-96.

PENBRYN, Cardigan, Dyfed
1 SN 2952.
2 C 8.
3 In pre-Roman hillfort Castell Nadolig.
4 Pair of bronze spoons.
5 First century BC.
6 Fox 1958, 70.

WESTON, Somerset
1 ST 7266.
2 C 9.
3 Near a spring, no associations.
4 Pair of bronze spoons.
5 First century BC - first century AD.
6 Davies 1929, 222; Way 1869, 52-96.

ABERYSTWYTH, Cardigan, Dyfed
1 SN 5882.
2 D 1.
3 Bog.
4 One bronze shield.
5 Mid to Late Bronze Age.
6 Meyrick 1931, 95, pl xiii.

AUCHMALEDDIE, Aberdeen, Grampian
1 NJ 8847.
2 D 2.
3 Bog.
4 Three bronze shields.
5 Mid to Late Bronze Age.
6 Gray 1898, 8-10.

AYDON CASTLE, Corbridge, Northumbria
1 NY 9964.
2 D 3.
3 Unknown.
4 One bronze shield.
5 Mid to Late Bronze Age.
6 Evans 1881, 351.

BATTERSEA, Surrey
1 TQ 2776.
2 D 25.
3 River Thames.
4 One bronze shield.
5 Probably first century AD, possibly slightly earlier.
6 Brailsford 1975, 25-31; Kemble 1863, 190-191.

BEITH, Ayr, Strathclyde
1 NS 3454.
2 D 4.
3 Bog.
4 Five bronze shields.
5 Mid to Late Bronze Age.
6 M'Culloch 1864, 165.

BRENTFORD, Middlesex
1 TQ 1778.
2 D 26.
3 River Thames.
4 Horn-cap helmet.
5 Probably first century BC.
6 Smith 1918, 22.

BRUNBY MOOR, Lincs
1 SE 8909.
2 D 5.
3 Bog.
4 One bronze shield.
5 Mid to Late Bronze Age.
6 Smith 1919, 147-148, Fig 2.

BURRINGHAM COMMON, Lincs
1 SE 8309.
2 D 6.
3 Bog.
4 One bronze shield.
5 Mid to Late Bronze Age.
6 Stanton 1867, 200; Peacock 1849, 395.

CARLTON-ON-TRENT, Notts
1 SK 7964.
2 D 7.
3 River Trent.
4 One bronze shield.
5 Mid to Late Bronze Age.
6 Baggaley 1950, 195 pl xxx.

CHESTER-LE-STREET, Durham
1 NZ 2752.
2 D 8.
3 Bog.
4 One bronze shield.
5 Mid to Late Bronze Age.
6 Evans 1881, 351.

COVENEY FEN, Cambs
1 TL 4881.
2 D 9.
3 Bog.
4 Three bronze shields.
5 Mid to Late Bronze Age.
6 Evans 1881, 346; Kemble 1863, 167 pl xi 5.

DOVEYMOUTH, Gwynedd
1 SN 6293.
2 D 10.
3 Bog.
4 One bronze shield.
5 Mid to Late Bronze Age.
6 Hemp 1918, 170.

ELLERMERE, Salop
1 SJ 4035.
2 D 11.
3 Bog.
4 One bronze shield.
5 Mid to Late Bronze Age.
6 Evans 1881, 352; Stanton 1867, 200.

EYNSHAM, Oxon
1 SP 4309.
2 D 12.
3 River Thames.
4 One bronze shield.
5 Mid to Late Bronze Age.
6 Evans 1881, 345; Kemble 1863, 167 pl xi 3.

HAMPTON (WALTON), Surrey
1 TQ 1370.
2 D 13.
3 River Thames.
4 One bronze shield.
5 Mid to Late Bronze Age.
6 Evans 1881, 352; Franks 1867, 518.

HARLECH, Gwynedd
1 SH 5831.
2 D 14.
3 Bog.
4 One bronze shield.
5 Mid to Late Bronze Age.
6 Evans 1881, 429; Kemble 1863, 167 pl xi 4.

INGOE, Northumbria
1 NZ 0475.
2 D 15.
3 Bog.
4 Three bronze shields.
5 Mid to Late Bronze Age.
6 Morgan, 1861, 157.

LANGWOOD FEN, CHATTERIS, Cambs
1 TL 3986.
2 D 16.
3 Bog.
4 One bronze shield.
5 Mid to Late Bronze Age.
6 Brown & Blin-Stoyle 1959, 204; Fox 1923 pl viii.

LEA VALLEY, Middlesex
1 TQ 3888.
2 D 17.
3 Probably bog.
4 One bronze shield.
5 Mid to Late Bronze Age.
6 Smith 1919, 145-146, Fig 1.

LITTLE WITTENHAM, Oxon (Day's Lock)
1 SU 567935.
2 D 18.
3 River Thames.
4 One bronze shield.
5 Mid to Late Bronze Age.
6 Evans 1881, Fig 428; Kemble 1863 pl xi 2.

LLYN-CERRIG-BACH, Anglesey
1 SH 305760.
2 D 27.
3 Bog.
4 One iron shield boss.
5 Second century BC - first century AD.
6 Fox 1958, 43; Fox 1946.

LONDON
1 TQ 2776.
2 D 19.
3 River Thames.
4 One bronze shield.
5 Mid to Late Bronze Age.
6 Kemble 1863, pl xi 6.

2 D 20.
3 River Thames.
4 One bronze shield.
5 Mid to Late Bronze Age.
6 Smith 1919, 150; Evans 1881, 345.

MOEL SIABOD, Gwynedd (Capel Currig)
1 SH 2758.
2 D 21.
3 Bog.
4 One bronze shield.
5 Mid to Late Bronze Age.
6 Hemp 1917-1918, 169-170; Meyrick 1831.

OWSLEBURY, Hants
1 SU 525246.
2 D 33.
3 Burial.
4 Iron shield boss.
5 First century BC.
6 Collis 1968, 18-31.

POLDEN HILL, Somerset
1 ST 4336.
2 D 28.
3 Unprovenanced.
4 One iron shield boss.
5 Second century BC - first century AD.
6 Smith 1925, Fig 164.

ST LAWRENCE, ISLE OF WIGHT
1 SZ 5376.
2 D 34.
3 Burial.
4 Iron shield boss.
5 First century BC.
6 Stead 1968, 148-190.

SUTTON, St Michael's, Stalham, Norfolk
1 TG 3823.
2 D 22.
3 Bog.
4 One bronze shield.
5 Mid to Late Bronze Age.
6 Clarke 1960, pl 19.

TORRS, Kirkcudbright, Dumfriess
1 NX 4560.
2 D 32.
3 Bog.
4 Pony-cap.
5 Third century BC.
6 Atkinson & Piggott 1955, 197-235.

WANDSWORTH, Surrey
1 TQ 2574.
2 D 30.
3 River Thames.
4 Two bronze shields.
5 Probably second century BC.
6 Brailsford 1975, 14-24; Jope 1976, 167-184.

WATERLOO BRIDGE, London
1 TQ 3380.
2 D 29.
3 River Thames.
4 One bronze helmet.
5 Late first century BC.
6 Brailsford 1975, 32-39; Franks 1867, 342.

WHITCOMBE, Dorset
1 SY 7188.
2 D 35.
3 Burial.
4 Iron shield boss.
5 First century BC.
6 Aitken 1967.

WITHAM, near Lincoln, Lincs
1 SK 9872.
2 D 31.
3 River Witham.
4 One bronze shield.
5 Probably second century BC.
6 Jope 1976, 61-68; Brailsford 1975, 10-13; Meyrick 1831, 92-97.

WOOLWICH, Surrey
1 TQ 4379.
2 D 23.
3 River Thames.
4 One bronze shield.
5 Mid to Late Bronze Age.
6 Evans 1881, 351.

YETHOLM, Roxburgh, Borders
1 NT 8128.
2 D 24.
3 Bog.
4 Three bronze shields.
5 Mid to Late Bronze Age.
6 Evans 1881, 349-351; Jeffrey 1870, 393; M'Culloch 1864, 165.

INDEX: SHIELDS AND HELMETS

D 1 Aberystwyth, Cardigan, Dyfed
D 2 Auchmaleddie, Aberdeen, Grampian
D 3 Aydon Castle, Northumbria
D 4 Beith, Ayr, Strathclyde
D 5 Brunby Moor, Lincs
D 6 Burringham Common, Lincs
D 7 Carlton on Trent, Notts
D 8 Chester-Le-Street, Notts
D 9 Coveny Fen, Cambs
D 10 Doveymouth, Gwynedd
D 11 Ellermere, Salop
D 12 Eynsham, Oxon
D 13 Hampton, Walton, Surrey
D 14 Harlech, Gwynedd
D 15 Ingoe, Northumbria
D 16 Langwood Fen, Cambs
D 17 Lea Valley, Middlesex
D 18 Little Wittenham, Oxon
D 19 London
D 20 London
D 21 Moel Siabod, Capel Currig, Gwynedd
D 22 Sutton, St Michael's, Norfolk
D 23 Woolwich, Surrey
D 24 Yetholm, Roxburgh, Borders
D 25 Battersea, Surrey
D 26 Brentford, Middlesex
D 27 Llyn-Cerrig-Bach, Anglesey
D 28 Polden Hill, Somerset
D 29 Waterloo Bridge, London
D 30 Wandsworth, Surrey
D 31 Witham, near Lincoln, Lincs
D 32 Torrs, Kirkcudbright, Dumfriess
D 33 Owslebury, Hants
D 34 St Lawrence, Isle of Wight
D 35 Whitcombe, Dorset.

ARRAS, North Yorkshire
1 SE 930413.
2 E 57.
3 Burial.
4 One torc, atypical.
5 Fifth century BC.
6 MacGregor 1976, 115; Greenwell 1906, 275.

ATTERMIRE, SETTLE, West Yorkshire
1 SD 8264.
2 E 1.
3 Unprovenanced.
4 One beaded torc.
5 First century AD.
6 Raistrick 1939, 139; MacGregor 1976, 113, No 197 in Gazetteer.

AYLESFORD, Kent
1 TQ 730592.
2 E 2.
3 River Medway.
4 One penannular rod torc.
5 Undated.
6 MacGregor 1976, 113; Fox 1958 pl 26b.

BAWSEY, Norfolk
1 TM 3440.
2 E 3.
3 Unprovenanced.
4 Two penannular twisted torcs.
5 Undated.
6 MacGregor 1976, 111; Maryon 1944, 149-151.

BENWELL, Northumbria
1 NZ 2164.
2 E 4.
3 Roman fort.
4 One beaded torc.
5 Second century AD.
6 Simpson & Richmond 1941, 23-25, pl ii;
MacGregor 1976, 113, No 198 in gazetteer.

BIRDLIP, Glos
1 SO 9214.
2 E 5.
3 Burial.
4 One torc, atypical.
5 First century AD.
6 MacGregor 1976, 113; Green 1949, 188, Fig 1a.

CADBURY CASTLE, Somerset
1 ST 628252.
2 E 6.
3 Hillfort.
4 Two torcs, one Wraxall class, one tubular.
5 Undated, probably first century AD.
6 MacGregor 1976, 113; Alcock 1972, 140, pl 64.

CARLISLE, Cumbria
1 NY 4056.
2 E 7.
3 Unknown.
4 One beaded torc.
5 Second century AD.
6 Ferguson 1881, 534-535;
MacGregor 1976, 113, No 199 in gazetteer.

CLENCH COMMON, Wilts
1 SU 1765.
2 E 8.
3 Unknown.
4 One torc, atypical.
5 Undated.
6 MacGregor 1976, 113; Cunnington & Goddard 1934, 205, Fig 34a.

CLEVEDON, Somerset
1 ST 4071.
2 E 9.
3 Unknown.
4 One penannular twisted torc.
5 Undated.
6 MacGregor 1976, 113; Fox 1958, pl 25b.

CLYNNOG, Gwynedd
1 SH 4249.
2 E 10.
3 Unknown.
4 One torc, possibly Wraxall class.
5 Undated, possibly first century BC - first century AD.
6 Grimes 1951, 227.

COLCHESTER, Essex
1 TM 0025.
2 E 11.
3 Unknown, either Late Iron Age or Roman civitas.
4 One penannular rod torc.
5 Probably first century BC - first century AD.
6 MacGregor 1976, 113; Smith 1925, 137.

COLD KITCHEN HILL, Wilts
1 ST 8438.
2 E 12.
3 Iron Age undefended settlement.
4 One torc.
5 Undated.
6 Cunnington & Goddard 1934, 205.

CROSS AXBRIDGE, Avon
1 ST 4154.
2 E 13.
3 Unknown.
4 One penannular twisted torc.
5 Probably first century BC.
6 MacGregor 1976, 111; Hawkes 1940, 113.

DORCHESTER, Dorset
1 SY 6890.
2 E 14.
3 Unknown.
4 One tubular torc.
5 Early first century AD.
6 MacGregor 1976, 111; Megaw 1971, 148, Fig 3.

DORSET
1 Find spot unknown.
2 E 15.
3 Unprovenanced.
4 One Wraxall class torc.
5 Early first century AD.
6 MacGregor 1976, 113; Megaw 1971, 147, Fig 2.

EMBSAY, SKIPTON, West Yorkshire
1 SE 0053.
2 E 16.
3 Unprovenanced.
4 One beaded torc.
5 Undated.
6 Anonymous 1846, 517 and pl xxiii.

GIGGLESWICK, West Yorkshire
1 SO 8164.
2 E 17.
3 Unprovenanced.
4 One beaded torc.
5 First century AD.
6 MacGregor 1976, No 201.

GLASCOTE, TAMWORTH, Stafford
1 SK 2203.
2 E 18.
3 Unknown.
4 One penannular twisted torc.
5 Undated.
6 Painter 1970.

GREENHILL, WEYMOUTH, Dorset
1 SY 6878.
2 E 19.
3 Unprovenanced.
4 One Wraxall class torc.
5 Early first century AD.
6 MacGregor 1976, 113; Megaw 1971, 149, Fig 4; Smith 1925, 151.

HAM HILL, Somerset
1 ST 478140.
2 E 20.
3 Hillfort.
4 One penannular twisted torc.
5 Possibly first century AD.
6 MacGregor 1976, 111.

HAMMERSMITH, Middlesex
1 TQ 2279.
2 E 21.
3 No provenance.
4 One penannular rod torc.
5 Undated.
6 MacGregor 1976, 113.

HENGISTBURY HEAD, Hants
1 SZ 1790.
2 E 22.
3 Oppidum.
4 Three penannular twisted torcs.
5 First century BC.
6 MacGregor 1976, 113;
Bushe-Fox 1915, 60 and pl x 2.5 and pl xxx 13.

HOLLINGBURY HILL, Sussex
1 TQ 322078.
2 E 23.
3 Hillfort.
4 One penannular twisted torc.
5 Probably first century BC.
6 MacGregor 1976, 111.

HYNDFORD, Lanark
1 NS 9141.
2 E 24.
3 Bog or lake.
4 One beaded torc.
5 First century AD.
6 MacGregor 1976, No 202; Stevenson 1948, 295, pl liii 4;
Curle 1932, 381.

IPSWICH, Suffolk
1 TM 1744.
2 E 25.
3 Possibly a hoard.
4 Six penannular twisted torcs.
5 First century BC - first century AD.
6 Brailsford & Stapley 1972; Owles 1971, 294-296 and pl xlv;
1969, 208-212.

LAMBERTON MOOR, Berwick, Borders
1 NT 9758.
2 E 26.
3 Hoard - cf Cauldrons B 15.
4 One beaded torc.
5 First-second century AD
6 MacGregor 1976, No 203; Stevenson 1966, 26, pl 26;
1948, 294, pl liii 3; Anderson 1905, 372-374, 368, Fig 1.

LLANDYSSUL, PEN-COED-FOEL, Cardigan, Dyfed
1 SN 425427.
2 E 27.
3 Small hillfort, stray find.
4 One Wraxall class torc.
5 First century AD.
6 MacGregor 1976, 113; Grimes 1951, 226 pl xviii.

LOCHAR MOSS, Dumfriess
1 NY 0471.
2 E 28.
3 Bog - same hoard as cauldron B 19.
4 One beaded torc.
5 First century BC - first century AD.
6 MacGregor 1976, No 204; Piggott 1970, No 139;
Fox 1958, 107, pl 29b; Smith 1925, 157-158, Fig 188.

LONDON, Middlesex
1 TQ 3682.
2 E 29.
3 River Walbrook.
4 One penannular rod torc.
5 Undated.
6 MacGregor 1976, 113.

MAIDEN CASTLE, Dorset
1 SY 669885.
2 E 30.
3 Iron Age hillfort.
4 One penannular rod torc.
5 First century BC - first century AD.
6 MacGregor 1976, 113; Wheeler 1943, 276-277, Fig 90.11.

MEARE, Somerset
1 ST 4541.
2 E 31.
3 "Lake" village.
4 One penannular, twisted torc.
5 First century AD.
6 MacGregor 1976, 113; Bulleid & Gray 1953, pl xlix, E 139.

MILDENHALL, Suffolk
1 TL 7074.
2 E 32.
3 Bog.
4 One torc, atypical.
5 Undated.
6 MacGregor 1976, 113; Bunbury 1834, 610.

MOW ROAD, ROCHDALE, Lancs
1 SD 8912.
2 E 33.
3 Unprovenanced.
4 One beaded torc.
5 Undated.
6 MacGregor 1976, No 205; Allen 1904, 109-110;
Whatton 1834, 595-597.

NEEDWOOD FOREST, Stafford
1 SK 1624.
2 E 34.
3 Unprovenanced.
4 One penannular, twisted torc.
5 Probably first century BC.
6 MacGregor 1976, 111; Hawkes 1937, 3-4, pl ii c.

NEW CAIRNMUIR, NETHERURD, Peebles, Borders
1 NT 4734.
2 E 35.
3 Hoard.
4 Four torcs, penannular twisted.
5 First century BC.
6 MacGregor 1976, 111 and Nos 191-194 in gazetteer.

NORTH CREAKE, Norfolk
1 TF 8538.
2 E 36.
3 Unprovenanced.
4 One penannular twisted torc.
5 Probably first century AD.
6 MacGregor 1976, 113; Clarke 1949, 59-60, pl III a, b.

PERDESWELL, Worcs
1 SO 9647.
2 E 37.
3 Unknown.
4 One beaded torc.
5 Probably first century AD.
6 MacGregor 1976, 113; Ellacombe 1844, Appendix 554-555.

POLDEN HILLS, Somerset
1 ST 4336.
2 E 38.
3 Unknown.
4 One penannular twisted torc.
5 Probably first century BC.
6 MacGregor 1976, 111; Harford 1808, pl xix 6.

PORTLAND ISLAND, Dorset
1 SY 6870.
2 E 39.
3 Unknown.
4 One Wraxall class torc.
5 Early first century AD.
6 MacGregor 1976, 115; Megaw 1971, 146, Fig 1.

REETH, North Yorkshire
1 SE 0499.
2 E 40.
3 Unknown.
4 One penannular rod torc.
5 Unknown.
6 MacGregor 1976, 113, gazetteer No 196.

RICKERLY PARK, Carlisle, Cumbria
1 NY 3957.
2 E 41.
3 Roman occupation.
4 One beaded torc.
5 First-second century AD.
6 MacGregor 1976, 113, gazetteer No 208; Simpson & Richmond 1941, 23-25.

RUDBAXTON, Pembroke
1 SN 1020.
2 E 56.
3 Unprovenanced.
4 Two torcs.
5 Undated.
6 MacGregor 1976, 115; Smith 1925, 138.

SCARBOROUGH, North Yorkshire
1 TA 0489.
2 E 42.
3 Unprovenanced.
4 One torc.
5 Undated.
6 MacGregor 1976, 111-113; Smith 1934.

SEDGFORD. Norfolk
1 TF 709365.
2 E 43.
3 Unknown.
4 One penannular twisted torc.
5 Undated.
6 MacGregor 1976, 111; Brailsford 1971, 16-19, Figs 1, 2, and pl vi a.

SHEPHERDS FEN, MILDENHALL, Suffolk
1 TL 7074.
2 E 44.
3 Unknown.
4 One penannular rod torc.
5 Undated.
6 MacGregor 1976, 111-113; Lethbridge & O'Reilly 1931, 152, pl vi, Fig 1.

SKERNE, Humberside
1 TA 0455.
2 E 45.
3 Unprovenanced.
4 One beaded torc.
5 First-second century AD.
6 MacGregor 1976, 111-113, gazetteer No 207.

SLAY HILL, SALTINGS, UPCHURCH, Kent
1 TQ 8467.
2 E 46.
3 Unprovenanced.
4 One penannular rod torc.
5 Undated.
6 MacGregor 1976, 113; Smith 1925, 37.

SNETTISHAM, Norfolk
1 TF 680349.
2 E 47.
3 Hoard.
4 Six torcs - two penannular twisted, four tubular.
5 First century BC - first century AD.
6 MacGregor 1976, 111-113; Burns 1971, 288-289, pl xx; Clarke 1954, 45-46, pl viii-xi.

SPETTISBURY RINGS, Dorset
1 ST 915020.
2 E 48.
3 Hillfort, unprovenanced.
4 One penannular twisted torc.
5 Probably first century AD.
6 MacGregor 1976, 111-113; Hawkes 1940, 112-114, Fig 1.

STICHALL, Roxburgh, Borders
1 NT 7239.
2 E 49.
3 Stray.
4 One Wraxall class torc.
5 Undated, probably first century AD.
6 MacGregor 1976, 113 and gazetteer No 210; Piggott 1970, No 138; Megaw 1970, No 298; Stevenson 1966, 32, pl 6.

TRENOWETH, ST STEPHEN, Cornwall
1 SW 7533.
2 E 50.
3 Unprovenanced.
4 One Wraxall class torc.
5 Early first century AD.
6 MacGregor 1976, 111-113; Megaw 1967, 5-8, pl 1.

TRE'R CEIRI, Gwynedd
1 SH 3848.
2 E 51.
3 Iron Age occupation, hillfort.
4 One beaded torc.
5 First century AD.
6 MacGregor 1970, 111-113; Hughes 1907, 40-42, Fig 2.

ULCEBY, Lincs
1 TF 4272.
2 E 52.
3 Unknown.
4 Three penannular twisted torcs.
5 Probably first century AD.
6 MacGregor 1976, 111-113; Leeds 1933.

WORLEBURY, Somerset
1 ST 3363.
2 E 53.
3 Iron Age hillfort.
4 One torc, atypical.
5 Undated.
6 MacGregor 1976, 115; Dobson 1931, 120.

WRAXALL, Budcombe Court, Avon
1 ST 4973.
2 E 54.
3 Unknown.
4 One Wraxall class torc.
5 Early first century AD.
6 MacGregor 1976, 111-113;
Franks 1892, Appendix 495-496, pl xlvii.

WROXETER, Salop
1 SJ 5608.
2 E 55.
3 Roman civitas.
4 One penannular twisted torc.
5 First century AD.
6 MacGregor 1976, 111-113; Bushe-Fox 1913, 30, pl x, Fig 2.16.

INDEX: TORCS

E 1 Attermire, West Yorkshire
E 2 Aylesford, Kent
E 3 Bawsey, Norfolk
E 4 Benhill, Northumbria
E 5 Birdlip, Glos
E 6 Cadbury Castle, Somerset
E 7 Carlisle, Cumbria
E 8 Clench Common, Wilts
E 9 Clevedon, Somerset
E 10 Clynnog, Gwynedd
E 11 Colchester, Essex
E 12 Cold Kitchen Hill, Wilts
E 13 Cross Axbridge, Avon
E 14 Dorchester, Dorset
E 15 Dorset
E 16 Embsay, Skipton, West Yorks
E 17 Giggleswick, West Yorkshire
E 18 Glascote, Tamworth, Stafford
E 19 Greenhill, Weymouth, Dorset
E 20 Ham Hill, Somerset
E 21 Hammersmith, Middlesex
E 22 Hengistbury Head, Hants
E 23 Hollingbury Hill, Sussex
E 24 Hyndford, Lanark, Borders
E 25 Ipswich, Suffolk
E 26 Lamberton Moor, Berwick, Bds
E 27 Llandyssul, Cardigan, Dyfed
E 28 Lochar Moss, Dumfriess
E 29 London, Middlesex
E 30 Maiden Castle, Dorset
E 31 Meare, Somerset
E 32 Mildenhall, Suffolk
E 33 Mow Road, Rochdale, Lancs
E 34 Needwood Forest, Stafford
E 35 New Cairnmuir, Peebles, Bds
E 36 North Creake, Norfolk
E 37 Perdeswell, Worcs
E 38 Polden Hills, Somerset
R 39 Portland Island, Dorset
E 40 Reeth, North Yorkshire
E 41 Rickerly Park, Carlisle, Cumbria
E 42 Scarborough, North Yorkshire
E 43 Sedgford, Norfolk
E 44 Shepherds Fen, Suffolk
E 45 Skerne, Humberside
E 46 Slay Hill, Upchurch, Kent
E 47 Snettisham, Norfolk
E 48 Spettisbury Rings, Dorset
E 49 Stichill, Roxburgh, Borders
E 50 Trenoweth, Cornwall
E 51 Tre'r Ceiri, Gwynedd
E 52 Ulceby, Lincs
E 53 Worlebury, Somerset
E 54 Wraxall, Avon
E 55 Wroxeter, Salop
E 56 Rudbaxton, Pembroke
E 57 Arras, North Yorkshire

APPENDIX II

RITUAL SHAFTS

INTRODUCTION

The following gazetteer of ritual shafts includes all of the shafts or wells considered in chapter three of the text. It is by no means exhaustive. The basis for this gazetteer are the studies by Ross (1968, 1976), and Green (1976). A number of the pits considered by Ross have been omitted here, as they seemed too shallow or simply too innocuous in fill. A few more recently found shafts have been added, to make a total of 102. This supplementary evidence was drawn from a search of the county journals for Oxfordshire, Northamptonshire, Wiltshire, Dorset, Sussex and Hampshire from 1970-1980. These were chosen to supplement the many documented examples from Kent and Surrey found in the research of Ross (1967). There are undoubtedly shafts of ritual significance missing, and some of those included may not be ritual, but the fill of the shafts is as remarkably consistent in nature as it is different from the ordinary rubbish pit fill.

ARDLEIGH, Essex
1 TM 057286.
2 Probable farmstead.
3 R S 1.
4 One shaft, 3 m deep x 1.5 m diameter. Contents: pottery, horse bones, horse skull, deer antlers, all deliberately arranged in layers lined with a hollowed oak-tree trunk.
5 Probably Roman.
6 Erith 1965, 30-38; Ross 1968, 284.

ARMSLEY, Hants
1 SU 164160.
2 Settlement.
3 R S 2.
4 One shaft, over 2 m deep. Contents: much organic material, animal bones, three complete pots, a votive wooden head, one horse skull, coins, iron tools, quern stones, deer bones and antlers.
5 Probably Roman.
6 Edwardes 1931, 56-62; Ross 1968, 284.

ASHILL, Norfolk
1 TF 8804.
2 A 5 hectare, rectangular ditched enclosure, no domestic occupation.
3 R S 3 (No 1 in Ross 1968).
4 Depth 13 m, diameter 1 m. Lined with oak. Contents are deliberately layered: ashes, bones of deer, cattle, pig. Over 50 complete pots. Preserved organic material including hazelnuts, acorns, oak twigs. Bronze fibula, iron tool.

3 R S 4 (Ashill No 2 in Ross 1968).
4 Depth 7 m. Lined. Contents: complete pots, cow skull and deer antlers.

3 R S 5 (Ashill "Pit" in Ross 1968).
4 Depth 2 m. Lined with an oak barrel. Contents: many potsherds; goat skull; pig, cattle and deer bones.

5 Probably Roman.
6 Ross 1968, 284-285; Gregory 1977, 9-30; Manning 1875, 108; 1889, 352.

ASHTEAD, Surrey
1 TQ 194577.
2 Settlement.
3 R S 6.
4 6 m deep. Contents: ashes, pottery, many animal bones.

3 R S 7.
4 3 m deep. Contents: pottery, many animal bones.

5 Probably sixth century BC.
6 Ross 1968, 259; Lowther 1933, 93-98.

ASTHALL, Oxon
1 SP 2811.
2 Roman site; possibly cult site.
3 R S 8 (Well Asthall No 1 in Ross 1968).
4 3 m x 1.5 m. Deliberately layered fill including five complete dog skeletons, horse jaw, complete pots, many potsherds and animal bones, one first century brooch.

3 R S 9 (Well No 2 in Ross 1968).
4 3 m x 1.8 m. Much pottery.

3 R S 10 (Asthall "Pit" in Ross 1968).
4 1.2 m x 0.75 m. Pottery sherds, charcoal, bone and bronze pins, iron objects.

5 Roman. Subsequently, a miniature bronze votive axe and a bronze swan-shaped jug handle were found on site.
6 Ross 1968, 259; Cook 1955, 29.

AYLESFORD, Kent
1 TQ 730592.
2 Belgic cremation cemetery.
3 R S 11 (Aylesford Pit 1 in Ross 1968).
4 4 m x 2.2 m. Entirely filled with animal bones.
5 First century BC - first century AD.
6 Ross 1968, 259; Evans 1890, 317.

BAR HILL, Strathclyde
1 NX 2382.
2 Roman fort.
3 R S 12.
4 14 m x 1.3 m. Deliberately filled. Contents: column sections, one altar, large pieces of oak, twelve leather boots, coins, deer antlers, cattle and sheep bones, hazelnuts, hawthorn twigs, one large amphora containing a bag of iron tools and iron objects, oyster shells.
5 Roman, second century AD.
6 Ross & Feacham 1976; Ross 1968, 259; MacDonald 1906, 403-546.

BEKESBOURNE, Kent
1 TR 1955.
2 Unknown.
3 R S 13 (Bekesbourne No 1 in Ross 1968).
4 6 m x 1 m. Lined with oak planks, contents deliberately layered, alternating flints and complete pots and horses' teeth on a flat stone covering bottom.

3 R S 14 (Bekesbourne No 2 in Ross 1968).
4 5 m x 1 m. Filled with flint nodules, with three complete urns and an amphora.

5 Probably first century AD.
6 Ross 1968, 260; Brent 1859, 43-48.

BERTHA, Tayside
1 NO 0529.
2 Left bank of River Almond, unknown site.
3 R S 15.
4 6 m x ? m. Total of eight shafts observed, all with complete pots full of ashes on the bottom, rest of fill apparently sterile. One also had a helmet, a spearhead and a lead bar.
5 Roman.
6 Ross 1968, 260; Stuart 1852, 205.

BIDDENHAM, Beds
1 TL 0249.
2 Unknown.
3 R S 16.
4 11 m x 1 m. Contents: an altar, one complete human skeleton, one mutilated statue, stone slab with incised representation of a crane, fragments of 50 Roman urns; bones of horse, cow, pig, dogs, fox.
5 Roman.
6 Ross 1968, 260.

BIRCHINGTON, Kent
1 TR 3069.
2 Sea shore of Minnis Bay? Romano-British "pit dwelling" to northwest.
3 R S 17.
4 10 m x 1 m. Contents deliberately layered. Top 8 m of fill of animal bones of cow, horse, pig, then a sandstone slab with central hole. Below, a horse skull, some animal bones and pieces of oak. Bottom 0.5 m contains more than 200 unopened oyster shells.
5 Roman.
6 Ross 1968, 260; Burchall 1949, 52.

BOSSENS, St Erth, Cornwall
1 SW 558348.
2 Sub-rectangular defensive enclosure, possibly Roman fortlet.
3 R S 18.
4 12 m x ? m. Contents: votive bronze patera to Mars; one bronze jug; quern stones; a second, two-handled patera; fragments of horse bones and leather.
5 Probably Roman.
6 Ross 1968, 261; Borlase 1769, 316.

BRAMPTON, Cumbria
1 NY 5361.
2 Roman tilery site.
3 R S 19.
4 3 m x 0.5 m. Contents: 60 iron tools, mostly agricultural and most bent double.
5 100-125 AD.
6 Ross 1968, 262; Manning 1966, 1-36.

BRISLINGTON, Avon
1 ST 6171.
2 Roman villa site.
3 R S 20.
4 12 m x 1.3 m. Upper 4 m of fill of potsherds, next 2 m fill with many animal bones, several human skulls, several complete metal and ceramic vessels, rest of fill of potsherds, animal bones, and some bronze objects.
5 Roman.
6 Ross 1968, 262; Barker 1901, cxiii D8.

CABURN, Sussex
1 TQ 444089.
2 Late Iron Age hillfort occupation.
3 R S 21.
4 3 m x 3 m. Animal bones of cow, pig, rabbit, cock. At bottom, potsherds, an iron "clinker" and the bones of a dog.
5 Second-first century BC.
6 Curwen & Curwen 1927, 1.

CADBURY CASTLE, near Tiverton, Devon
1 SS 9205.
2 Iron Age hillfort.
3 R S 22.
4 18 m x 1.5 m. Shaft lined with puddled clay. Fill of sherds, ashes, fragments of bone, twenty bronze bracelets and four of shale, one ring with paste intaglio, several glass and enamel beads, horses' teeth and human bones.
5 Probably Pre-Roman Iron Age.
6 Ross 1968, 262; Fox 1952, 105; Tucker 1848, 193-198.

CAERWENT, Monmouth, Gwent
1 ST 4791.
2 Roman civitas.
3 R S 23 (Well Caerwent No 1 in Ross 1968).
4 9 m x 1 m. Contents: animal bones of cows, many sherds, three coins, a bucket, hazelnuts and twigs.

3 R S 24 (Well No 2 in Ross 1968).
4 7 m x 0.6 m. Fragments of human skull, several ox skulls, other animal bones, pottery, fragments of a bucket.

3 R S 25 (Well 22 in Ross 1968).
4 No dimensions. Five dog skulls.

3 R S 26 (Well 26 in Ross 1968).
4 No dimensions. One dog skull.

3 R S 27 (Well 3 in Ross 1968).
4 3 m x ? m. Contents deliberately layered. At 7 feet depth, a sandstone slab wedged across well, beneath a void for 8 feet. Beneath this steining gave way to slabs on edge, fill of stones, slab, tiles, mortar, below this several buckets and another slab. At bottom, a pewter jug and plate ornamented with a wheel in square frame. Pottery, wood, metal fittings and a cow's rib also on bottom.

3 R S 28 (Well 4 in Ross 1968).
4 No dimensions. Statue of a seated deity, and a collection of iron tools.

5 Roman, second-third centuries AD.
6 Ross 1968, 262; Ashby, Hudd & Martin 1902, 1905, 1906.

CALKE WOOD, Rickinghall, Suffolk
1 TM 0475.
2 Iron Age occupation site. Some two dozen shafts noted.
3 R S 29.
4 10 m x ? m. Shaft lined with clay and an organic substance. Masses of pottery sherds, bones and lumps of baked clay.
5 Probably Pre-Roman Iron Age with some Roman occupation.
6 Ross 1968, 263; Wacher 1960, 1-28.

CARRAWBURGH, Northumberland
1 NY 8573.
2 Roman Fort of Brocolitia, Coventina's Well.
3 R S 30.
4 2 m x 2 m. Square sectioned. 13,000 coins dated AD 41 to AD 383; 24 altars, several to Coventina (a Celtic deity), several with rings for suspension over or immersion in well, pins and brooches, bronze figurines of horse and dog, shrine bells, and a human skull.
5 Roman, first-fourth centuries AD.
6 Ross 1968, 263; Clayton 1880, 1-39.

CRAYFORD, Kent
1 TQ 510751.
2 Unknown.
3 R S 31.
4 12 m x ? m. Fill contained a 4 m thick deposit of pottery vessels; lower were pre-Roman, upper included Samian and Upchurch wares. Also included were animal bones, bits of iron and oyster shells.
5 Pre-Roman Iron Age and early Roman.
6 Ross 1968, 263; Haverfield, 1932, 146.

DUNSTABLE, Beds
1 TL 033216.
2 Roman settlement, also known as "Sewell" or "Maiden Bower".
3 R S 32.
4 38 m x 1 m. Fill of potsherds, human bones, animal bones, tiles, coins, ashes and charred wood.

1 TL 019217.
3 R S 33.
4 24 m x 1.2 m. Associated with a timber building. Fill included five complete human skeletons, one human cremation, several horse skulls, another human skull, an ox-goad, iron knife, bronze spatula brooch and ring, one complete pot (early second century date), a silver ring, cherry stones and hazelnuts.

5 Roman, first-second centuries AD.
6 Ross 1968, 264; Matthews & Hutchings 1972, 21-34.

EWELL, Surrey
1 TQ 228599.
2 Iron Age and Roman settlement.
3 R S 34.
4 Up to 10 shafts found, depths varied 3 m to 12 m. Contents included, in an orderly sequence: large animal bones (cow, sheep, deer, pig), a layer of Samian sherds, some complete vessels, a layer of rich organic material, bones of cock and hare and a complete dog with skull displaced, followed by amphorae and other vessels, and iron tools on the bottom.
5 Probably Roman.
6 Ross 1968, 264; Diamond 1847, 451-455.

FELIXSTOWE, Suffolk
1 TM 3034.
2 Iron Age and Roman settlement.
3 R S 35.
4 2 m x 0.75 m. Lined with oak planks. On bottom in northeast corner a complete Roman vessel filled with acorns.
5 Roman.
6 Ross 1968, 264; Manning 1874, 303.

FRITTENDON, Kent
1 TQ 8141.
2 Unknown.
3 R S 36.
4 4 m x ? m. Timberwork, possibly lined. Two Upchurch urns on bottom of pit filled with decayed vegetable matter.
5 Roman.
6 Ross 1968, 264; Haverfield, 1932, 146.

GREAT CHESTERFORD, Essex
1 TL 503430.
2 Roman town.
3 R S 37 (No 5 in Neville 1855, 1856, 1860).
4 1.8 m x ? m. 96 iron tools, a "smith's hoard".

3 R S 38 (No 6 in Neville).
4 3 m x ? m. Bones of cattle, one complete dog, total of nine complete pots.

3 R S 39 (No 18 in Neville).
4 1.8 m x ? m. One complete pot, many sherds, one complete dog skeleton.

3 R S 40 (No 19 in Neville).
4 3 m x ? m. One complete pot, one complete dog skeleton.

3 R S 41 (No 38b in Neville).
4 5 m x ? m. Animal bones of cattle, one complete pot, one complete dog skeleton, oyster shells.

3 R S 42 (No 43 in Neville).
4 6 m x ? m. Pot sherds, cattle bones, dog bones, one dog skull, oyster shells, six complete pots.

5 Roman.
6 Neville 1855, 109-126; 1856, 1-13; 1860, 117-127.

GREENHITHE, Kent
1 TQ 5874.
2 Unknown, but an Iron Age settlement approximately 300 m away.
3 R S 43.
4 10 m x 7 m. Animal bones of horse, pig, cow, deer and birds. Potsherds, one iron key, nails and a hoop, two carved bone sockets, and three complete human skeletons side by side on bottom.
5 Probably Iron Age.
6 Ross 1968, 265.

HARDHAM, Sussex
1 TQ 0417.
2 Roman occupation site.
3 R S 44 (No 2 in Ross 1968).
4 2.5 m x 0.5 m. Shaft lined, at bottom with oak planks. One human cremation in urn, with a shallow patera next to it; three cattle horn cores and bones of cattle, horse and pig, leather fragments.

3 R S 45 (No 2 in Ross 1968).
4 2.5 m x 0.5 m. Lined with oak planks. Two complete pots on bottom, leather fragments, three cow horn cores, one iron rod, bronze pin, a pottery wine funnel and another ceramic vase, all in a very ashy fill.

3 R S 46 (No 3 in Ross 1968).
4 2.5 m x 0.5 m. One cinerary urn, two horn cores on a Roman brick and numerous sherds.

3 R S 47 (Shaft 6 in Ross 1968).
4 2.5 m x 1.5 m. Lined shaft, bottom lined with flints, an amphora upside down with two coins and a quantity of dark matter inside.

5 Roman.
6 Ross 1968, 265; Dawkins 1864, 52-64.

HEYWOOD, Wilts
1 ST 8753.
2 Unknown.
3 R S 48.
4 No dimensions. Considerable quantity of potsherds. One cow skull, one horse skull, and parts of four human skulls.
5 Uncertain, probably Iron Age.
6 Ross 1968, 265; Grinsell 1957, 76.

IPSDEN, Oxon
1 SU 6385.
2 Unknown.
3 R S 49.
4 No dimensions, though of "considerable" depth. At bottom, three huge logs were set upright.
5 Undated, probably Iron Age.
6 Ross 1968, 266.

IPSWICH, Suffolk
1 TM 1744.
2 Unknown, probably Roman?
3 R S 50.
4 9 m x 1 m. Lined with clay, one sherd of Romano-British pot and a section of hair of either hare or badger.

3 R S 51.
4 20 m x 2 m. Top 20 feet of fill deliberate and clean silt, a piece of hair like R S 50 above, under the base of a pillar of clay with black flints pressed into surface which stood upright in centre of shaft. Soil claimed to contain iron oxides. Near bottom, two small silver sheets and a cylinder of polished marble. Bottom a pavement of chalk flints.

5 Probably Roman.
6 Ross 1968, 266; Moir 1935, 141-149.

JORDAN HILL, Dorset
1 SY 689823.
2 Romano-Celtic temple.
3 R S 52.
4 4 m x ? m. Lined with clay and tiles set on edge. On bottom, on a bed of clay, was a cist of stones in which were two Roman urns, one iron sword, one iron spearhead, an iron knife, two iron bars and a steelyard. Above this was a thick layer of stone tiles, then a layer of ashes. Then sixteen repetitions of: pairs of tiles with one bird skeleton and one coin between each pair. Halfway to top, another stone cist with an iron sword, spearhead and two urns. Birds were crow, raven, buzzard and starling.
5 Roman.
6 Ross 1968, 267-268; Manning 1972, 224-250.

NEWSTEAD, Roxburgh, Borders
1 NT 565335.
2 Roman fort.
3 R S 53 (No 1 in Curle 1911).
4 7.6 m x 6.1 m. Well lined with red sandstone blocks. Contents included iron tools, armour, coins, two human skulls, cattle bones, "many" horse skulls, deer antlers, one altar to Jupiter, much jewelry, one complete human skeleton.

3 R S 54 (Railway Pit in Curle 1911; Ross & Feacham 1976, 234).
4 3 m x 1 m. One human skeleton standing upright on bottom.

3 R S 55 (No 6 in Curle).
4 3 m x 1.8 m. Glass fragments, pig bones and a pig skull.

3 R S 56 (No 7 in Curle).
4 5 m x 2.6 m. Several complete pots, a spearhead, many animal bones, horse skulls, one bird leg, oyster shells.

3 R S 57 (No 10 in Curle).
4 6 m x 2.6 m. A wood board, hazel twigs, two querns, two spearheads, a kettle.

3 R S 58 (No 14 in Curle).
4 5 m x 1.5 m. One sword, bronze cooking pot, twelve iron tools and eight other iron objects, two wooden bowls.

3 R S 59 (No 16 in Curle 1911).
4 6.7 m x 2 m. Two glass bowls, several complete pots. Animal bones of horse, cow, dog. One sword, five spearheads and nineteen other iron tools, bits of leather and one human skull.

3 R S 60 (No 17 in Curle 1911; Ross & Feacham 1976, 236).
4 9.8 m x 1.8 m. Nine complete horses, one complete human female skeleton with a dog skull immediately below, a cow skull, potsherds and oyster shells, an iron hammer, stylus, ring, saw and hazelnuts.

3 R S 61 (No 22 in Curle 1911).
4 7.6 m x 2.6 m. Hazel twigs, one complete pot, potsherds, one sickle, one armlet, three helmets, one dog skull, deer antlers, a quern stone.

3 R S 62 (No 23 in Curle 1911; Ross & Feacham 1976, 236).
4 9.2 m x 2.6 m. A nine-foot long birch branch standing upright, below which were "many" deer antlers, five dog skulls, a horse skull and a bucket, one human skull, two complete wheels, and two more horse skulls.

3 R S 63 (No 12 in Curle 1911).
4 4.3 m x 3 m. Complete pots, one dog skull, one bird skull, other bird bones.

3 R S 64 (No 26 in Curle 1911).
4 3.7 m x 1.2 m. Hazelnuts, miscellaneous animal bones, oyster shells.

3 R S 65 (No 27 in Curle 1911).
4 3 m x 1.8 m. Cow skull, four pieces of armour, two complete pots, two dog skulls, deer antlers.

3 R S 66 (No 28 in Curle 1911).
4 3.7 m x 1.2 m. Lined shaft, with cattle bones, oyster shells, oak plank, basketry and four complete pots.

3 R S 67 (No 37 in Curle 1911).
4 3.7 m x 2.6 m. Masses of twigs in fill, two complete pots, horn comb and oyster shells.

3 R S 68 (No 56 in Curle 1911).
4 4.9 m x 1.5 m. Two dog skulls, one cow skull, one horse skull, two complete pots, two iron rings, bone pin with human bust terminal.

3 R S 69 (No 61 in Curle 1911).
4 11 m x 2.1 m. One whetstone, two complete pots, iron gridiron, two horse skulls, quern stone, one cow skull, hazelnuts and twigs, leather and bracken.

3 R S 70 (No 62 in Curle 1911).
4 6.7 m x 1.8 m. Birch branches, leather scraps, one complete pot.

3 R S 71 (No 65 in Curle 1911).
4 5 m x 1.8 m. Two coins, fibulae, surgeon's probe, iron hanging-lamp, three complete pots, and an upright steering oar of oak.

3 R S 72 (No 66 in Curle 1911).
4 10 m x 3 m. Two coins, two complete pots, two querns, eight horse skulls, thirteen cattle skulls, and deer antlers in an otherwise clean gravel fill.

3 R S 73 (No 71 in Curle 1911).
4 3 m x 1.8 m. Full of animal bones.

3 R S 74 (No 83 in Curle 1911).
4 5 m x 2.6 m. An altar of Apollo, masses of twigs, fragmentary shield boss, potsherds.

3 R S 75 (No 88 in Curle 1911).
4 3.7 m x 0.9 m. Masonry lining. Bones of horse, sheep, cattle, pig and deer, iron fork, leather scraps, a bucket.

3 R S 76 (No 89 in Curle 1911).
4 4.9 m x 2.7 m. Potsherds, whetstone, iron hoe, leather shoes, bones of cattle, horse, one dog skull.

3 R S 77 (No 91 in Curle 1911).
4 5 m x 0.9 m. A deliberately built clay surface sealed shaft except for a 1 foot square aperture. Filling black and unusually friable, full of organic material, cattle bones, oyster shells, and four complete pots amongst many sherds.

3 R S 78 (No 92 in Curle 1911).
4 2.6 m x 1.5 m. Clean fill except for masses of cattle bones, one horse figurine and a bronze circular disc.

3 R S 79 (No 94 in Curle 1911).
4 5 m x 1.8 m. Lined with barrels with pine staves. Iron shovel, potsherds, oak branches, a sheep skull and coins in fill.

3 R S 80 (No 95 in Curle 1911; Ross & Feacham 1976, 236-237).
4 5 m x 2.7 m. At bottom, a wheel and various bronze harness fittings. An iron key, one coin, deer antlers, one cow skull, several logs of wood, six complete pots.

5 Roman period; a few may predate Roman occupation.
6 Curle 1911; Ross & Feacham 1976, 229-237.

NORTHFLEET, Kent

1 TQ 6274.
2 Unknown.
3 R S 81.
4 15 m x ? m. A horse skull with one complete pot, forty-one flint flakes on a shelf in a chamber. Animal bones in the following, apparently purposeful groups:
1 Dog, horse and sheep bones with a large dog's skull
2 Skull of a horse with an ox tooth
3 Skeleton of a fox without skull
4 Skull of the fox with bones of badger, bird, dog and sheep
5 Skull of the badger with jaws of the dog
6 Bones of badger, bird and horse
7 Bones of hornless sheep and a horse tooth
8 Some bones and two skulls of sheep, with some bird bones.
Skulls of badger and sheep, horse bones, skull of horse, skull of fox, skull and limb bones of a hornless sheep with lower jaw of an ox.
5 Probably mid-first to mid-second century AD.
6 Ross 1968, 270; Burchall 1949, 13.

PAGAN'S HILL, Somerset

1 ST 556, 626.
2 A Romano-Celtic temple complex in an Iron Age hillfort, shaft part of Romano-Celtic complex.
3 R S 83.
4 17.2 m x 0.75 m. Shaft lined with stone blocks. Fill included animal bones of cow and sheep, fifteen coins, oak branches, and close to 50 complete pots.
5 Late Roman period, second-fourth centuries AD.
6 Rahtz 1951, 112-142; Rahtz & Harris 1958, 105-112.

PLUMSTEAD, Kent

1 TQ 4477.
2 Unknown.
3 R S 82.
4 15 m x 5 m. At bottom, seven or eight complete Upchurch urns, an iron knife and bell, and oyster shells; upper fill included skulls of cow, pig, goat and dog and deer antlers.
5 Probably Roman period.
6 Ross 1968, 270; Payne 1891, 245.

PURBERRY SHOT, Ewell, Surrey

1 TQ 218621.
2 Unknown, but considerable occupation of both Iron Age and Roman period nearby.
3 R S 84.
4 13 m x ? m. Lined with chalk and clay. An otherwise clean fill contained some potsherds, a complete pot, an iron brooch, a razor and a knife.
5 Probably pre-Roman.
6 Ross 1968, 271; Lowther 1941, xxv; 1949, 9-46.

RAMSGATE, Kent
1 TR 3864.
2 Unknown.
3 R S 85.
4 35 m x 0.75 m. Almost completely filled with flints. Bottom 0.75 m of fill of alternating layers of earth, flint, and bones of cow, horse, deer. One complete pot, many potsherds. Near bottom, a stone slab, 0.75 m in diameter, with a hole through the centre. A few bits of iron.
5 Probably Roman.
6 Ross 1968, 271; Haverfield 1932, 146.

RICHBOROUGH, Kent
1 TR 324602.
2 Near Roman fort.
3 R S 86.
4 No dimensions. Fill very rich with organic material, deer antlers, and bones of pig, goat and sheep.
5 Roman.
6 Ross 1968, 271; Smith 1850, 55.

ROTHERFIELD PEPPARD, Oxon
1 SU 7181.
2 Unknown.
3 R S 87.
4 15.5 m x ? m. Contents included two complete pots, two deer skulls, hazelnuts and a whole oak tree trunk.
5 Probably Iron Age.
6 Ross 1968, 271; Taylor 1939, 339.

SANDWICH, Kent (also called Eastry)
1 TR 3358.
2 Possible Romano-Celtic temple?
3 R S 88.
4 21.8 m x 1 m. Chamber at bottom of shaft 1.3 m x 2.4 m. Probably three complete but broken pots placed on bottom. Fill of chamber includes large quantities of Romano-British potsherds which matched the sherds in the deliberate sealing of the mouth of the shaft. Most of shaft fill of potsherds and animal bones.
5 First-second century AD.
6 Ross 1968, 271; Burchall 1949.

SILCHESTER, Hants
1 SU 639624.
2 Roman civitas.
3 R S 89 (In Block III, South of House 1).
4 2.8 m x 0.75 m. Filled with perfectly clean gravel with four complete jugs arranged on bottom.

3 R S 90 (No 2, Insula xxiii).
4 6.4 m x 0.75 m. Collection of over 100 iron tools; most a smith's tools but also some carpentry tools. Also four bronze cooking pans and two complete pots.

3 R S 91 (Insula 1).
4 3 m x 1.2 m. Lined well or shaft. Included an iron sword broken in two, and below that a collection of over 60 iron tools; on bottom in a stone cist were two complete pots.

5 Roman, probably second-third century AD.
6 Fox & St John Hope, 1901, 96, 247; 1890, 742-743.

SOUTHWARK, Surrey
1 TQ 3179.
2 Unknown.
3 R S 92.
4 2.5 m x ? m. Shaft lined with oak planks. Fill included three complete pots, one complete "votive" pot, and deer antlers.
5 Second century AD.
6 Bloice 1975, 256-259.

STONE, Bucks
1 SP 7812.
2 Unknown, but a Roman earthwork 300 m to east.
3 R S 93.
4 8.3 m x ? m. Some 2 m from surface, shaft widened into a small chamber "roofed" by a stone slab with a central hole. The chamber contained many whole and partial cinerary urns, some with human bones, burnt oak and beech, and bones of large animals. About 3 m below this was a second chamber below a similarly holed rock slab. This also had funerary urns and bones, plus an ox skull, twelve complete urns, two bronze rings and bucket with iron hoops.
5 Probably Roman period.
6 Ross 1968, 273; Akerman 1852, 21-32.

STROOD, Kent
1 TQ 7369.
2 Unknown.
3 R S 94.
4 3 m x 1 m. Complete vessels of both Samian and Upchurch types, coins, finger rings, iron nails, knives and chain, glass, animal bones of cow, pig, dog and deer, one human skeleton. From a group of about a dozen very similar shafts found set close together.
5 Roman period.
6 Ross 1968, 273; Haverfield 1932, 146.

STURMINSTER MARSHALL, Dorset
1 SY 9499.
2 Unknown.
3 R S 95.
4 3 m x 1.8 m. One of a group of six similar pits. One contained five complete pots with the skulls of an ox and a dog on the bottom.
5 Probably Pre-Roman Iron Age.
6 Ross 1968, 273; Warne 1872, 330.

TALLINGTON, Lincs
1 TF 101100.
2 Romano-British farmstead.
3 R S 96.
4 No dimensions published. Fill mostly potsherds, but included one uninscribed altar and one complete pot.
5 Roman period, second-third century AD.
6 Peacock 1961, 110-124.

WARBANK KESTON, Kent
1 TQ 421640.
2 Near a Romano-Celtic temple?
3 R S 97.
4 4.9 m x 3.3 m. Among ashes of hazel, birch and hawthorn were one cremated dog and a few potsherds. Otherwise filled with clean chalk.
5 Uncertain, probably Roman.
6 Fox 1967, 184-191.

WINTERBOURNE KINGSTON, Dorset
1 SY 8697.
2 Unknown.
3 R S 98 (Shaft No 1 in Ross 1968).
4 21.5 m x 2.4 m. Shaft was lined and contained one complete pot, potsherds and ashes.

3 R S 99 (Next to 90, Shaft No 2 in Ross 1968).
4 26.1 m x 0.75 m. Fill contained a metal sheet with a hare embossed on it, a Purbeck marble vase, bronze fibulae and other bits of jewelry, coins, nails, potsherds, shale, glass, bones of cow, dog, pig and sheep, and oyster shells. About four feet east of this shaft was a circle of six feet diameter demarcated by tiles set upright; in the centre was a small conical sarsen stone beside which was found an iron knife.

5 Undated, but probably Roman.
6 Ross 1968, 274; Mansel-Pleydell 1890, 1-16; Warne 1872, 204.

WOLFHAMCOTE, Sawbridge, Warks
1 SP 5065.
2 Unknown.
3 R S 100.
4 12.3 m x 1.2 m (bottom not reached). Square shaft blocked at about 6.8 m in depth by a stone with a central hole chopped through it. On this were placed twelve complete pots. Twelve others were below the stone and were originally complete but broken by a rock fall. Rest of fill clean.
5 Undated.
6 Ross 1968, 274; Haverfield 1907, 249.

WROXETER, Salop

1 SJ 5608.
2 Roman civitas.
3 R S 101 (Wroxeter No 3 in Ross 1968).
4 3.7 m x 0.8 m. Fill of potsherds, two iron knife blades, iron nails, a pair of bronze tweezers and a coin, animal bones. On the bottom were three complete pots with some flat pieces of oak.
5 Roman, probably second-third century AD.
6 Ross 1968, 274; Bushe-Fox 1912, 1913, 1914.

WYCHWOOD, Oxon

1 SP 2918.
2 Unknown.
3 R S 102.
4 No dimensions. Fill contained animal bones of pig, sheep and cow, oyster shells, potsherds, iron nails and a bill-hook.
5 Probably Roman.
6 Taylor 1939, 339.

INDEX

RS 1 Ardleigh, Essex
RS 2 Armsley, Hants
RS 3 Ashill, Norfolk
RS 4 Ashill, Norfolk
RS 5 Ashill, Norfolk
RS 6 Ashtead, Surrey
RS 7 Ashtead, Surrey
RS 8 Asthall, Oxon
RS 9 Asthall, Oxon
RS 10 Asthall, Oxon
RS 11 Aylesford, Kent
RS 12 Bar Hill, Strathclyde
RS 13 Bekesbourne, Kent
RS 14 Bekesbourne, Kent
RS 15 Bertha, Tayside
RS 16 Biddenham, Beds
RS 17 Birchington, Kent
RS 18 Bossens, Cornwall
RS 19 Brampton, Cumbria
RS 20 Brislington, Avon
RS 21 Caburn, Sussex
RS 22 Cadbury Castle, Devon
RS 23 Caerwent, Gwent
RS 24 Caerwent, Gwent
RS 25 Caerwent, Gwent
RS 26 Caerwent, Gwent
RS 27 Caerwent, Gwent
RS 28 Caerwent, Gwent
RS 29 Calke Wood, Suffolk
RS 30 Carrowburgh, Northumbria
RS 31 Crayford, Kent
RS 32 Dunstable, Beds
RS 33 Dunstable, Beds
RS 34 Ewell, Surrey
RS 35 Felixstowe, Suffolk
RS 36 Frittendon, Kent
RS 37 Great Chesterford, Essex
RS 38 Great Chesterford, Essex
RS 39 Great Chesterford, Essex
RS 40 Great Chesterford, Essex
RS 41 Great Chesterford, Essex
RS 42 Great Chesterford, Essex
RS 43 Greenhithe, Kent
RS 44 Hardham, Sussex
RS 45 Hardham, Sussex
RS 46 Hardham, Sussex
RS 47 Hardham, Sussex
RS 48 Heywood, Wilts
RS 49 Ipsden, Oxon
RS 50 Ipswich, Suffolk
RS 51 Ipswich, Suffolk
RS 52 Jordan Hill, Dorset
RS 53 Newstead, Roxburgh, Borders
RS 54 Newstead, Roxburgh
RS 55 Newstead, Roxburgh
RS 56 Newstead, Roxburgh
RS 57 Newstead, Roxburgh
RS 58 Newstead, Roxburgh
RS 59 Newstead, Roxburgh
RS 60 Newstead, Roxburgh
RS 61 Newstead, Roxburgh
RS 62 Newstead, Roxburgh
RS 63 Newstead, Roxburgh
RS 64 Newstead, Roxburgh
RS 65 Newstead, Roxburgh
RS 66 Newstead, Roxburgh
RS 67 Newstead, Roxburgh
RS 68 Newstead, Roxburgh
RS 69 Newstead, Roxburgh
RS 70 Newstead, Roxburgh
RS 71 Newstead, Roxburgh
RS 72 Newstead, Roxburgh
RS 73 Newstead, Roxburgh
RS 74 Newstead, Roxburgh
RS 75 Newstead, Roxburgh
RS 76 Newstead, Roxburgh
RS 77 Newstead, Roxburgh
RS 78 Newstead, Roxburgh
RS 79 Newstead, Roxburgh
RS 80 Newstead, Roxburgh
RS 81 Northfleet, Kent
RS 82 Plumstead, Kent
RS 83 Pagan's Hill, Somerset
RS 84 Purberry Shot, Ewell, Surrey
RS 85 Ramsgate, Kent
RS 86 Richborough, Kent
RS 87 Rotherfield Peppard, Oxon
RS 88 Sandwich, Kent
RS 89 Silchester, Hants
RS 90 Silchester, Hants
RS 91 Silchester, Hants
RS 92 Southwark, Surrey
RS 93 Stone, Bucks
RS 94 Strood, Kent
RS 95 Sturminster Marshall, Dorset
RS 96 Tallington, Lincs
RS 97 Warbank Keston, Kent
RS 98 Winterbourne Kingston, Dorset
RS 99 Winterbourne Kingston, Dorset
RS100 Wolfhamcote, Warks
RS101 Wroxeter, Salop
RS102 Wychwood, Oxon.

APPENDIX II 2

X^2 TESTS

The following three X^2 tests were performed as a preliminary to the analysis of ritual shafts in chapter three. The first test (II 2 1) compares all Iron Age shafts with all Roman shafts. The second (II 2 2) compares all Iron Age shafts with Roman civilian shafts. The third (II 2 3) compares Roman civilian shafts with Roman military shafts. In each test the derived X^2 value far exceeds the alpha value = 0.01 expected value of 45.64. This indicates that the differences observed between the compared groups are most unlikely to occur by chance alone.

II 2 1 CHI-SQUARE: IRON AGE SHAFTS vs ROMAN SHAFTS

O(IA)	E(R)	O-E	$(O-E)^2$	$\frac{(O-E)^2}{E}$
19	18.6	0.4	0.16	0.00
19	19.4	0.4	0.16	0.00
38	33.7	4.3	18.49	0.55
31	35.3	4.3	18.49	0.52
33	37.6	4.6	21.16	0.56
44	39.4	4.6	21.16	0.54
29	28.8	0.2	0.04	0.00
30	30.2	0.2	0.04	0.00
10	12.7	2.7	7.29	0.57
16	13.3	2.7	7.29	0.54
29	25.4	3.6	12.96	0.51
23	26.6	3.6	12.96	0.49
10	11.7	1.7	2.89	0.25
14	12.3	1.7	2.89	0.22
14	19.0	5.0	25.00	1.31
25	20.0	5.0	25.00	1.25
19	12.7	6.3	39.69	3.13
7	13.3	6.3	39.69	2.98
43	30.8	12.2	148.84	4.83
20	32.2	12.2	148.84	4.62
10	14.2	4.2	17.64	1.24
19	14.8	4.2	17.64	1.19
29	24.0	5.0	25.00	1.04
20	25.0	5.0	25.00	1.00
5	7.3	2.3	5.29	0.72
10	7.7	2.3	5.29	0.69
5	5.9	0.9	0.81	0.13
7	6.1	0.9	0.81	0.13
24	29.8	5.8	33.64	1.12
37	31.2	5.8	33.64	1.07
38	32.2	5.8	33.64	1.04
28	33.8	5.8	33.64	0.99
57	51.3	5.7	32.49	0.63
48	53.7	5.7	32.49	0.60
5	7.8	2.8	7.84	1.00
11	8.2	2.8	7.84	0.95
19	22.0	3.0	9.00	0.41
26	23.0	3.0	9.00	0.39
14	10.3	3.7	13.69	1.33
7	10.7	3.7	13.69	1.30
19	20.5	1.5	2.25	0.21
23	21.5	1.5	2.25	0.10
5	13.2	8.2	67.24	5.09
22	13.8	8.2	67.24	4.51
19	24.4	5.4	29.16	1.19
31	25.6	5.4	29.16	1.13
5	7.3	2.3	5.29	0.72
10	7.7	2.3	5.29	0.69
24	14.7	9.3	86.49	5.88
6	15.3	9.3	86.49	5.65
19	18.6	0.4	0.16	0.00
19	19.4	0.4	0.16	0.00
5	11.7	6.7	44.89	3.84
19	12.3	6.7	44.89	3.65

$X^2=72.53$

II 2 2 CHI SQUARE: IRON AGE SHAFTS vs ROMAN CIVILIAN SHAFTS

O(IA)	E(RC)	O-E	$(O-E)^2$	$\frac{(O-E)^2}{E}$
19	20	1	1	0.05
22	21	1	1	0.05
38	37	1	1	0.03
38	39	1	1	0.03
33	36	3	9	0.25
42	39	3	9	0.23
29	29	0	0	0.00
31	31	0	0	0.00
10	16	6	36	2.25
22	16	6	36	2.25
29	23	6	36	1.56
18	24	6	36	1.50
10	13	3	9	0.69
16	13	3	9	0.69
14	14	0	0	0.00
24	14	10	100	7.14
19	13	6	36	2.76
7	13	6	36	2.76
43	32	11	121	3.78
24	35	11	121	3.45
10	15	5	25	1.66
20	15	5	25	1.66
29	26	3	9	0.35
24	27	3	9	0.33
5	4	1	1	0.25
4	5	1	1	0.20
5	3	2	4	1.33
2	4	2	4	1.00
24	33	9	81	2.45
44	35	9	81	2.31
38	30	8	64	2.13
24	32	8	64	2.00
57	52	5	25	0.48
51	56	5	25	0.44
7	6	1	1	0.16
7	6	1	1	0.16
19	20	1	1	0.05
22	21	1	1	0.04
14	8	6	36	4.50
2	8	6	36	4.50
19	18	1	1	0.05
18	19	1	1	0.05
5	16	11	121	7.56
29	18	11	121	6.72
19	25	6	36	1.44
33	27	6	36	1.33
5	6	1	1	0.16
7	6	1	1	0.16
24	17	7	49	2.88
11	18	7	49	2.72
19	18	1	1	0.05
18	19	1	1	0.05
5	12	7	49	4.08
20	13	7	49	3.76

$X^2=86.74$

II 2 3 CHI SQUARE: ROMAN CIVILIAN SHAFTS vs ROMAN MILITARY SHAFTS

O(RC)	E(RM)	(O-E)	$(O-E)^2$	$\frac{(O-E)^2}{E}$
22	19	3	9	0.47
17	20	3	9	0.45
38	30	8	64	2.13
25	33	8	64	1.94
42	44	2	4	0.09
50	48	2	4	0.08
31	30	1	1	0.03
31	32	1	1	0.03
22	16	6	36	2.25
11	17	6	36	2.11
18	24	6	36	1.50
33	27	6	36	1.33
16	14	2	4	0.29
14	16	2	4	0.25
24	25	1	1	0.04
28	27	1	1	0.03
7	14	7	49	3.50
11	15	4	16	1.06
24	20	4	16	0.80
17	21	4	16	0.76
20	19	1	1	0.05
19	20	1	1	0.05
24	20	4	16	0.80
17	21	4	16	0.76
4	11	7	49	4.45
19	12	7	49	4.08
2	9	7	49	5.44
17	10	7	49	4.90
44	36	8	64	1.80
31	39	8	64	1.60
24	29	5	25	0.90
36	31	5	25	0.80
51	47	4	16	0.30
47	51	4	16	0.30
7	12	5	25	2.00
19	14	5	25	1.80
22	26	4	16	0.60
33	29	4	16	0.50
2	9	7	49	5.40
17	10	7	49	4.90
18	24	6	36	1.50
33	27	6	36	1.30
29	22	7	49	2.20
17	24	7	49	2.00
33	31	2	4	0.10
31	33	2	4	0.10
7	11	4	16	1.50
17	13	4	16	1.20
11	7	4	16	2.30
3	7	4	16	2.30
18	19	1	1	0.50
22	21	1	1	0.05
20	19	1	1	0.05
19	20	1	1	0.05

$X^2=75.61$

APPENDIX III

SPECIAL ANIMAL BURIALS

INTRODUCTION

The following gazetteer contains all of the special animal burials cited in chapter five of the text.

Animal burials contain little or nothing which would lead an unsuspecting (un-expecting?) excavator to see in them something out of the ordinary, something different from the normal practices of animal husbandry. Thus, it is virtually certain that many examples, especially from sites excavated before the last few decades, have gone unreported, on the assumption that they were no more than the results of normal butchery practices. Unfortunately, the nature of the animal burials works in both directions, and it remains a possibility that, in spite of efforts to discriminate between the two, some of the burials included here are, in fact, the result of ordinary butchery. In general, however, remains with evidence of butchery, when this has been reported, have been excluded to reduce the likelihood of including non-ritual deposits. Further, only a selection of sites has been included in this gazetteer, so there are undoubtedly sites with published examples of animal burials which are not a part of this study.

Twenty-eight sites were selected to represent the whole of the period of the Iron Age of southern Britain, and most of the varying socio-political-economic types of social groups. A more detailed discussion of the limitations this places on interpretation is found in the text. In general the concentration of sites in central southern Britain follows the same geographical bias that occurs with nearly all other aspects of Iron Age material culture, complementing current knowledge and thus allowing a more complete social context for the animal burials to be discussed.

The format used in the gazetteer follows the general pattern outlined in the preface to the appendices, with the exception of a series of abbreviations used to describe the type of burial. The abbreviations used are as follows:

A = burial of complete or partial animal

B = burial of a skull, with mandible unless specified

C = burial of a complete articulated limb.

Where possible, burials are dated both in terms of the sites' phases and within a period of one or two centuries.

ALL CANNINGS CROSS, Wilts
1 SU 080634.
2 Iron Age settlement site.
3 AB 1.
4 Dog, B.
5 In Pit 59.
6 Probably eighth-sixth century BC.
7 Cunnington 1923, 64.

3 AB 2.
4 Three cattle, B.
5 Three skulls, lacking maxillae, in separate unspecified pits.
6 Probably eighth-sixth century BC.
7 Cunnington 1923, 46-47.

APPLEFORD, Oxon
1 SU 521936.
2 Iron Age settlement.
3 AB 3.
4 Dog, B.
5 Feature 139. Partial dog skull.
6 Probably third-first century BC.
7 Hinchliffe 1980, 84.

3 AB 4.
4 Horse, B.
5 Feature 14.
6 Probably first century BC -first century AD.
7 Hinchliffe 1980, 84.

3 AB 5.
4 One horse, B; one dog, B.
5 Pit 145. Both skulls on pit bottom covered by clean gravel.
6 Probably first century BC.
7 Hinchliffe 1980, 39.

ASHVILLE, Oxon
1 SU 483973.
2 Iron Age settlement site.
3 AB 6.
4 Horse, C.
5 Posthole 430.
6 Unphased.
7 Wilson in Parrington 1978, 125.

3 AB 7.
4 Cattle, B; lacks mandible.
5 Bull's skull upright on north side of pit facing south of Pit 71.
6 Probably fifth-third century BC.
7 Wilson in Parrington 1978, 125.

3 AB 8.
4 Sheep, A.
5 Pit 82. A juvenile sheep, in articulation but lacking forelimbs.
6 Probably fifth-third century BC.
7 Wilson in Parrington 1978, 125.

3 AB 9.
4 Cattle, B; lacks mandible.
5 Pit 114. Bull's skull upside down on south side of pit, facing north.
6 Probably fifth-third century BC.
7 Wilson in Parrington 1978, 125.

3 AB 10.
4 Cattle, B; horn cores removed.
5 Pit 233.
6 Probably fifth-third century BC.
7 Wilson in Parrington 1978, 125.

3 AB 11.
4 Cattle, B; lacks mandible.
5 Pit 288. Juvenile cow; lower left hind leg of same animal (?) present in same pit (C).
6 Probably fifth-third century BC.
7 Wilson in Parrington 1978, 125.

3 AB 12.
4 Cattle, B.
5 Pit 303. Juvenile skull; also one humerus and one tibia of same animal (?) present.
6 Probably third-first century BC.
7 Wilson in Parrington 1978, 125.

3 AB 13.
4 Dog, A.
5 Pit 63. Juvenile dog.
6 Probably first century BC - first century AD.
7 Wilson in Parrington 1978, 125.

3 AB 14.
4 Dog, A.
5 Ditch 103. Burial complete, excepts lacks vertebrae.
6 Probably first century BC - first century AD.
7 Wilson in Parrington 1978, 125.

3 AB 15.
4 Cattle, B.
5 Ditch 392.
6 Probably first century BC - first century AD.
7 Wilson in Parrington 1978, 125.

BARLEY, ALDWICK, Herts
1 TL 398388.
2 Iron Age settlement.
3 AB 16.
4 Dog, A.
5 Pit 37.
6 Probably second - first century BC.
7 Cra'aster 1961, 23, 29.

3 AB 17.
4 Dog, A.
5 Pit 71. Skull displaced, located behind back of animal.
6 Probably second-first century BC.
7 Cra'aster 1961, 30.

Also references to many cow skulls (p 32) and articulated limbs (p 35), but no other details given.

BISHOPSTONE, Sussex
1 TQ 467007.
2 Iron Age settlement.
3 AB 18.
4 Lamb, category uncertain, probably A.
5 Pit 920. Lamb bones and carbonised grain in a complete pot placed on bottom of pit.
6 Probably third-first century BC.
7 Bell 1977, 279.

3 AB 19.
4 Pig, A; three.
5 No specific provenances, probably all separate.
6 Probably second-first century BC.
7 Bell 1977, 279.

CADBURY CASTLE, (South Cadbury), Somerset
1 ST 628252.
2 Iron Age hillfort.
3 AB 20.
4 Cattle, A.
5 Pit, unnumbered. Just outside entry to "Shrine" building No 27, oriented north-south, head to north, on right side (cf appendix V S 20).
6 Probably first century BC.
7 Alcock 1972, 164.

3 AB 21.
4 Cattle, A; and horse, A; numbers unspecified.
5 Pits, in an arc in front of shrine building No 27, all "deliberately" laid on bottom of pits.
6 Probably first century BC.
7 Alcock 1972, 53, 136.

3 AB 22.
4 Cattle 14, A; pig 3, A; sheep 3, A.
5 Pits in front of shrine building No 27, all juveniles.
6 Probably first century AD.
7 Alcock 1972, 81-83.

CROFT AMBREY, Here & Worcs
1 SO 445668.
2 Iron Age hillfort.
3 AB 23.
4 Sheep, C; pit unspecified.
5 Articulated lower hind limb in a shallow pit with four burned stakes in bottom.
6 Probably second-first century BC.
7 Stanford 1974, 88.

3 AB 24.
4 Sheep, A; pit unspecified.
5 Complete goat burial in a shallow pit.
6 Probably first century BC.
7 Stanford 1974, 93 (Fig 43), 215.

DANEBURY, Hants
1 SU 323376.
2 Iron Age hillfort.

For complete gazetteer see Grant 1984a
Special Animal Burials summarised as follows:

Cattle	A	10	Pig	A	19
	B	31		B	28
	C	3		C	1
Sheep	A	24	Dog	A	8
	B	55		B	11
	C	10		C	0
Horse	A	3			
	B	27			
	C	11			

FARMOOR, Oxon
1 SP 443053.
2 Iron Age farmstead.
3 AB 25.
4 Sheep, A; not in articulation.
5 Feature 34.
6 First century AD.
7 Lambrick & Robinson 1979, 16.

3 AB 26.
4 Horse, A (two); Sheep, C.
5 Feature 37. Both horses lack forequarters; upper horse has skull displaced, located under rear quarters; lower horse twisted into an "S" shape; one articulated forelimb of a sheep in same pit.
6 Probably first century AD.
7 Lambrick & Robinson 1979, 16, 130-132.

3 AB 27.
4 Horse, B.
5 Feature 1100. A penannular house gully; skull in south terminal, mandible in north terminal.
6 Probably first century BC.
7 Lambrick & Robinson 1979, 23.

3 AB 28.
4 Dog, A.
5 Feature 1054, a pit.
6 Uncertain.
7 Lambrick & Robinson 1979, 23.

GUSSAGE ALL SAINTS, Dorset
1 ST 998101.
2 Iron Age farmstead/settlement.
3 AB 29.
4 One dog, A; one horse, A.
5 Pit 307.
6 Probably first century BC - first century AD.
7 Wainwright 1979, 34.

3 AB 30.
4 Cow, A (one?).
5 Pit 61. Adult female died in calving; foetus in pelvis; oriented east-west, head to east, on left side.
6 Probably first century BC - first century AD.
7 Wainwright 1979, 34.

HOD HILL, Dorset
1 ST 857106.
2 Iron Age hillfort.
3 AB 101.
4 Horse, cattle and pig mandibles (B).
5 Pit "B" in penannular gully, associated with HB 81 and HB 82 in appendix IV.
6 Probably fifth-third century BC.
7 Richmond 1968, 26-28.

LITTLE SOMBORNE, Hants
1 SU 389328.
2 Iron Age farmstead/settlement.
3 AB 32.
4 Pig, B.
5 Pit 27. Upper half of a pit fill of deliberately packed flint nodules.
6 Third-first century BC.
7 Neal 1980, 101

3 AB 33.
4 Cow, B.
5 Pit 51. On bottom of pit, placed to be looking up.
6 Fifth-third century BC.
7 Neal 1980, 101.

3 AB 34.
4 Dog, A.
5 Pit 324.
6 Third-first century BC.
7 Neal 1980, 123.

3 AB 35.
4 Dog, A.
5 Pit 312.
6 Third-first century BC.
7 Neal 1980, 104, 123.

LITTLE WOODBURY, Wilts

1 SU 150279.
2 Iron Age farmstead.
3 AB 36.
4 Dog, A.
5 Pit 102.
6 Probably third-first century BC.
7 Bersu 1940, 52.

3 AB 37.
4 Species unknown, B (probably sheep?).
5 Pit 113.
6 Probably third-first century BC.
7 Bersu 1940, 59.

3 AB 38.
4 Sheep, B.
5 Pit 115. Three half-skulls, all split lengthwise down centre.
6 Probably third-first century BC.
7 Bersu 1940, 59.

3 AB 39.
4 Sheep, B.
5 Pit 135. One sheep skull, split lengthwise down middle.
6 Probably third-first century BC.
7 Bersu 1940, 59.

3 AB 40.
4 Cow, C.
5 Pit 136. Articulated left forelimb of cow.
6 Probably third-first century BC.
7 Bersu 1940, 59.

MAIDEN CASTLE, Dorset

1 SY 669885.
2 Iron Age hillfort.
3 AB 41.
4 Dog, B.
5 Pit D 3, near top of fill.
6 Approximately 50-25 BC.
7 Wheeler 1943, 370.

3 AB 42.
4 Dog, A ("nearly complete" dog skeleton).
5 Pit D 4.
6 Approximately 25-0 BC.
7 Wheeler 1943, 270.

3 AB 43.
4 Pig, B (two).
5 Pit B 42.
6 Approximately 25-0 BC.
7 Wheeler 1943, 369.

3 AB 44.
4 Cow, A (three in fragmentary condition).
5 Pit D 3 1.
6 Approximately 50-25 BC.
7 Wheeler 1943, 368.

Wheeler also makes reference to pits with whole and partial burials, as well as skulls and articulated limbs (1943, 53). Some may be animal burials.

OLD DOWN FARM, Hants
1 SU 356465.
2 Iron Age farmstead/settlement.
3 AB 45.
4 Sheep, A (eight).
5 Pit 937. Partial skeletons of seven mature sheep, some butchered and some not, bones admixed; also, one neonatal lamb, complete and articulated.
6 Probably eighth century BC.
7 Davies 1981, 98.

3 AB 46.
4 Dog, A.
5 Pit 2623. Complete dog, missing skull and mandible.
6 Probably seventh century BC.
7 Davies 1981, 110.

3 AB 47.
4 Dog, B.
5 Pit 238.
6 Probably seventh century BC.
7 Davies 1981, 110.

3 AB 48.
4 Horse, C.
5 Pit 2623. Right hind limb of adult horse.
6 Probably seventh century BC.
7 Davies 1981, 110.

3 AB 49.
4 Horse, B (three).
5 Pit 2778.
6 Probably seventh century BC.
7 Davies 1981, 110.

3 AB 50.
4 One cow, A; one sheep, A.
5 Pit 2664. Calf missing hind-quarters, lamb is partial, but no details published.
6 Probably sixth-fourth century BC.
7 Davies 1981, 115.

3 AB 51.
4 Horse, C.
5 Pit 253. Lower hind limb.
6 Probably sixth-fourth century BC.
7 Davies 1981, 115.

3 AB 52.
4 Sheep, A (five).
5 Pit 563. Four mature sheep, one neonatal lamb, not articulated but not butchered.
6 Probably third-first century BC.
7 Davies 1981, 129.

3 AB 53.
4 Sheep, A.
5 Pit 386.
6 Probably third-first century BC.
7 Davies 1981, 128.

3 AB 54.
4 Dog, B; skull, mandible and metapodia.
5 Pit 2758.
6 Probably third-first century BC.
7 Davies 1981, 130.

3 AB 55.
4 Dog, A; lower limbs missing.
5 Pit 2317. Possible butchery marks?
6 Probably third-first century BC.
7 Davies 1981, 130.

3 AB 56.
4 Dog, A; two limbs missing.
5 Pit 2140.
6 Probably third-first century BC.
7 Davies 1981, 130.

3 AB 57.
4 Dog, A; hind-quarters missing.
5 Pit 563.
6 Probably third-first century BC.
7 Davies 1981, 130.

3 AB 58.
4 Sheep, C; articulated hind limb.
5 Pit 966.
6 Probably first century AD.
7 Davies 1981, 140.

3 AB 59.
4 Cow, C; articulated fore-quarter.
5 Pit 2345.
6 Probably first century AD.
7 Davies 1981, 140.

3 AB 60.
4 Cow, A; calf, consisting of skull and mandible, forelegs and upper vertebrae.
5 Pit 966.
6 Probably first century AD.
7 Davies 1981, 139.

SALMONSBURY, Glos
1 SP 173208.
2 Iron Age hillfort.
3 AB 103.
4 Goat, B.
5 Penannular ditch of Hut I, Site IV. Near HB 135 (Appendix IV).
6 Probably second-first century BC.
7 Dunning 1976, 87.

SWALLOWCLIFFE DOWN, Wilts
1 ST 968254.
2 Iron Age settlement.
3 AB 61.
4 Four cattle, B; two horses, B; one sheep, B; one dog, B
5 Pit 54. All skulls in close association.
6 Probably fifth-third century BC.
7 Clay 1927, 69.

TOLLARD ROYAL, Wilts
1 ST 942197.
2 Iron Age farmstead/settlement.
3 AB 62.
4 Horse, A.
5 Inner enclosure ditch.
6 Probably first century AD.
7 Wainwright 1968, 108.

3 AB 63.
4 Dog, A.
5 Inner enclosure ditch.
6 Probably first century AD.
7 Wainwright 1968, 111.

3 AB 64.
4 Sheep, A.
5 Inner enclosure ditch.
6 Probably first century AD.
7 Wainwright 1968, 108.

TWYWELL, Northants
1 SP 952787.
2 Iron Age farmstead/settlement.
3 AB 65.
4 Dog, A (five, though possibly not all complete).
5 Pit 1.
6 Undated, probably third-second century BC.
7 Jackson 1975, 57.

3 AB 66.
4 Dog, A.
5 Pit 148.
6 Probably third-second century BC.
7 Jackson 1975, 60.

3 AB 67.
4 Pig, A.
5 Pit 149. In a "curled position", with three limestone slabs placed as a "pillow" under skull.
6 Probably third-second century BC.
7 Jackson 1975, 60.

3 AB 68.
4 Two pig, A; one dog, A.
5 Pit 153. One pig and dog on bottom, covered by a layer of pebbles; other pig in a layer of stones and blue clay above the layer of gravel.
6 Probably third-second century BC.
7 Jackson 1975, 60.

3 AB 102.
4 Cattle, B.
5 Pit 164. Ox skull associated with child burial (see HB 140, Appendix IV).
6 Probably third-second century BC.
7 Jackson 1975, 60, 87.

WINKLEBURY, Hants
1 SU 613529.
2 Iron Age hillfort.
3 AB 69.
4 Dog, A.
5 Pit 69.
6 Probably third-first century AD.
7 Smith 1977, 59.

3 AB 70.
4 Horse, B (three).
5 Pit 3916.
6 Undated.
7 Smith 1977, 62.

3 AB 71.
4 Horse, A (articulated rib cage and hind-quarters).
5 Gully 2253.
6 Undated.
7 Smith 1977, 62.

3 AB 72.
4 Sheep, A (parts not specified).
5 Pit 2727.
6 Undated.
7 Smith 1977, 62.

3 AB 73.
4 Sheep, A (one, lacks skull); B (one skull of another sheep).
5 Pit 1614.
6 Undated.
7 Smith 1977, 59.

3 AB 74.
4 Fox, A (twelve); red deer, A (one, adult male).
5 Pit 3825.
6 Probably third-first century BC.
7 Smith 1977, 61-62.

3 AB 75.
4 One raven, A; pig, A.
5 Pit 2611. Raven spread out on bottom, pig higher in fill.
6 Probably third-first century BC.
7 Smith 1977, 60.

3 AB 76.
4 Two horses, B.
5 Pit 2129.
6 Probably third-first century BC.
7 Smith 1977, 46.

3 AB 77.
4 Cow, A (calf, neonatal?).
5 Pit 260.
6 Probably third-first century BC.
7 Smith 1977, 48.

3 AB 78.
4 Cattle, B (eleven); half cranias, split, probably butchered?
5 Pit 616.
6 Probably third-first century BC.
7 Smith 1977, 56.

3 AB 79.
4 Pig, A (parts not specified, in a large deposit of bones).
5 Pit 1399.
6 Probably third-first century BC.
7 Smith 1977, 56.

WINNALL DOWN, Hants
1 SU 498323.
2 Iron Age farmstead/settlement.
3 AB 80.
4 Two sheep, A. One lacks head and forequarter, second lacks legs.
5 Pit 2558.
6 Probably sixth-fourth century BC.
7 Fasham, pers comm.

3 AB 81.
4 Dog, A.
5 Pit 1490.
6 Probably third-first century BC.
7 Fasham, pers comm.

3 AB 82.
4 Sheep, A (lacks skull and forequarters).
5 Pit 7257.
6 Probably third-first century BC.
7 Fasham, pers comm.

3 AB 83.
4 Horse, A; hare, A.
5 Pit 10161.
6 Probably third-first century BC.
7 Fasham, pers comm.

3 AB 84.
4 Dog, A.
5 Pit 4006. Foetal dog.
6 Probably third-first century BC.
7 Fasham, pers comm.

3 AB 85.
4 Dog, A (two, foetal).
5 Pit 6038.
6 Probably third-first century BC.
7 Fasham, pers comm.

3 AB 86.
4 Dog, A (foetal).
5 Pit 8564.
6 Probably third-first century BC.
7 Fasham, pers comm.

3 AB 87.
4 Dog, A (two, foetal).
5 Pit 7257.
6 Probably third-first century BC.
7 Fasham, pers comm.

3 AB 88.
4 Cattle, C (two hind-quarters).
5 Pit 7257.
6 Probably third-first century BC.
7 Fasham, pers comm.

3 AB 89.
4 Cattle, C (two limbs, unspecified).
5 Pit 895.
6 Probably third-first century BC.
7 Fasham, pers comm.

3 AB 90.
4 Sheep, C (two limbs, unspecified).
5 Pit 8601.
6 Probably third-first century BC.
7 Fasham, pers comm.

3 AB 91.
4 Sheep, C (two limbs, unspecified).
5 Pit 8630.
6 Probably third-first century BC.
7 Fasham, pers comm.

3 AB 92.
4 Horse, C (four limbs, unspecified).
5 Pit 4006.
6 Probably third-first century BC.
7 Fasham, pers comm.

3 AB 93.
4 Dog, C (one hind limb).
5 Pit 1655.
6 Probably third-first century BC.
7 Fasham, pers comm.

3 AB 94.
4 Dog, C (one hind limb, unspecified).
5 Pit 1372.
6 Probably third-first century BC.
7 Fasham, pers comm.

3 AB 95.
4 Horse, C (one fore limb, unspecified).
5 Pit 1491.
6 Probably third-first century BC.
7 Fasham, pers comm.

3 AB 96.
4 Sheep, C (one fore limb, unspecified).
5 Pit 1941.
6 Probably third-first century BC.
7 Fasham, pers comm.

3 AB 97.
4 Cattle, C (four fore limbs); horse, C (one fore limb).
5 Pit 4006.
6 Probably third-first century BC.
7 Fasham, pers comm.

3 AB 98.
4 One dog, B.
5 Pit 7257.
6 Probably third-first century BC.
7 Fasham, pers comm.

3 AB 99.
4 One horse, B.
5 Pit 8601.
6 Probably third-first century BC.
7 Fasham, pers comm.

3 AB 100.
4 One sheep, B.
5 Pit 8630.
6 Probably third-first century BC.
7 Fasham, pers comm.

The following Romano-Celtic temple sites also have special animal deposits. Because they date to the Roman period, they are not included in the analysis of special animal deposits in chapter five. References given below are to the appropriate site entry in the gazetteer in Appendix VI.

Bourton Grounds	Horse skull	VI T 3
Brigstock	Sheep burial, articulated limb of cow	VI T 9
Chanctonbury	Cattle skulls	VI T 21
Henley Wood	Sheep burials	VI T 53
Hockwold	Pig and bird burials	VI T 54
Jordan Hill	Bird burials	II RS 52 VI T 56
Muntham Court	Ox skulls	VI T 67
Slonk Hill	Sheep and pig articulated limbs	VI T 84

INDEX

AB 1 - AB 2	All Cannings Cross, Wilts
AB 6 - AB 15	Ashville, Oxon
AB 16 - AB 17	Barley, Herts
AB 18 - AB 19	Bishopstone, Sussex
AB 20 - AB 22	Cadbury Castle, Somerset
AB 23 - AB 24	Croft Ambrey, Here & Worcs
AB 25 - AB 28	Farmoor, Oxon
AB 29 - AB 31	Gussage-All-Saints, Dorset
AB 32 - AB 35	Little Somborne, Hants
AB 36 - AB 40	Little Woodbury, Wilts
AB 41 - AB 44	Maiden Castle, Dorset
AB 45 - AB 60	Old Down Farm, Hants
AB 61	Swallowcliffe Down, Wilts
AB 62 - AB 64	Tollard Royal, Wilts
AB 65 - AB 68	Twywell, Northants
AB 69 - AB 79	Winklebury, Hants
AB 80 - AB 100	Winnall Down, Hants
AB 101	Hod Hill, Dorset
AB 102	Twywell, Northants
AB 103	Salmonsbury, Glos
AB 104 - AB 428	Danebury, Hants

A P P E N D I X I V

HUMAN REMAINS

INTRODUCTION

Human burial practices in the Iron Age are the subject of one fairly comprehensive study by Whimster (1981). The gazetteer presented here varies slightly in subject from Whimster in that he focuses on the more or less socially standard rites, especially inhumation. The present study supplements his work by considering a wide range of mortuary rites which were apparently applied to only a small part of the population and at infrequent intervals, as discussed in chapter four of the text above.

This gazetteer includes all the burials used in the analysis and discussion in the text. It is not however exhaustive on the subject. Because human remains are fairly distinctive and because they are human, they tend to be reported wherever they are found (in contradistinction to the special animal burials in appendix III, above). A total of twenty-eight sites are included in the sample. Consequently, the gazetteer probably includes all the human remains from those twenty-eight sites; it is intended to be generally representative of the Iron Age sites of central southern England (cf introduction to appendix III).

The format of this gazetteer follows the pattern outlined in the preface and developed in the three preceeding gazetteers. However, there are several abbreviations used:

Type of burial 1 = Complete inhumation

2 = Partial inhumation

3 = Multiple inhumation

4 = Articulated limbs

5 = Single skull

6 = Isolated, unarticulated bones.

Orientation, when applicable, is given by indicating in which direction the head is located (N = north, S = south, etc) and, if known, which direction the "face" is "looking".

ALL CANNINGS CROSS, Wilts

1 SU 080634.
2 Iron Age settlement site.
3 HB 1.
4 Adult, male occiput, 6.
5 Pit 1912-1.
6 Probably eighth-sixth century BC.
7 Cunnington 1923, 42-43.

3 HB 2.
4 Adult, male occiput, 6.
5 Pit 1912-2.
6 Probably eighth-sixth century BC.
7 Cunnington 1923, 42-43.

3 HB 3.
4 Adult, unsexed parietal, 6.
5 Pit 1.
6 Probably eighth-sixth century BC.
7 Cunnington 1923, 42-43.

3 HB 4.
4 Adult, unsexed, right parietal, 2 and 6.
5 Pit 30.
6 Probably eighth-sixth century BC.
7 Cunnington 1923, 42-43.

3 HB 5.
4 Adolescent, female frontal, 6.
5 Pit 40.
6 Probably eighth-sixth century BC.
7 Cunnington 1923, 42-43.

3 HB 6.
4 Unaged, unsexed parietal, 6; possible wear on edge?
5 Pit 62.
6 Probably eighth-sixth century BC.
7 Cunnington 1923, 42-43.

3 HB 7.
4 Adult, female occiput and supra-orbital fragment, 6.
5 Pit 62a.
6 Probably eighth-sixth century BC.
7 Cunnington 1923, 42-43.

3 HB 8.
4 Unaged, unsexed parietal, 6.
5 Pit 96.
6 Probably eighth-sixth century BC.
7 Cunnington 1923, 42-43.

3 HB 9.
4 Unaged, unsexed occiput, 6.
5 Pit 102.
6 Probably eighth-sixth century BC.
7 Cunnington 1923, 42-43.

3 HB 10.
4 Adolescent, unsexed frontal, 6.
5 Pit 117.
6 Probably eighth-sixth century BC.
7 Cunnington 1923, 42-43.

3 HB 11.
4 Adult, male frontal, 6.
5 Pit 117a.
6 Probably eighth-sixth century BC.
7 Cunnington 1923, 42-43.

3 HB 12.
4 Unaged, unsexed frontal, 6.
5 Pit 133.
6 Probably eighth-sixth century BC.
7 Cunnington 1923, 42-43.

3 HB 13.
4 Unaged, unsexed parietal, 6; wear on edges?
5 Pit 246.
6 Probably eighth-sixth century BC.
7 Cunnington 1923, 42-43.

3 HB 14.
4 Unaged, unsexed, left and right parietals, 6.
6 Pit 300.
6 Probably eighth-sixth century BC.
7 Cunnington 1923, 42-43.

3 HB 15.
4 Unaged, unsexed, left parietal, 6.
5 Pit 367.
6 Probably eighth-sixth century BC.
7 Cunnington 1923, 42-43.

3 HB 16.
4 Adult, female occiput, 6.
5 Pit 367a.
6 Probably eighth-sixth century BC.
7 Cunnington 1923, 42-43.

3 HB 17.
4 Adult, male skull, 5 ? (completeness uncertain).
5 Pit 369.
6 Probably eighth-sixth century BC.
7 Cunnington 1923, 42-43.

3 HB 18.
4 Unaged, unsexed, left parietal, 6.
5 Pit 410.
6 Probably eighth-sixth century BC.
7 Cunnington 1923, 42-43.

3 HB 19.
4 Adult, male occiput, 6.
5 Pit 410a.
6 Probably eighth-sixth century BC.
7 Cunnington 1923, 42-43.

APPLEFORD, Oxon

1 SU 521936.
2 Iron Age settlement site.
3 HB 20.
4 Neonatal infant, 1.
5 Feature 177, of Ditch 121.
6 Late Iron Age, probably first century BC.
7 Hinchliffe 1980, 40.

3 HB 21.
4 Adolescent female, 1.
5 Feature 104. Extended, aligned NE-SW, head to NE, supine.
6 Undated.
7 Hinchliffe 1980, 41 and Fig 25.

ASHVILLE, Oxon

1 SU 483973.
2 Iron Age settlement site.
3 HB 22.
4 Adult, unsexed vertebrae, 6.
5 Pit 388.
6 First century BC - first century AD.
7 Parrington 1978, 92.

3 HB 23.
4 Adult, unsexed femur, 6.
5 Ditch 392.
6 First century BC - first century AD.
7 Parrington 1978, 92.

3 HB 24.
4 Adolescent, unsexed tibia, 6; two bones of an infant, unspecified, 6.
5 Pit 69.
6 First century BC -first century AD.
7 Parrington 1978, 92.

3 HB 25.
4 Adult male, 1.
5 Pit 62. Crouched, supine, no orientation. Feature "blocks" entrance to a ditched annexe of a semi-circular enclosure.
6 First century BC - first century AD.
7 Parrington 1978, 92.

3 HB 26.
4 Adult, unsexed tibia, 6.
5 Pit 72.
6 Probably third-first century BC.
7 Parrington 1978, 92.

3 HB 27.
4 Adult, unsexed occipital, 6.
5 Pit 79.
6 Probably fifth-third century BC.
7 Parrington 1978, 92.

BARLEY, Aldwick, Herts
1 TL 398388.
2 Iron Age settlement site.
4 HB 28.
4 Neonatal infant, 1.
5 Pit 90.
6 Probably second-first century BC.
7 Cra'aster 1961, 29.

BISHOPSTONE, Sussex
1 TQ 467007.
2 Iron Age settlement site.
3 HB 29.
4 Adolescent female with neonatal infant, 1.
5 Burial 1, in S corner of settlement ditch. Flexed, supine, oriented E-W, head to E. Infant beside head. Associated spindle whorl and a perforated bone tool.
6 Probably third century BC.
7 Bell 1977, 78-80.

3 HB 30.
4 Adult male, 1.
5 Burial II, Pit 66, halfway up fill of pit. Crouched, supine, oriented N-S, head to N, face to E.
6 Probably second-first century BC.
7 Bell 1977, 81-83.

SOUTH CADBURY, Somerset
1 ST 628252.
2 Iron Age hillfort.
3 HB 31.
4 Adult, unsexed skull fragments, 6.
5 Rampart bank.
6 Probably second-first century BC.
7 Wilson 1981, 154.

3 HB 32.
4 Adult male, 1.
5 Pit burial in rear of the Late Iron Age rampart. Crouched, supine, head downwards into pit.
6 Probably first century BC.
7 Wilson 1981, 159.

CROFT AMBREY, Here & Worcs
1 SO 445668.
2 Iron Age hillfort.
3 HB 33.
4 Adult, unsexed humerus, 6; possibly marks of butchery.
5 Unprovenanced.
6 Undated.
7 Stanford 1974, 215, 220.

DANEBURY, Hants

1 SU 323376.
For complete gazetteer see Cunliffe 1984.
Special human burials may be summarised as below:

Category 1
Twenty-five burials in nineteen pits and one gully.
Eleven adult males, five adult females, two adolescents, five neonatal infants, two children.
Eleven were tightly contracted (eight on side, two supine and one prone). Seven were flexed (four supine, three prone).

Category 2
Seven depositions.
Pit 37, an adolescent male, no skull or arms.
Pit 226, an adult female, with spinal column displaced.
Pits 149 and 120, several children represented by skulls, disarticulated limbs and torso fragments.
Pit 374, skull fragments, ribs and sternum, right patella, left ulna and an articulated right forearm and hand.
Pit 120, left humerus, scapula, clavicle and fibula of a child.

Category 3 (Multiple inhumations)
Pit 923, mixed skulls and skeletons of ten bodies: one nearly complete adult female, one partial female, two adolescents, two children, four male skulls.
Pit 1078, mixed remains of eleven skeletons: one complete adolescent; one nearly complete adult female; partial skeleton of another adult female, an adult male, and a child; skulls of three other children and one adult male; and vertebrae of a small child.

Category 4 (Category "E" in Cunliffe 1984)
Four examples.
Pit 16, pelvis of an adult female.
Pit 1020, butchered femurs and pelvis of a young male.
Pit 900, pelvis and five lumbar vertebrae of a young male.
Pit 94, pelvis and femur head of a child.

Category 5 (Category "D" in Cunliffe 1984)
Eight examples: six males, one female, one unsexed in pits 906, 448, 639, 23, 27, 62, 78, 287.

Category 6
A minimum of thirteen individuals in 116 contexts: 77 pits, two postholes, one gully, and ten layers of rampart quarry hollows.
Skull and femur fragments predominate.

FENGATE, Northants
1 TL 206988.
2 Iron Age settlement site.
3 HB 34.
4 Unaged, unsexed skull, 5.
5 Pit unspecified.
6 "Late Iron Age".
7 Pryor & Cranstone 1978, 25.

3 HB 35.
4 Unaged, unsexed burial, 1.
5 Pit, no other details.
6 "Late Iron Age".
7 Pryor & Cranstone 1978, 25.

FIFIELD BAVANT, Wilts
1 SU 001255.
2 Iron Age settlement site.
3 HB 36.
4 Unaged, unsexed skull fragments, 6.
5 Pit 5.
6 Probably eighth-fifth century BC.
7 Clay 1924, 463, 489.

3 HB 37.
4 Unaged, unsexed skull fragments, 6.
5 Pit 35.
6 Probably eighth-fifth century BC.
7 Clay 1924, 489.

3 HB 38.
4 Adult female, 1.
5 Pit 80. Crouched, on left side, oriented NE-SW, head to NE.
6 Probably eighth-fifth century BC.
7 Clay 1924, 467.

3 HB 39.
4 Unaged, unsexed skull, 5; lacks mandible.
5 Pit 102.
6 Probably eighth-fifth century BC.
7 Clay 1924, 468.

3 HB 40.
4 Unaged, unsexed skull, 5; edges shaped to form a cup.
5 Pit 105.
6 Probably eighth-fifth century BC.
7 Clay 1924, 490.

GUSSAGE-ALL-SAINTS, Dorset
1 ST 998101.
2 Iron Age farmstead.
3 HB 41.
4 Unaged, unsexed skull fragments (8), 6.
5 Enclosure ditch, sections C, G, M, P, N.
6 Fourth-second century BC.
7 Wainwright 1979, 24.

3 HB 42.
4 Two neonatal infants, 1.
5 Enclosure ditch sections IG, IR.
6 Probably fourth-second century BC.
7 Wainwright 1979, 24.

3 HB 43.
4 Adolescent female, 1.
5 Pit 435. Crouched, on left side, oriented SW-NE, head to SW, head and back outlined by flint nodules.
6 Probably fourth-second century BC.
7 Wainwright 1979, 24.

3 HB 44.
4 Infant, 1.
5 Pit 439. Crouched, on left side, oriented N-S, head to N.
6 Probably fourth-second century BC.
7 Wainwright 1979, 24.

3 HB 45.
4 Neonatal infant, 1; adult right femur fragment in association, 6.
5 Pit 470.
6 Probably fourth-second century BC.
7 Wainwright 1979, 24.

3 HB 46.
4 Infant burial, 1.
5 Pit 531. Crouched, on right side, oriented E-W, head to W.
6 Probably fourth-second century BC.
7 Wainwright 1979, 24.

3 HB 47.
4 Adult, unsexed crania, 6.
5 Pit 544.
6 Probably fourth-second century BC.
7 Wainwright 1979, 24.

3 HB 48.
4 Infant burial, 1; disarticulated.
5 Pit 769.
6 Probably fourth-second century BC.
7 Wainwright 1979, 24.

3 HB 49.
4 Adult, unsexed, 1.
5 Enclosure ditch, section i 30 L. Tightly crouched, with limbs distorted.
6 Probably first century BC - first century AD.
7 Wainwright 179, 32.

3 HB 50.
4 Adult, unsexed, 2.
5 Enclosure ditch, section ii 130 L. Partial burial, right leg and pelvis missing; skull resting on a pile of pot boilers.
6 Approximately 60-100 AD.
7 Wainwright 1979, 32.

3 HB 51.
4 Four infant burials, 1.
5 Ditches 130/131. Three are disarticulated but complete, one lacks both legs.
6 Probably first century BC - first century AD.
7 Wainwright 1979, 32.

3 HB 52.
4 Two neonatal infants, 1.
5 Ditch 310, Section W.
6 Probably first century BC - first century AD.
7 Wainwright 1979, 32.

3 HB 53.
4 Adult female, 1.
5 Pit 31. Flexed, prone, oriented N-S, head to N, facing W.
6 Probably first century BC - first century AD.
7 Wainwright 1979, 32.

3 HB 54.
4 Four infants, 1.
5 Pit 34. All disarticulated, near bottom of fill.
6 Probably first century BC - first century AD.
7 Wainwright 1979, 34.

3 HB 55.
4 Adult female, 1.
5 Pit 62. Crouched, on right side, oriented N-S, head to N, facing W.
6 Probably first century BC - first century AD.
7 Wainright 1979, 32.

3 HB 56.
4 One infant, 1.
5 Pit 96. Extended, supine, oriented NW-SE; head to NW, facing W; placed against W wall of pit and covered with flint nodules.
6 Probably first century BC - first century AD.
7 Wainwright 1979, 32.

3 HB 57.
4 One infant, 1.
5 Pit 121. Disarticulated.
6 Probably first century BC - first century AD.
7 Wainwright 1979, 32.

3 HB 58.
4 Four infants, 1.
5 Pit 132. All extended, supine; three oriented N-S with heads to N; one oriented E-W, with head to E.
6 Probably first century BC - first century AD.
7 Wainwright 1979, 32.

3 HB 59.
4 Adult female, 1.
5 Pit 139 i. Loosely crouched, on left side, oriented E-W, head to E, facing S.
Assorted animal bones (unspecified) found in direct association.
6 Probably first century BC - first century AD.
7 Wainwright 1979, 32.

3 HB 60.
4 Two infants, 1.
5 Pit 139 ii. Loosely crouched, no orientation.
6 Probably first century BC - first century AD.
7 Wainwright 1979, 32.

3 HB 61.
4 One infant, 1.
5 Pit 172. Complete but disarticulated.
6 Probably first century BC - first century AD.
7 Wainwright 1979, 32.

3 HB 62.
4 Adult female, 1.
5 Pit 204. Tightly crouched, on left side, oriented E-W, head to E, facing S.
6 Probably first century BC - first century AD.
7 Wainwright 1979, 32.

3 HB 63.
4 Adult female, 1.
5 Pit 205. Flexed, on right side, oriented E-W, head to E, facing N.
6 Probably first century BC - first century AD.
7 Wainwright 1979, 24.

3 HB 64.
4 Neonatal infant, 1.
5 Pit 209. Disarticulated.
6 Probably first century BC - first century AD.
7 Wainwright 1979, 33.

3 HB 65.
4 Adult male, 1.
5 Pit 285. Flexed, supine, oriented NE-SW, head to NE; injuries at time of death to skull, left arm; two unspecified iron objects found at waist.
6 Probably first century BC - first century AD.
7 Wainwright 1979, 32.

3 HB 66.
4 Two infants, 1.
5 Pit 285 (same as above, but lower in fill).
One oriented NW-SE, head NW.
Second oriented N-S, head S.
6 Probably first century BC - first century AD.
7 Wainwright 1979, 32.

3 HB 67.
4 Three human infants, 1.
5 Pit 293. Two extended, oriented N-S, heads to N.
Third is disarticulated and lower in fill.
6 Probably first century BC - first century AD.
7 Wainwright 1979, 33.

3 HB 68.
4 One infant, 1.
5 Pit 311. Extended, oriented NE-SW in a shallow "coffin" shaped pit.
6 Probably first century BC - first century AD.
7 Wainwright 1979, 35.

3 HB 69.
4 One infant, 1.
5 Pit 347. Near bottom of fill; disarticulated.
6 Probably first century BC - first century AD.
7 Wainwright 1979, 33.

3 HB 70.
4 Adult male, 1.
5 Pit 359. Flexed on right side, oriented N-S, head to N, facing W.
6 Probably first century BC -first century AD.
7 Wainwright 1979, 33.

3 HB 71.
4 Unaged, unsexed cranial fragment, 6.
5 Pit 381.
6 Probably first-second century AD.
7 Wainwright 1979, 33.

3 HB 72.
4 Adult male, 1; also a right femur and fibula, 6.
5 Pit 387. Tightly crouched on right side, oriented N-S, head to N, facing W.
Extra human bones and AB 29 (see Appendix III, in direct association).
6 Probably first century BC - first century AD.
7 Wainwright 1979, 34.

3 HB 73.
4 Adult female, 1.
5 Pit 410. Flexed and supine, oriented E-W, head to E, facing N.
6 Probably first century BC - first century AD.
7 Wainwright 1979, 34.

3 HB 74.
4 Infant, 1.
5 Pit 418.
6 Probably first century BC - first century AD.
7 Wainwright 1979, 34.

3 HB 75.
4 Infant, 1.
5 Pit 661. Disarticulated.
6 Probably first century BC - first century AD.
7 Wainwright 1979, 34.

3 HB 76.
4 Two neonatal infants, 1.
5 Pit 709.
6 Probably first century BC - first century AD.
7 Wainwright 1979, 34.

3 HB 77.
4 Infant, 1.
5 Pit 781. Disarticulated.
6 Probably first century BC - first century AD.
7 Wainwright 1979, 34.

3 HB 78.
4 Infant, 1.
5 Pit 84. Very fragmentary.
6 Probably first century BC - first century AD.
7 Wainwright 1979, 35.

3 HB 79.
4 Neonatal infant, 1.
5 Pit 942. Rectangular pit. Oriented NW-SE, covered by a layer of fine chalk rubble, sealed by a layer of flint nodules.
6 Probably first century BC - first century AD.
7 Wainwright 1979, 34.

HOD HILL, Dorset
1 ST 857106.
2 Iron Age hillfort.
3 HB 80.
4 Adult female, 1.
5 Pit, as a "foundation burial" in rampart, N side of "Steepleton Gate". Crouched, upright, in a small pit.
6 Probably fifth-third century BC?
7 Richmond 1968, 16.

3 HB 81, HB 82
4 Two adult females, 1; one (uppermost in fill) with neonatal infant.
5 Pit B, one of three in a penannular enclosure (No 15). Lower, primary burial is crouched, and a pot was found nearby. The upper, secondary burial is also crouched, with infant, and associated with loomweights. Possible association with mandibles of horse, cattle and pig.
6 Probably fifth-third century BC?
7 Richmond 1968, 26-28.

3 HB 83.
4 Adult female, 1.
5 Pit C in penannular enclosure. Crouched tightly on left side, no orientation.
6 Probably fifth-third century BC.
7 Richmond 1968, 26-28.

3 HB 84.
4 Disarticulated human bones, 6; unspecified.
5 Pit BD 6a (Site 6), inside another earlier penannular gully. Either a disturbed burial or possibly a single partial burial, category two.
6 Probably fifth-third century BC.
7 Richmond 1968, 28.

3 HB 85, HB 86.
4 Two adult males, 1.
5 Pit BD 6c (Site 6), inside same penannular enclosure as HB 84 above. Lower, primary burial of an adult with a child (infant?) in a crouched position. Upper, secondary burial of a male, position unspecified.
6 Probably fifth-third century BC.
7 Richmond 1968, 28.

3 HB 87.
4 Adult female, 2.
5 Gateway. Part of an adult female; parts unspecified.
6 Undated.
7 Wilson 1981, 154.

3 HB 88.
4 Skull fragment, 6.
5 Pit 98 BD.
6 "Late Iron Age", probably third-first century BC.
7 Richmond 1968, 30.

3 HB 89.
4 Adult female, 2.
5 Scattered on old ground surface under rampart, near "Steepleton Gate". Fragmentary remains of an adult female, parts not specified.
6 "Late Iron Age", probably third-first century BC.
7 Richmond 1968, 126.

3 HB 90.
4 Adult, unsexed, 1.
5 "Home Gate", in a shallow scoop under counterscarp.
6 "Late Iron Age", probably third-first century BC.
7 Richmond 1968, 31.

LITTLE SOMBORNE, Wilts
1 SU 389328.
2 Iron Age settlement.
3 HB 91, HB 92.
4 Two adult males, 1.
5 Pit 365. Under a thick layer of flint nodules.
Skeleton 798, a male aged 17-22 years.
Skeleton 799, a male aged 25-35 years.
No details on positions or orientations.
6 Probably third-first century BC.
7 Neal 1980, 105-106.

3 HB 93.
4 Three fragments of two adult, unsexed skeletons, 6.
5 Pit 122. Includes right humerus, left parietal, a fragmentary right humerus.
6 Probably third-first century BC.
7 Neal 1980, 102.

MAIDEN CASTLE, Dorset

This section does not include the formal burials, numbers 31 to 82, in the "War" cemetery - for these, see Whimster 1980, 262-271.

1 SY 669885.
2 Iron Age hillfort.
3 HB 94.
4 Adult, unsexed, 1.
5 Site H, foundation burial. Crouched, oriented N-S, head to S.
6 Probably third-first century BC.
7 Wheeler 1943, 346.

3 HB 95.
4 Neonatal infant, 1.
5 Trench lxiv; Burial No T 7, in a shallow pit.
6 Probably third-first century BC.
7 Wheeler 1943, 346.

3 HB 96.
4 Skull fragments, 6 (age, sex and number unspecified).
5 Rampart fill, various provenances.
6 Probably third-first century BC.
7 Wheeler 1943, 346.

3 HB 97.
4 Four infants, 1.
5 Rampart, fill, sites L, Q and R.
6 Probably third-first century BC.
7 Wheeler 1943, 346.

3 HB 98.
4 Adult female, 1.
5 Trench xlviii, Y ditch fill, Burial T 1.
Flexed, on left side, oriented E-W, head to W, facing N.
6 First century BC.
7 Wheeler 1943, 347.

3 HB 99.
4 Adult, male skull, 5.
5 Trench lxxv, Pit T 10, Burial T 9.
6 Early first century AD.
7 Wheeler 1943, 347.

3 HB 100.
4 Adult female, 1.
5 Trench lxxxiv, Pit T 10, Burial T 13.
Flexed, on right side, oriented NW-SE, head to SE, facing NE.
6 Early first century AD.
7 Wheeler 1943, 347.

3 HB 101.
4 Adult female, 1.
5 Trench lxxv, Pit 10, Burial T 14.
Flexed, on right side, oriented ENE-WSW, head to ENE, facing N.
6 Early first century AD.
7 Wheeler 1943, 347.

3 HB 102.
4 Adult male, 2; no skull.
5 Trench cii, Burial T 17.
Flexed, oriented E-W, head to E.
6 Late first century BC.
7 Wheeler 1943, 347.

3 HB 103.
4 Adult female, 1.
5 Trench cxi, in rampart fill, Burial T 18.
Crouched, on left side, oriented SE-NW, head to SE, facing S.
6 First century BC.
7 Wheeler 1943, 347.

3 HB 104.
4 Neonatal infant, 1.
5 Trench lix, fill of Y ditch of E entrance, Burial T 19.
Crouched, oriented E-W, head to W.
6 First century BC.
7 Wheeler 1943, 347.

3 HB 105.
4 Adult female, 1.
5 Trench lxxxiii, pit under counterscarp, Burial T 24.
Crouched on left side, oriented NE-SW, head NE, facing S.
6 Late first century BC.
7 Wheeler 1943, 348.

3 HB 106.
4 Adult female, 1.
5 Pit Q 4. Flexed, on left side, oriented SW-NE, head to SW, facing N; associated shale bangle, chalk loomweight, and 117 slingstones.
6 First century BC.
7 Wheeler 1943, 348.

3 HB 107.
4 Adult female cranium and femur, 5, 6.
5 Pit B 42.
6 Late first century BC.
7 Wheeler 1943, 348.

3 HB 108.
4 Adult male, 1.
5 Pit N 1, in counterscarp of main ditch, at N end of hornwork.
Crouched on right side, oriented N-S, head to N, facing W.
6 First century AD.
7 Wheeler 1943, 348.

3 HB 109.
4 Adult female, 1.
5 Pit N 2. Crouched on right side, oriented NE-SW, head to NE, facing NW.
6 First century AD.
7 Wheeler 1943, 348.

3 HB 110.
4 Neonatal infant, 1.
5 Pit R 1.
6 Late first century BC.
7 Wheeler 1943, 348.

3 HB 111.
4 Two neonatal infants, 1.
5 Pit R 2.
6 Late first century BC.
7 Wheeler 1943, 348.

OLD DOWN FARM, Hants
1 SU 356465.
2 Iron Age settlement.
3 HB 112.
4 Neonatal infant, 1.
5 Pit 2683.
6 Probably seventh century BC.
7 Davies 1981, 111.

3 HB 113.
4 Adult, unsexed cranial fragments, 6; child's left parietal, 6.
5 Posthole 451.
6 Probably seventh century BC.
7 Davies 1981, 111.

3 HB 114.
4 Two adult, unsexed cranial fragments, 6.
5 Pits 1095 and 2780 (two fragments each?).
6 Probably sixth-fourth century BC.
7 Davies 1981, 118.

3 HB 115.
4 Child's maxillae, 6.
5 Pit 2290.
6 Probably sixth-fourth century BC.
7 Davies 1981, 118.

3 HB 116.
4 Two neonatal infants, 1.
5 Posthole 2647. Probably disarticulated, very fragmentary.
6 Probably third-first century BC.
7 Davies 1981, 133.

3 HB 117.
4 Adult, unsexed cranial fragment, 6.
5 Pit 2032.
6 Probably third-first century BC.
7 Davies 1981, 133.

3 HB 118.
4 Adult, unsexed cranial fragment, 6.
5 Pit 1091.
6 Probably third-first century BC.
7 Davies 1981, 133.

3 HB 119.
4 Adolescent male, 1.
5 Pit 2793. Crouched on right side, oriented E-W, head to E, facing N.
6 Probably third-first century BC.
7 Davies 1981, 122, 133.

3 HB 120.
4 Neonatal infant, incomplete; probably 1.
5 Pit 2134.
6 Probably third-first century BC.
7 Davies 1981, 133.

3 HB 121.
4 Adolescent male, 1.
5 Pit 240. Crouched on right side, oriented E-W, head to E, facing N. Massive cut wounds to skull, neck, ribs, left arm and left pelvis, at time of death.
6 Probably third-first century BC.
7 Davies 1981, 122, 132-133.

3 HB 122.
4 Adolescent female, 1; (with neonatal infant, 1).
5 Pit 979. Extended, prone, oriented E-W, head to W. Neonatal infant placed under feet. Associated: two brooches.
6 Early first century AD.
7 Davies 1981, 134-135.

3 HB 123.
4 Three adult, unsexed burials, 1.
5 Enclosure ditch. No further provenance or details.
6 Probably early first century AD?
7 Davies 1981, 135.

SALMONSBURY, Glos
1 SP 173208.
2 Iron Age hillfort.
3 HB 124.
4 Adult female, 2.
5 Site III, Period II, phase ii, below an area of paving. Consisting of long bones and skull deliberately broken - for cannibalism, according to excavator.
6 Early first century AD.
7 Dunning 1976, 116-117.

3 HB 125.
4 Adult unsexed, 1.
5 Rampart, Site VII. Crouched on right side, oriented SE-NW, head to SE, facing N.
6 Second-first century BC.
7 Dunning 1976, 93.

3 HB 126.
4 Adult female, 1.
5 Pit D, Site IV. Posture unspecified, on right side, oriented E-W, with head to E.
6 Second-first century BC.
7 Dunning 1976, 87.

3 HB 127.
4 Unaged, unsexed, 1.
5 Pit B, Site IV. Probably flexed on left side, oriented E-W, head to E. Much disturbed by a Roman period ditch.
6 Second-first century BC.
7 Dunning 1976, 87.

3 HB 128.
4 Adolescent female skull, 5.
5 Hut I ditch, Site IV. Skull in hut gully.
6 Second-first century BC.
7 Dunning 1976, 87.

3 HB 129.
4 Adolescent female, 1.
5 Pit B, Site III. Flexed on left side, oriented E-W, head to E, facing S. A flat stone placed at each end of body.
6 Second-first century BC.
7 Dunning 1976, 84.

3 HB 130.
4 Adult male, 1.
5 Pit E, Site III. Crouched on right side, oriented N-S, head to N, facing W.
6 Second-first century BC.
7 Dunning 1976, 83.

3 HB 131.
4 Adult female, 1.
5 Pit D, Site II. Flexed on right side, oriented E-W, head to E, facing N.
6 Second-first century BC.
7 Dunning 1976, 83.

3 HB 132.
4 Two neonatal infants, 1.
5 Pit A, Site I.
6 Second-first century BC.
7 Dunning 1976, 82.

3 HB 133.
4 Adult female, 2.
5 Pit E, Site I.
6 Second-first century BC.
7 Dunning 1976, 82.

3 HB 134.
4 Unaged, unsexed, 2.
5 Pit D, Site I. Rib cage and vertebrae.
6 Second-first century BC.
7 Dunning 1976, 82.

4 Unaged, unsexed, 2.
5 Pit H, Site I. Ribs and vertebrae.
6 Second-first century BC.
7 Dunning 1976, 82.

SWALLOWCLIFFE DOWN, Wilts
1 ST 968254.
2 Iron Age settlement site.
3 HB 136.
4 Four unaged, unsexed, 6.
5 Pit I. One frontal, two parietals, and half of a left humerus.
6 Probably fifth-third century BC.
7 Clay 1925, 64.

TOLLARD ROYAL, Wilts
1 ST 942197.
2 Iron Age settlement/farmstead.
3 HB 137.
4 Adult male, 1.
5 Pit. Extended, supine, oriented NW-SE, head to NW, facing E.
6 Probably first century AD.
7 Wainwright 1968, 111.

TWYWELL, Northants
1 SP 952787.
2 Iron Age settlement.
3 HB 138.
4 Adult male, 1.
5 Pit 133. Crouched position, no further details.
6 Third-second century BC.
7 Jackson 1975, 60, 87.

3 HB 139.
4 Child, unsexed, 1.
5 Pit 146. Crouched position, no further details.
6 Third-second century BC.
7 Jackson 1975, 57, 60, 87.

3 HB 140.
4 Child, unsexed, 1 (possibly lacking legs?).
5 Pit 164. No positional information. Possibly associated with an ox skull?
6 Third-second century BC.
7 Jackson 1975, 60, 87.

WANDLEBURY, Cambs
1 TL 495533.
2 Iron Age hillfort.
3 HB 141.
4 Child, unsexed, 2.
5 Pit 2. Extended, supine, no legs; no orientation. Probably associated with a bronze pin and traces of a cloth sack.
6 Probably fifth-third century BC?
7 Hartley 1957, 14-15, 26-27.

4 Adult female, 1.
5 Pit 12. Extended, prone, no orientation. Cervical vertebrae displaced but present.
6 Probably fifth-third century BC?
7 Hartley 1957, 26-27.

3 HB 143.
4 Adult female, 2.
5 Pit 19. Skull displaced but present; femurs broken off just below pelvis and missing; vertebrae in articulation, other bones disarticulated and scattered. Associated horse bones?
6 Probably fifth-third century BC.
7 Hartley 1957, 15, 26-27.

3 HB 144.
4 Multiple burial, at least five individuals, four male (3), one possibly female (3).
5 Pit 1. Two males in extended postion, one prone, one supine, other three positions unknown (remains too mixed). More bones visible in sections at either end of trench, so burial deposit extends in each direction an unknown distance.
6 Undated.
7 Taylor & Denton, 1977, 1-3.

WINKLEBURY, Hants
1 SU 613529.
2 Iron Age hillfort.
3 HB 145.
4 Adolescent female, 1.
5 Pit 3834 (Skeleton 3910). Crouched, prone, oriented E-W, head to E, facing N.
6 Probably third-first century BC.
7 Smith 1977, 76-78.

3 HB 146.
4 Adolescent female, 1.
5 Pit 2615 (Skeleton 2745). Probably a complete burial, as although skull is missing, there is evidence of disturbance in antiquity. No details.
6 Probably third-first century BC.
7 Smith 1977, 75.

3 HB 147.
4 Unaged, unsexed bones, 6.
5 Feature 2247. One unspecified long bone, a mandible, and a vertebral column with six (not normal five) lumbar vertebrae.
6 Probably third-first century BC.
7 Smith 1977, 78.

3 HB 148.
4 Adult, unsexed, 1.
5 Skeleton 4010. No details of context, posture or orientation.
6 Probably third-first century BC.
7 Smith 1977, 78.

4 Adult female, 2.
5 Pit 1614 (Skeleton 1624). No skull, other bones scattered out of articulation (possible disturbance?).
6 Probably third-first century BC.
7 Smith 1977, 75-76.

3 HB 150.
4 Adult male, 2.
5 Pit 979 (Skeleton 1111). Crouched, prone, oriented N-S, head to N. Skull displaced but present, but no left arm.
6 Probably third-first century BC.
7 Smith 1977, 76.

3 HB 151.
4 Adult, unsexed, 6; infant, 6.
5 Pit 979. Four skull fragments and right femur of an infant. One temporal bone, metatarsals and metacarpals of an adult.
6 Probably third-first century BC.
7 Smith 1977, 78.

3 HB 152.
4 Neonatal infant, 1.
5 Pit 615.
6 Probably third-first century BC.
7 Smith 1977, 78.

3 HB 153.
4 Adult male, 5.
5 Pit 2738. One skull without mandible.
6 Probably third-first century BC.
7 Smith 1977, 78-79.

3 HB 154.
4 Adult, unsexed, 5.
5 Unprovenanced.
6 Probably third-first century BC.
7 Smith 1977, 78-79.

WINNALL DOWN, Hants
1 SU 498303.
2 Iron Age settlement.
3 HB 155.
4 Five adult, unsexed fragments, 6.
5 Section 5 A of enclosure ditch.
6 Probably sixth-fourth century BC.
7 Fasham, pers comm.

3 HB 156.
4 Two adult, unsexed fragments, 6.
5 Section 5 B of enclosure ditch.
6 Probably sixth-fourth century BC.
7 Fasham, pers comm.

3 HB 157.
4 Two adult, unsexed fragments, 6.
5 Section 5 C of enclosure ditch.
6 Probably sixth-fourth century BC.
7 Fasham, pers comm.

4 Four adult, unsexed fragments, 6.
5 Section 5 FF of enclosure ditch.
6 Probably sixth-fourth century BC.
7 Fasham, pers comm.

3 HB 159.
4 Three adults, unsexed fragments, 6.
5 Section 5 RR of enclosure ditch.
6 Probably sixth-fourth century BC.
7 Fasham, pers comm.

3 HB 160.
4 One adult, unsexed skull fragment, 6.
5 Section M of enclosure ditch.
6 Probably sixth-fourth century BC.
7 Fasham, pers comm.

3 HB 161.
4 Infant, 1.
5 Section M of enclosure ditch.
6 Probably sixth-fourth century BC.
7 Fasham, pers comm.

3 HB 162.
4 Infant, 1.
5 Pit 5777.
6 Probably sixth-fourth century BC.
7 Fasham, pers comm.

3 HB 163.
4 Adult female, 1.
5 Pit 8265, Burial 508, in NW quarry "cemetery". Crouched, oriented E-W.
6 Probably third-first century BC.
7 Fasham, pers comm.

3 HB 164.
4 Child, unsexed, 1.
5 Pit 8184, Burial 505, NW quarry. Flexed, on right side, oriented N-S, head N, facing W.
6 Probably third-first century BC.
7 Fasham, pers comm.

3 HB 165.
4 Child, unsexed, 1.
5 Pit 8294, Burial 506, NW quarry. Oriented N-S; badly eroded, poor preservation.
6 Probably third-first century BC.
7 Fasham, pers comm.

3 HB 166.
4 Infant, 1.
5 Pit 8184, Burial 460, NW quarry.
6 Probably third-first century BC.
7 Fasham, pers comm.

3 HB 167.
4 Infant, 1.
5 Pit 6280, Burial 397, NW quarry. Extended, on left side, oriented N-S, head to N, facing E.
6 Probably third-first century BC.
7 Fasham, pers comm.

3 HB 168.
4 Infant, 1.
5 Burial 507. Oriented E-W, head to W.
6 Probably third-first century BC.
7 Fasham, pers comm.

3 HB 169.
4 Infant, 1.
5 Burial 457, NW quarry.
6 Probably third-first century BC.
7 Fasham, pers comm.

3 HB 170.
4 Infant, 1.
5 Burial 3555, NW quarry.
6 Probably third-first century BC.
7 Fasham, pers comm.

3 HB 171.
4 Adult male, 1; also an infant, 1.
5 Pit 8564, Burial 500, S "cemetery". Crouched on right side, oriented NW-SE, head to NW, facing S. Infant (Burial 3563) in association?
6 Probably third-first century BC.
7 Fasham, pers comm.

3 HB 172.
4 Adult female, 1.
5 Pit 8630, Burial 574, S "cemetery". Tightly crouched, probably oriented SW-NE, head to SW.
6 Probably third-first century BC.
7 Fasham, pers comm.

3 HB 173.
4 Two infants, 1.
5 Pit 8630, Burials 470 and 531, S "cemetery" (upper fill of above).
6 Probably third-first century BC.
7 Fahsam, pers comm.

3 HB 174.
4 Infant, 1.
5 Pit 8594, Burial 567, S "cemetery".
6 Probably third-first century BC.
7 Fasham, pers comm.

3 HB 175.
4 One adult female, 6; one adult, unsexed, 6.
5 Pit 8630 (Nos 3566 and 3566a).
6 Probably third-first century BC.
7 Fasham, pers comm.

3 HB 176.
4 Adolescent male, 1.
5 Pit 4475, Burial 174. Flexed, on left side, oriented NW-SE, head to NW, facing N. Associated shale bracelet and bronze thumb ring.
6 Probably third-first century BC.
7 Fasham, pers comm.

3 HB 177.
4 Adolescent, unsexed, 2.
5 Pit 4475.
6 Probably third-first century BC.
7 Fasham, pers comm.

3 HB 178.
4 Adult, unsexed skull fragments, 6.
5 Pit 4475.
6 Probably third-first century BC.
7 Fasham, pers comm.

3 HB 179.
4 Infant, 1; adult, unsexed bone, 6.
5 Pit 4006, Burial 156. Infant extended, oriented E-W. Adult bone in association?
6 Probably third-first century BC.
7 Fasham, pers comm.

3 HB 180.
4 Infant, 1.
5 Posthole 8547, Burial 487. Extended, oriented E-W.
6 Probably third-first century BC.
7 Fasham, pers comm.

3 HB 181.
4 Infant, 1.
5 Posthole 8576, Burial 488. Crouched, on left side, oriented E-W, head W, facing N.
6 Probably third-first century BC
7 Fasham, pers comm.

3 HB 182.
4 Infant, 1.
5 Grave 4239, Burial 159. Crouched, on right side, oriented E-W, head to E, facing N.
6 Probably third-first century BC.
7 Fasham, pers comm.

3 HB 183.
4 Infant, 1.
5 Grave 4264, Burial 161. Oriented NW-SE; no other details.
6 Probably third-first century BC.
7 Fasham, pers comm.

3 HB 184.
4 Infant, two fragmentary bones, 6.
5 Posthole 142.
6 Probably third-first century BC.
7 Fasham, pers comm.

3 HB 185.
4 One infant bone, 6.
5 Pit 8585.
6 Probably third-first century BC.
7 Fasham, pers comm.

3 HB 186.
4 One adult, unsexed fragment, 6; one infant fragment, 6.
5 Gully 1989.
6 Probably third-first century BC.
7 Fasham, pers comm.

3 HB 187.
4 One adult, unsexed bone, 6.
5 Pit 684.
6 Probably third-first century BC.
7 Fasham, pers comm.

3 HB 188.
4 Adult female, 1.
5 Grave 2020, Burial 35. Crouched, on left side, oriented NW-SE, head to SE, facing W.
6 Probably third-first century BC.
7 Fasham, pers comm.

3 HB 189.
4 Adult, unsexed, 1.
5 Grave 10312, Burial 629. Crouched on left side, oriented SW-NE, head to SW, facing NW.
6 Probably third-first century BC.
7 Fasham, pers comm.

3 HB 190.
4 Infant, 1; also fragments of from two to six other infants (1).
5 Pit 2416.
6 Probably third-first century BC.
7 Fasham, pers comm.

3 HB 191.
4 Infant, probably 1; also two, 6 (one infant bone and one adult, unsexed bone).
5 Pit 7372, Burial 420.
6 Probably third-first century BC.
7 Fasham, pers comm.

3 HB 192.
4 Infant, 1.
5 Pit 1473.
6 Probably third-first century BC.
7 Fasham, pers comm.

3 HB 193.
4 Infant, 1.
5 Pit 2002.
6 Probably third-first century BC.
7 Fasham, pers comm.

3 HB 194.
4 Infant, 1.
5 Pit 5789.
6 Probably third-first century BC.
7 Fasham, pers comm.

3 HB 195.
4 Adult, unsexed bone, 6.
5 Section CC of ditch 5 (unspecified bone).
6 Probably third-first century BC.
7 Fasham, pers comm.

3 HB 196.
4 Adult, unsexed bone, 6.
5 Feature 2778 (unspecified bone).
6 Probably third-first century BC
7 Fasham, pers comm.

3 HB 197.
4 Adult, unsexed bone, 6.
5 Pit 1491 (unspecified bone).
6 Probably third-first century BC.
7 Fasham, pers comm.

3 HB 198.
4 Adult, unsexed bone, 6.
5 Pit 3901 (unspecified bone).
6 Probably third-first century BC.
7 Fasham, pers comm.

3 HB 199.
4 Adolescent unsexed, 2.
5 Pit 5548 (parts unspecified).
6 Probably third-first century BC.
7 Fasham, pers comm.

3 HB 200.
4 Two adult, unsexed, 6.
5 Pit 2258 (bone not specified).
6 Probably sixth-fourth century BC.
7 Fasham, pers comm.

3 HB 201.
4 One adult unsexed, 6.
5 Section 5 GG (bone not specified).
6 Probably sixth-fourth century BC.
7 Fasham, pers comm.

3 HB 202.
4 One adult unsexed, 6.
5 Section 5J (bone not specified).
6 Probably sixth-fourth century BC.
7 Fasham, pers comm.

3 HB 203.
4 One adult unsexed, 6.
5 Pit 5797 (bone not specified).
6 Probably sixth-fourth century BC.
7 Fasham, pers comm.

3 HB 204.
4 One adult, unsexed, 6.
5 Quarry pit 7741 (bone not specified).
6 Probably sixth-fourth century BC.
7 Fasham, pers comm.

INDEX

HB 1 - HB 19	All Cannings Cross, Wilts
HB 20 - HB 21	Appleford, Oxon
HB 22 - HB 27	Ashville, Oxon
HB 28	Barley, Aldwick, Herts
HB 29 - HB 30	Bishopstone, Sussex
HB 31 - HB 32	South Cadbury, Somerset
HB 33	Croft Ambrey, Here & Worcs
HB 34 - HB 35	Fengate, Northants
HB 36 - HB 40	Fifield Bavant, Wilts
HB 41 - HB 79	Gussage-All-Saints, Dorset
HB 80 - HB 90	Hod Hill, Dorset
HB 91 - HB 93	Little Somborne, Hants
HB 94 - HB 111	Maiden Castle, Dorset
HB 112 - HB 123	Old Down Farm, Hants
HB 124 - HB 135	Salmonsbury, Glos
HB 136	Swallowcliffe Down, Wilts
HB 137	Tollard Royal, Wilts
HB 138 - HB 140	Twywell, Northants
HB 141 - HB 144	Wandlebury, Cambs
HB 145 - HB 154	Winklebury, Hants
HB 155 - HB 204	Winnall Down, Hants
HB 204 - HB 449	Danebury, Hants

APPENDIX V

CELTIC SHRINES

INTRODUCTION

This gazetteer includes all of the putative shrines considered in chapter six of the text above. The results of the only general study made of Celtic religious buildings (Drury 1980) are incorporated here, extensively supplemented. Three principal sources were used to provide supplementary material: CBA Annual Bibliography, a deliberate search of hillforts and settlements with sufficiently large scale excavations to have found possible shrines, and lastly all the Romano-Celtic temples on sites which have Iron Age to Roman continuity of occupation but where no structural remains of an Iron Age shrine are known (cf Rodwell 1980, D R Wilson 1975, 1980). Thus, the gazetteer is as complete as possible, though some sites are undoubtedly omitted and conversely some of those included may not in fact be shrines.

The format of this gazetteer follows the basic pattern outlined in the preface with several minor alterations. These include:

3 Description of shrine building (probable vs possible): shape, size, orientation, construction

4 Relationship to other buildings and features of the site

5 Finds. This is not an exhaustive listing, but simply a brief mention of items of presumed ritual significance.

BATH, Avon

1 ST 7464.
2 S 1 (cf T 2).
3 A probable Iron Age shrine site. No structural remains are known; these are presumed to have been destroyed by the extensive Romano-Celtic temple complex later built on the site. The attribution of an Iron Age shrine to this site rests on the fact that the later Roman temple was dedicated to Sulis Minerva, and since Sul was a Celtic deity the locus must have been sacred before the Roman Minerva arrived.
4 Unknown, though presumed to have been under the Romano-Celtic temple.
5 No specifically pre-Roman finds are known.
6 Undated.
7 Cunliffe 1969, 1-6.

DANEBURY, Hants

1 SU 3237.
2 S 2 and S 3.
3 Two simple rectangular buildings, each approximately 2 m wide by 2.5 m long, one without any wall to the east (R S 4), the second with a door at the east end of the south wall (R S 3). Both are defined by bedding trenches.
4 Two of a group of four rectangular buildings set somewhat apart from the domestic occupation at the focal point in the centre of the hillfort, facing the main entrance and at the terminus of a "street".

2 S 4.
3 A square building (designated R S 1), 9 m square, divided internally into two rooms, oriented N-S and E-W. Position of door is uncertain. Walls defined by a continuous bedding trench with upright timber positions.
4 The third of the group of four rectangular buildings.

2 S 5.
3 A square building (designated R S 2), 3 m square internally, oriented N-S and E-W, with door in the centre of the east wall. Walls defined by a continuous bedding trench. An "ambulatory", defined by postholes, is possible (cf Drury 1980, 45 and Fig 3.2.10; Cunliffe 1979, 339).
4 The fourth of the group of four rectangular buildings.

5 None known.
6 Shrines 2 and 3 date to either the early or middle phases at Danebury, hence are Early Iron Age in chronology used here. Shrine 5 was next, possibly contemporary or slightly later, probably in the late phase at Danebury. Tentatively assigned to Middle Iron Age. Shrine 4 is the last in the sequence, belongs to the Late Iron Age and survives past the end of the main domestic occupation of the site, circa 100 BC.
7 Cunliffe 1976, 1979, 1984; Drury 1980, 45-47.

FRILFORD, Oxon

1 SU 4396.

2 S 6.

3 A ritual structure consists of a circular/sub-rectangular ditch, with an entrance gap to the west and a diameter of approximately six metres internally. Ditch sections indicate that the ditches were recut a number of times. Inside the ditch two parallel lines of three double postholes each are oriented N-S, and a square pit approximately 1 m square was on the south side near the entrance. A further posthole near the entrance may represent a gate post. The ditch postholes and square pit were all deliberately filled with clay, circa AD 80-90.

4 A simple circular Romano-Celtic temple was built over the deliberately levelled site. Continuity appears to be direct. A square Romano-Celtic temple nearby.

5 Iron Age finds include an iron ploughshare in one of the six double postholes, and miniature bronze sword and shield from the square pit.

6 The penannular ditch evidently had a long lifetime until it was deliberately filled in during the Roman occupation. Its construction clearly post-dates Early Iron Age pits, which it cuts, but can not be more precisely determined.

7 Bradford & Goodchild, 1939, 1-70; Harding 1972, 61-64; Drury 1980, 63, Fig 3.6.65; Green 1976, 193-194.

GOSBECKS FARM, Colchester, Essex

1 TL 967225.

2 S 7.

3 A possible Iron Age shrine site. The Iron Age structural remains consist of the square multiple ditched and walled temenos. The primary fill contains pre-Roman sherds and coins; and Roman sherds appear only in the upper fill.

4 Colchester Roman temple V and temenos built inside the pre-Roman ditch. Occupation appears to be continuous.

5 No Iron Age finds from the site of presumably ritual significance.

6 Probably late first century BC and early first century AD.

7 Hawkes & Hull, 1947, 10-11, 14; Hull 1958, 264, 270-271; Green 1976, 214; Drury 1980, 51.

HARLOW, Essex

1 TL 4711.

2 S 8.

3 A series of postholes and ditches underlying a Romano-Celtic temple probably represent a pre-Roman shrine. The shape and size of the shrine building is obscured by the later Roman constructions but a square or rectangular palisaded temenos can be seen.

4 The Harlow Roman temple of circa first to fourth century AD date overlays the pre-Roman structures. Occupation appears continuous from Celtic to Roman times.

5 Pre-Roman finds consist of 205 coins and 50 brooches in near perfect condition, falling into three chronologically distinct groups associated with the pre-Roman structural remains. All date between circa 50 BC and AD 50.

6 Circa 50 BC - AD 50.

7 Wheeler 1928; Selkirk 1968, 287-290.

HAYLING ISLAND, Hants

1 SU 7206.
2 S 9.
3 The pre-Roman shrine was circular, about 8 m in diameter with an entrance to the east, defined by trenches and postholes.
4 The shrine is set centrally in a rectangular temenos, also defined by a palisade ditch. A circular stone-built Roman temple inside a rectangular stone temenos was constructed directly over the Iron Age structure, circa AD 60. Occupation appears continuous.
5 Finds include several examples of horse and chariot fittings, seventeen spearheads, several pieces of sword scabbards, belt hooks, fragmentary iron chain, two triskele embossed strap links, two bronze tankard handles, and several sword-currency bars. Additionally, the faunal remains show an unusual total absence of cattle bones.
6 Mid first century BC - mid first century AD.
7 Downey, King & Soffe, 1980, 289-304.

HEATHROW, Middlesex

1 TQ 0876.
2 S 10.
3 A pre-Roman shrine here is rectangular with concentric ambulatory. Cella measures 5.5 m x 4.6 m, the ambulatory is 11 m x 9.5 m. The cella is defined by a continuous bedding trench with upright posts at corners and door jambs, the ambulatory is defined by postholes. The orientation is N-S and E-W, with door to the east.
4 The shrine is presumably contemporary with a nucleated settlement later enclosed in a ditch and banked, but was left in the centre of a clear area and thus separate from the domestic occupation.
5 None known.
6 Approximately third century BC.
7 Grimes 1948, 74-78 in Frere 1961, 25-26;
Drury 1980, 52-54, Fig 3.2.D.

LANCING RING, Sussex

1 TQ 1706.
2 S 11.
3 An Iron Age shrine, 2 metres square, with a concentric ambulatory 3 m x 3 m. Orientation is N-S and E-W, with entrance to east. Both cella and ambulatory are defined by wall bedding trenches.
4 Located eccentrically within a ditch and palisade temenos. Immediately post-conquest a masonry Romano-Celtic temple and temenos wall replace the Iron Age structures. Continuous occupation is probable.
5 None.
6 Late first century BC - early first century AD.
7 Frere 1940, 161-171; Bedwin 1981, 37-56.

LITTLE WALTHAM, Essex

1 TL 7012.
2 S 12.
3 A possible Iron Age shrine is represented by an irregularly rectangular building, approximately 8 m x 4 m, oriented roughly NW-SE. Entrance is uncertain. Construction is posthole.
4 In a clear area in the centre of the phase II nucleated village.
5 None.
6 Probably second century BC.
7 Drury 1978, 13, 24-26, 124; 1980, 52 and Figs 3.2.3 and 3.4.

MAIDEN CASTLE, Dorset

1 SY 6688.
2 S 13 (designated L 1 by excavator).
3 An Iron Age shrine of slightly irregular rectangular shape, about 6 m x 5 m, oriented NW-SE. Entrance uncertain. Construction of posthole type. Probable internal division into two rooms.
4 Located beside and respecting a slightly hollowed trackway leading from the main gate to the summit of the hill, in an otherwise open area.
5 None.
6 Probably fourth century BC.
7 Wheeler 1943, 72-78; Drury 1980, 48-49, Fig 3.2.8.

2 S 14.
3 An Iron Age shrine of circular shape, approximately 8 m in diameter with drystone walls of chalk and limestone. The entrance is to the east. Six postholes may represent a porch or portico structure.
4 The shrine door is accurately aligned on the hollowed trackway from the hillfort gate, and the shrine is located just 3 m west of the early Iron Age rectangular shrine S 13 (above). Probably located in an open area on the summit of the hill. Later replaced by the circular Romano-Celtic temple of the later third century, built concentrically within the Iron Age shrine.
5 Approximately fifteen brooches, iron weapons, pony bones and associated harness fittings, six coins, several infant burials.
6 First century BC - first century AD.
7 Wheeler 1943, 127, 131-135; Drury 1980, 64-65, 68, Figs 3.6.14 and 3.7.22.

MUNTHAM COURT, Sussex

1 TQ 109095.
2 S 15.
3 A possible Iron Age shrine may be represented by one of several rectangular buildings approximately 2 m x 3 m of posthole construction.
4 Located in a palisaded enclosure. Overlain by a circular Romano-Celtic temple. Extensive Iron Age occupation.
5 None.
6 Undated.
7 Holleyman & Burstow 1955, 204-205; Holleyman 1961; Green 1976, 220.

PILSDON PEN, Dorset

1 ST 4101.
2 S 16.
3 A rectilinear structure forming three sides of a square has been interpreted as a ritual structure on several occasions, for example, Gelling 1977, 263-286; Rodwell 1978, 25-42; Drury 1980, 50-52. More recent discussion indicates it is almost certainly a post-medieval rabbit warren inserted into the interior of the Iron Age hillfort (B Cunliffe, pers comm).

SOUTH CADBURY, Somerset

1 ST 6225.
2 S 17 (Alcock's structure S 8).
3 A probable Iron Age shrine is represented by S 8, a rectangular structure approximately 4 metres square, oriented E-W, with entrance to the east. Construction is represented by six postholes, two of which appear to demarcate two rooms, one a porch.
4 Found close to S 9 (see S 18 below) in an open area on the central ridge of the hillfort.
5 None known.
6 Undated, probably Mid to Late Iron Age.

2 S 18 (S 9 in Alcock).
3 A second probable Iron Age shrine, approximately 2 m x 3 m, oriented E-W with an entrance to east. As in S 17 (above), internal postholes may separate an interior room from a porch; construction is posthole.
4 Found next to S 17 (above), in an open area on central ridge of hillfort.
5 A burial of a cow was in a pit just in front of S 18.
6 Undated, probably Mid to Late Iron Age.

2 S 19 (C 1 in Alcock).
3 A third rectangular building, approximately 4.9 m x 4 m, oriented E-W, again of posthole construction.
4 Found near western end of the central ridge of hillfort. Around this structure were six pits with special animal burials: skulls of horses and cattle, and one pit with one horse skull and four cattle skulls.
5 An oval bronze pendant embossed with two ducks' heads with paste decoration.
6 Structures S 17, S 18 and S 19 are contemporary with the mid to late Iron Age domestic occupation of the site; probably second to first century BC.

2 S 20 (Structure 27 in Alcock).
3 A fourth Iron Age shrine is represented by a rectangular structure approximately 4 m x 2.5 m, oriented E-W, with entry to the east. Construction is a continuous bedding trench for upright posts. Two spurs of trenches divide the interior into a room with an east facing portico of about 1 m depth.
4 S 20 is an apparent successor to S 18. Just outside the portico and aligned on it is a band of over twenty burials of piglets, lambs and calves. This is the only structure to date to the Ultimate "Durotrigian" Iron Age, when the domestic occupation was apparently elsewhere. There is considerable circumstantial evidence for a late Romano-Celtic temple somewhere within the hillfort.

5 Animal burials.
6 Probably constructed first century AD, destroyed when hillfort was sacked circa AD 61.

7 Alcock 1967, 6-17; 1968, 30-40; 1970, 14-25; 1971, 1-7; 1972, 163-164; Drury 1980, 47-48, Fig 3.2.4-6.

THISTLETON, Rutland
1 SK 910171.
2 S 21.
3 A probable Iron Age shrine is represented by a circular gully surrounding a limestone paved area, 12.6 m in diameter, redug and replaced several times before a second century tesselated floor was added.
4 Underlies the second-third century AD circular Roman temple; and the third century Greek-style basilica building. A long hall building nearby is also second-third century AD.
5 Pre-Roman finds include thirteen Coritanian coins, several brooches and considerable quantities of ceramics.
6 Early first century AD.
7 Greenfield 1964, 238; Lewis 1966, 84; Green 1976, 167.

ULEY, (West Hill), Glos
1 ST 7898.
2 S 22.
3 A probable Iron Age shrine is represented by two structures; the first is rectangular, about 5.5 m x 4.7 m, defined by two bedding trenches, oriented NW-SE and open at each end.

2 S 23.
3 A second probable Iron Age shrine is also rectangular, about 8 m x 7 m, oriented N-S but with no wall to the east. Walls are defined by an "L" shaped bedding trench to mark half of the west wall and the south wall. The north wall is defined by three postholes.

4 Both buildings are in the north half of a temenos enclosure defined by three ditch segments with a gap in the NE corner. Both buildings are aligned on this "entry" gap. Building S 22 and S 23 are approximately 5 m apart. Beginning in the second century AD a stone built Romano-Celtic temple was built over S 23, respecting its alignment. At least four other associated structures in temple complex.
5 An infant burial was located in a pit in the centre of S 23. Two infants were buried in two postholes in the north timber slot of S 22. To the east of S 23 a pit was found to contain several iron spearheads, eight partly complete Dobunnic fine ware pots, unusual bone tools and an articulated rear limb of a cow. A later recut left further deposits of Dobunnic fine ware.
6 Probably first century BC -early first century AD. Ritual occupation appears continuous.
7 Ellison 1978; 1980, 305-309, Fig 15.1; Rodwell 1980, 216, Figs 10.1.2 and 10.2; Drury 1980, Fig 3.2.17.

WOODEATON, Oxon

1 SP 5312.
2 S 24.
3 A probable Iron Age shrine site, even though no structural remains of the shrine building are known.
4 A Romano-Celtic temple and temenos are known to overlie a pre-Roman palisade temenos, and there is a considerable quantity of Iron Age occupation debris and votive objects from both the temenos and surrounding fields. Continuity is probable.
5 Belgic coins; six miniature bronze spears and four miniature bronze axes may also be pre-Roman.
6 Probably first century BC - first century AD; Romano-Celtic temple begun circa AD 65.
7 Goodchild & Kirk 1954, 15-37; Harding 1972, 64-65; Green 1976, 177-178.

WORTH, Kent

1 TR 3355.
2 S 25.
3 A probable Iron Age shrine is represented structurally by only four postholes found to underlie the Romano-Celtic temple. The postholes occur in two pairs, one pair just inside and parallel to the NE Roman wall, the other pair are inside and parallel to the NW wall.
4 Overlain by a Romano-Celtic temple. No other structures known.
5 One complete miniature bronze votive shield and parts of two others, three pre-Roman brooches, and ceramic sherds of Late Iron Age (Belgic).
6 Probably second half of first century BC and first century AD; when Romano-Celtic temple began.
7 Klein 1928, 76-86; Hawkes 1940a, 115-121; Green 1976, 231-232.

INDEX

S 1 Bath
S 2 Danebury
S 3 Danebury
S 4 Danebury
S 5 Danebury
S 6 Frilford
S 7 Gosbecks
S 8 Harlow
S 9 Hayling Island
S 10 Heathrow
S 11 Lancing Ring
S 12 Little Waltham
S 13 Maiden Castle
S 14 Maiden Castle
S 15 Muntham Court
S 16 Pilsdon Pen
S 17 South Cadbury
S 18 South Cadbury
S 19 South Cadbury
S 20 South Cadbury
S 21 Thistleton
S 22 Uley
S 23 Uley
S 24 Woodeaton
S 25 Worth

APPENDIX VI

ROMANO-CELTIC TEMPLES

INTRODUCTION

This gazetteer includes all of the Romano-Celtic temples discussed in chapter six of the text above. These, however, are only a part of the total number of Romano-Celtic temples known from Britain. The first gazetteer, and still the primary analysis, is in M J T Lewis' Temples in Roman Britain (1966). The gazetteer has been recently expanded and updated by W Rodwell (1980). These are the complete gazetteers of temples; the approximately 100 temples included in this gazetteer are simply a selective sample. The selection process was non-random, and intends only to provide a reasonable sample based on temple shape, site type and complexity and general location within the "civilian" districts of Roman Britain, and includes over half of the Romano-Celtic temples known. In addition to Lewis and Rodwell, other useful sources include Wilson (1973, 1975, 1980) and Green (1976).

The format of this gazetteer is nearly identical to that followed in appendix V above, with the addition of another entry to specify the type of site in which the temple is found (eg rural settlement, civitas capital etc). Where appropriate, this gazetteer is cross-referenced with appendix V above, to aid reference when one site has both a Celtic shrine and a Romano-Celtic temple.

BANCROFT, Bradwell, Bucks

1 SP 826404.
2 T 1.
3 Octagonal stone built structure, approximately 7 m in diameter.
4 No other religious buildings.
5 Villa complex.
6 None.
7 Undated.
8 Goodburn 1979, 304.

BATH, Avon

1 ST 7464.
2 T 2.
3 A rectangular Romano-Celtic temple with much classical influence. Built on an artificial, stone faced podium and built of finely shaped and carved stone, the cella measures 11 m x 8 m, with a colonnaded porch in front of approximately 8 m x 6 m. The podium is approximately 10 m x 20 m and originally stood approximately 1.6 m high. The temple is oriented E-W, with the steps leading up to the podium from the east.
4 The temple was set eccentrically on an E-W axis through a large colonnaded temenos of 79 m x 51 m, also oriented E-W. Two walls flanking the temple to north and south divide the temenos into two halves. Directly in front of the temple, halfway between the temple and the east temenos entrance, was a large masonry altar base. In the SE corner of the temenos, directly south of the altar base, was the elaborate masonry reservoir of the sacred springs, attached to the south side of which was the very large and ornate bathing complex, housed in an extensive range of buildings, also oriented E-W. Also a possible theatre nearby.
5 The temple to Sulis Minerva was located in the large walled town of Aquae Sulis, but is as grand and classical in style as public buildings from colonia.
6 There is a vast range of finds, including an over life-size bronze bust of Minerva, a distinctly Celtic styled face of a male Gorgon on the temple's pediment, many altars, of which some are dedicated to Sul, as well as a tin mask, a group of 34 carved gemstones, plus hundreds of curses, coins and pieces of jewelry.
7 Probably late first - early second century construction, finally falling into disuse after several phases of reconstruction in the late fourth century AD.
8 Cunliffe 1969.

BOURTON BRIDGE, Glos

1 SP 1620.
2 T 3.
3 Circular structure about 12 m diameter. Stone construction with door to east.
4 Possible temenos enclosure walls, a well, and a rectangular stone building approximately 8 m x 4 m. A second rectangular building replaces the circular structure in mid-third century. Approximately 90 m from River Windrush.
5 Rural context.
6 About 50 coins and a complete pot in bottom of well.

7 Circular structure: mid-first - mid-second century AD. Second rectangular structure: mid-second - late fourth century AD.
8 Renfrew 1977, 1978; Wilson 1965, 197-198.

BOURTON GROUNDS, Bucks
1 SP 729331.
2 T 4.
3 A square temple, built on an artificial platform beside River Twin, less than 100 m from a Roman road. Cella 6.1 m square, ambulatory 12.9 m square. A portico faces east, flanked by two annexe rooms, each 3 m square. An adult male burial under floor of ambulatory in entryway. Foundations of stone, with timber walls. Oriented NS-EW.
4 Approximately 50 m NW a second, possibly basilical building also oriented N-S, approximately 13.8 m x 5.5 m. Two rows of postholes form a nave, with rough limestone floor. Under threshold a horse skull ringed with oyster shells was buried in a pit. A second series of buildings, arranged E-W and facing the temple may form a courtyard.
5 Rural complex.
6 Temple: about 300 coins. Ancillary building: potsherds, a bronze pin, brooch, window glass, coins.
7 Mid-third - late fourth century AD.
8 Green 1966, 356-366; Green 1976, 179; Lewis 1966, 13, 164.

BOW HILL, Sussex
1 SU 8209.
2 T 5.
3 A square temple, about 5.5 m x 5.5 m, with cella and an ambulatory "verandah" defined by postholes. Painted wall plaster and roof tiles hint at construction. No orientation noted. (One report mentions vaguely flint and mortar walls.)
4 Solitary building, on a hill on ridge set off by cross-dykes (undated).
5 Rural.
6 More than 150 coins.
7 Late first - fourth century AD.
8 Winbolt, VCH Sussex III 1935, 151; Bedwin 1980, 191-192.

BOXTED, Kent
1 TQ 852662.
2 T 6.
3 A square temple of mortared flint construction. Cella 6.7 m square, ambulatory 13.4 m square. Oriented NS-EW, entrance to east.
4 No associated buildings known, a solitary building.
5 Rural.
6 None reported.
7 Probably second century AD.
8 Williams 1969, 9; Britannia 1973, 322; Green 1976.

BOZEAT, Northants
1 SP 896600.
2 T 7.
3 A circular temple of 15.2 m diameter. Walls stone built, entry to east. Four asymmetrical internal walls separate two small rooms, and four internal pier bases are over 1 m diameter.

4 Solitary building, no associated structures.
5 Settlement nearby.
6 None specified, but coins were present and used for dating.
7 Early to mid-third century AD.
8 Hall & Nickerson 1970, 57-65; Todd 1974, 85; Green 1976, 180; Drury 1980, 70, Fig 3.8.29.

BREAN DOWN, Somerset
1 ST 293588.
2 T 8.
3 A square temple with added porch and two annexes. Cella 4.9 m square, ambulatory 10.4 m square. Ambulatory on both sides and back, but walled off to form a full-width vestibule in front. Oriented NW-SE, entry to SE. Later annexes added to back and side corners of ambulatory. Construction well executed in limestone.
4 Solitary building; no associated structures except a late post-temple domestic building to south, contemporary with a "squatter" domestic use of temple in late fourth century AD.
5 Rural site, on headland in Bristol Channel.
6 Bronze leaf, bronze spoon, bronze sheet rolled into a tube, bronze bracelet and ring, iron stylus, several bone pins, and 486 coins.
7 Early - mid-fourth century AD construction; abandoned by late fourth century AD.
8 ApSimon 1965, 195-258; Green 1976, 182; Lewis 1966, 164.

BRIGSTOCK, Northants
1 SP 961858.
2 T 9.
3 Circular temple, 10.1 m diameter, oriented to east. Stone foundations, probably timber walls above. Internal postholes and burnt clay floor. Built eccentrically within a pre-dating (possibly Iron Age?) penannular gully.
4 Near T 10 (below). Much Romano-Celtic settlement in area, remains unexcavated.
5 Rural complex of temples?
6 265 coins, miniature bronze axe and table, shale bracelet, two leaf shaped pole-tips of bronze, one complete beaker-shaped pot, one pit with an articulated leg of cow, and bronze statuettes: three with horse and rider, one solitary horse.

2 T 10.
3 Polygonal Romano-Celtic temple found 6 m south of T 9, of 7.7 m diameter (internal). It is 12-sided, with stone foundations placed eccentrically within and over an earlier penannular gullly (possibly Iron Age?). Oriented to east. Internally, a pit with the burial of a young sheep and three, probably non-contemporary, oven bases; and three other pits with animal bone deposits.
4 6 m south of T 9.
5 Rural complex of temples? Possible settlement nearby.
6 Thirteen coins, small bronze female head.

7 Mid-third - late fourth century AD, for both temples.
8 Greenfield 1963, 228-263; Green 1976, 181; Lewis 1966, 80, 84, 188.

BURY HILL, Glos

1 ST 7898.
2 T 11.
3 A possible Romano-Celtic temple site. A 4.9 m square platform, with four internal postholes forming a concentric square, 1.5 m on a side. Orientation unknown.
4 No associated structures known, solitary building.
5 Rural, in an Iron Age hillfort.
6 Bronze fibula pin, Kimmeridge shale bracelet, a jet ornament, coins.
7 Probably third century AD.
8 Davies & Phillips 1927, 14-15, 22-24; Wilson 1973, 40.

CADBURY-CONGRESBURY, Somerset

1 ST 4267.
2 T 12.
3 A possible Roman temple site. A penannular rock-cut trench for wooden foundations, 11 m diameter. Possibly hexagonal, with one side missing as a doorway. Orientation NW-SE, with entrance to SE, with postholes for an entry porch.
4 Solitary building.
5 Rural, in an Iron Age hillfort.
6 Two bone leaf-pendants.
7 Late fourth-sixth century AD.
8 Fowler, Gardner & Rahtz 1970, 187; Rahtz & Watts 1979, 183-210.

CAERWENT, Gwent

1 ST 4790.
2 T 13.
3 A Romano-Celtic temple represented by a unique apsidal cella in a square ambulatory inside a rectilinear temenos. Cella 7 m square with apse to north. Ambulatory 14 m x 13.2 m, with buttresses along each side and at corners. Entry to south. Temenos wider at south than north.
4 Long apsidal building to south, probably an entrance hall.
5 Civitas capital.
6 Possible ritual pits nearby. Inscriptions to Mars Lenus and Mars Ocellus Vellaunus. Many bronze votives include miniature tables, mask, eagle, pipe-clay Minerva and Epona, bronze snake.
7 Mid-third - fourth century AD.

2 T 14.
3 An octagonal temple in an oval or circular temenos outside city wall by east gate. Temple diameter 16.3 m; temenos 69 m diameter. Temenos entrance to north, temple entrance to east?
4 No known buildings in association.
5 Civitas capital.
6 Possible ritual pits nearby.
7 Uncertain.

8 Wacher 1974; Wilson 1975, 20; Green 1976, 183; Lewis 1966, 164, 197, 203.

CAISTOR-BY-NORWICH, Norfolk

1 TG 2303.
2 T 15.
3 A rectangular temple in Insula IX. Cella 6.1 m x 6.1 m, ambulatory 14.4 m x 13.2 m. Stone built, oriented NS-EW.
4 One of a pair of temples (see T 16 below) in centre of town, no other directly associated buildings. No temenos.

2 T 16.
3 A rectangular temple. Cella 5.5 m x 4.9 m, ambulatory 13.8 m x 12.9 m. Stone built, oriented NS-EW. A podium in cella.
4 Second of pair of temples in town centre. No other directly associated buildings. No temenos.

5 Civitas temples group.
6 Miniature bronze axes from both.
7 200-300 AD; T 16 slightly later?

2 T 17.
3 A rectangular temple. Cella 11.3 m x 10.1 m, ambulatory 18.1 m x 16.6 m. Oriented NS-EW.
4 In a temenos enclosure with monumental gateway about half a mile NE of town. No other buildings known.
5 Civitas capital.
6 Bronze leaf, rectangular relief of Bacchus, bronze phallus, bronze cock, three small joined cups of bronze.
7 Late second - late fourth century AD.

8 Lewis 1966, 69-70, 71, 96, 130, 140, 164; Green 1976, 204-205; Wacher 1974.

CAMERTON, Somerset

1 ST 6857.
2 T 18.
3 A square building with four smaller annexe rooms, set into a semi-circular walled courtyard. Building 7.7 m square, stone walled, oriented NW-SE, with the entry to the SE. Three annexes added to the west (back wall) and fourth to north wall. Main building floored with cement. No ambulatory.
4 Semi-circular courtyard 23 m x 19 m.
5 Small settlement.
6 Skirt and feet of a statue; a stone head, possibly in Celtic style; a small bronze Vesta; many coins, fibulae, a bracelet, an inscription circa AD 235.
7 Probably late second - mid-fourth century AD.
8 Lewis 1966, 96, 198, Fig 98; Wedlake 1958; Green 1976, 186.

CANNINGTON, Somerset

1 ST 2440.
2 T 19.
3 A possible circular Romano-Celtic shrine. A rock-cut penannular gully 7 m diameter, with a kerb or foundation of non-local red sandstone. Entry to east.
4 Associated with an inhumation cemetery, possibly Late Iron Age or Romano-Celtic. Iron Age hillfort. Cannington Park is adjacent. No associated buildings.

5 Roman context probably rural.
6 None.
7 Undated.
8 Rahtz & Watts 1979, 187-199.

CASTOR, Cambs
1 TL 1298.
2 T 20.
3 A Romano-Celtic temple built on a podium 18.4 m x 11.3 m. No ambulatory. Oriented NW-SE, entrance porch and steps to SE. Stone built. Area 9.2 m x 9.2 m inside temple has floor sunk 0.6 m below the floor at the entry end.
4 A series of other structures, possibly houses, around temple.
5 Settlement.
6 None.
7 Undated.
8 Lewis 1966, 61, Fig 58.

CHANCTONBURY, Sussex
1 TQ 139121.
2 T 21.
3 A rectangular Romano-Celtic temple. Cella 9.2 m x 7.0 m. Ambulatory unfinished to NE, E and SE. Approximately 14 m N-S. Foundations of stone. Oriented NS-EW, entry probably to east.
4 A seven-sided building reported to the SW. A possible kiln to NE, with a variety of hollows and gullies.
5 Rural temple. Inside an Iron Age hillfort and earlier plateau enclosure.
6 Coins: 36 Roman and 1 pre-Roman; brooches, a knife blade. An area of concentration of cattle skulls and sheep mandibles.
7 Late first - fourth century AD.
8 Mitchell 1910, 131-137; Bedwin 1980, 173-222; Green 1976, 220; Lewis 1966, 165.

CHEDWORTH, Glos
1 SP 0511.
2 T 22.
3 A rectangular Romano-Celtic temple. Cella 12.6 m x 12 m. Stone foundations, oriented NS-EW, entrance to north. Just inside entry, in ambulatory, a pit with human bones, red deer bones, and a bronze pin.
4 No temenos or directly associated buildings: Chedworth Villa is 700 m. Beside River Colne.
5 Rural, possibly associated villa.
6 Two altars, one plain and one with St Andrew's cross and figure of a man. Relief of a hunter god with stag, hare and hound. A small crude altar with representation of Sucellos?, but dedicated to Mars Lenus. Another crude altar with a two-dimensional figure. Bronze sceptre binding, bronze figurine. Four stones have inscribed Chi-Rho symbols. Circular brooch with human heads as decorative motif.
7 Second - fourth century AD.
8 Baddeley 1931, 255-264; Green 1976, 174; Lewis 1966, 165.

CHELMSFORD, Essex

1 TL 708063.
2 T 23.
3 An octagonal Romano-Celtic temple. Cella 11 m diameter, ambulatory 17.7 m. Stone foundations.
4 Probably preceded by one or more previous temples, but evidence is ambiguous. Contemporary buildings interpreted as priests' quarters and shops.
5 Settlement site.
6 Over 130 coins; fibulae, brooches and rings from preceding phase? Pipe-clay Bacchus, bronze lion and human head.
7 Octagonal temple is fourth century AD, the preceding wooden buildings are late second and third century AD.
8 Drury 1972, 3-29; Rodwell 1972, 22; Green 1976, 212.

CLAYDON PIKE, Glos

1 SU 191996.
2 T 114.
3 A circular, simple Romano-Celtic temple. Diameter about 7 m. Orientation uncertain, could be either NW or SE. Wall foundations of mortared stone, superstructure probably of wood.
4 No known associated structures; Claydon Pike villa is less than 100 m to the west. Temple is linked to a Roman road approximately 100 m to the north by a cobbled trackway.
5 Probably associated with the nearby villa.
6 Bronze leaf plaque, miniature bronze axe, miniature pot sealed into cobbled floor of temple, approximately 200 coins.
7 Temple and cobbled trackway date to the late third and fourth century AD on coin evidence.
8 Wait, forthcoming; cf Miles & Palmer 1983 a, b; Hingley & Miles 1984.

COLCHESTER, Essex

1 TM 0025.
2 T 24 (Colchester 2 in Crummy 1980, 248).
3 A square Romano-Celtic temple. Cella about 12 m square, ambulatory 18.4 m. Oriented NW-SE, entrance to SE. Walls of mortared stone.
4 With the large, walled, irregularly shaped temenos "The Sheepen Sanctuary" of three acres extent. Temenos wall was buttressed both inside and out. Temenos fronts on two roads (see Crummy 1980, Fig 11.7). A large building range of nine rooms in an "L" shape lies just outside the temenos to the NE. Interpreted as priests' quarters.
5 Extramural, but close to the Colonia (400 m to east).
6 Four altar bases line the SE wall and flank entrance.
7 Late first - late fourth century.

2 T 25 (Colchester 3 in Crummy 1980, 252).
3 A rectangular Romano-Celtic temple. Cella 7 m x 6 m, ambulatory 13 m x 11 m. Oriented NW-SE. Entrance uncertain. Built on an earlier mound.
4 Temple stands alone, across road and about 100 m NW of the Sheepen Sanctuary and T 24 above. No associated buildings known.
5 Extramural, but close to Colonia.
6 None reported.
7 Third - fourth century AD.

2 T 26 (Colchester 4 in Crummy 1980, 252-256).
3 A square Romano-Celtic temple. Cella is 5 m x 5 m overall, the ambulatory 12 m x 12 m. Orientation NW-SE. Entrance porch to SE. Seven internal postholes parallel cella walls, a central pit. Stone built. Cella unroofed?
4 Inside irregular rectilinear temenos approximately 50 m on a side, with T 27 (below, "Colchester 5") immediately adjacent to NE. Other buildings found in interior, but not excavated in detail. Temenos wall has rectangular recesses, or exedrae, for benches and statues.
5 About 500 m from Colonia, in a complex. About 250 m north of the Sheepen Sanctuary and T 24.
6 None.
7 Mid-first - late third century BC.

2 T 27 (Colchester 5 in Crummy 1980, 252-256).
3 A rectangular Romano-Celtic temple. Cella 4 m x 3.8 m, ambulatory 9.2 m x 9 m. Oriented NW-SE, entrance to SE. Cella wall timber-framed. Ambulatory of stone.
4 Immediately to north of T 26 above, inside the irregular rectilinear temenos. Other buildings present in temenos.
5 Extramural complex of temples.
6 Over 70 coins.
7 Late second - early fourth century AD.

2 T 28 (Colchester 6 in Crummy 1980, 258; in the Royal Grammar School Playing Fields).
3 A rectangular Romano-Celtic temple of one room, without ambulatory. 9.2 m x 6.1 m. Oriented NW-SE, entrance uncertain. Walls of stone.
4 Located inside an irregular polygonal ditch, which may be of Iron Age date. To south is a larger hall building, 18.4 m x 8 m, with a wide entrance gap in its south wall. Enclosing all this is a polygonal temenos wall, which respects the polygonal ditch by a bow in its west wall. Temenos 52 m x 40 m, with an east entrance gap aligned on temple. Temple, hall and temenos probably contemporary.
5 A solitary temple approximately 1 km SW of Colonia.
6 Several coins, a bronze stag and two bronze plaques, one dedicated to Silvanus Callirius.
7 Dating uncertain.

2 T 29 (Colchester 7, Laver's Temple, in Crummy 1980, 258).
3 A square Romano-Celtic temple. Cella 5.5 m square, ambulatory 10.7 m. Entrance SE.
4 Located 200 m NW of Colonia's "Balkerne Gate".
5 A solitary temple?
6 None.
7 Dating uncertain.

2 T 30 (Temple 8, the Gosbecks Sanctuary in Crummy 1980, 258-264) (cf S 7, appendix V).
3 A square Romano-Celtic temple. Cella 7 m square, ambulatory 14 m square. Oriented NS-EW. Entrance unclear. Stone built?

4 Located in SE corner of a square ditch (60 m square, probably pre-Roman) with an east entrance, which is within a square double colonnade, also with matching east entrance. This is in turn located along the west wall of a large rectilinear temenos, divided in half by a N-S wall, as yet incompletely traced. This wall has regularly placed recesses or "exedrae". Adjacent to this to the south are two other very large walled enclosures, one of which (to the east) contains a large theatre. All centres of the pre-Roman, possibly royal, farmstead.
5 Possibly a rural complex.
6 A very fine statue of Mercury found just outside the temple temenos, to the north.
7 Roman occupation mid-first century - ?

2 T 31 (Temple 9, Butt Road Building, in Crummy 1980, 264-266).
3 A rectangular, apsidal ended building, 25 m x 7 m. Oriented E-W, with apse to east. Eastern end with internal postholes create aisle and probably six bays. A probable burial complex just inside SE corner of building. Stone built. Interpreted as a Martyrium.
4 To SE a large cemetery of two phases, both Roman.
5 About 200 m south of Colonia's west gate.
6 A pit in SE corner contained 200 coins and many bird bones; a human skull and femur found at the bottom may be derived from the disturbance of the grave mentioned above.
7 Early fourth century - end of fifth century AD.

2 T 32 (Temple 10, the Balkerne Lane Temple in Crummy 1980, 266-272).
3 A square Romano-Celtic temple. Cella 7 m square, ambulatory 15 m square. Oriented NS-EW. Entrance uncertain. Stone built.
4 Located just outside the ornamental, main west gate of Colonia, on north edge of main London - Colchester road. A large masonry altar base stood between temple and road. Shrine (see T 33 below) was just across road to south.
5 Colonia.
6 None.
7 End of first century AD - mid-to late third century AD.

2 T 33 ("Shrine", Balkerne Lane in Crummy 1980, 266-272).
3 A square building, 10 m square. South wall defined by a wall foundation trench; the W, N and E walls marked by six pier foundations. Oriented NS-EW. Entrance uncertain.
4 Located just outside the ornamental main west gate of Colonia, on south side of London - Colchester road. Across road is T 32 above.
5 Colonia.
6 None.
7 End of first century - mid-to late third century AD.

2 T 92.
3 A large classical Roman temple. Built on a podium 32 m x 23.5 m. Reconstruction of the temple from thoroughly robbed foundations is problematic, but was almost certainly octastyle. Cella probably approximately 17 m x 21 m with a colonnaded portico approached up steps from the south (although oriented N-S the entrance was to the south). Construction of imported stone.
4 Temple located in a precinct with monumental gate and arcade. Traces of rooms and walls on other three sides of precinct.
5 Roman Colonia, located in forum.
6 Extensive series from the Colonia (see Green 1976, 216-217) but few are specifically from this temple.
7 Mid-first - late fifth century AD.

8 Lewis 1966, 165, 196; Hull 1958; Crummy 1980, 243-283.

COLD KITCHEN HILL, Wilts
1 ST 837388.
2 T 34.
3 A probable Romano-Celtic temple, unrecognised by excavator. Published reports do not contain any information on structure(s) present.
4 Uncertain, but probably ancillary buildings present.
5 Probably a rural temple.
6 Over 150 coins, including several Celtic coins, over 50 brooches, rings, bracelets, many glass beads, bronze spoons, iron knives, spearheads and miscellaneous iron fittings.
7 Late second - early fourth century AD.
8 NanKivell 1924, 180-191, 327-328;
Grinsell VCH Wilts I, 1957, 48; Lewis 1966, 124-125, 130, 141.

COLESHILL, Warwick
1 SP 195906.
2 T 35.
3 A rectangular Romano-Celtic temple. Cella 11 m x 10 m, ambulatory 17 m x 16 m. Oriented WSW-ENE, entrance to east. Stone construction. An apse in back of west wall of cella, later removed when ambulatory added. Two porches (approximately 2 m x 3 m) added onto east exterior of ambulatory at north and south corners. Cella floor of opus signinum.
4 Associated structures, including a bath complex. Set inside a "D" shaped, sub-rectangular temenos with entrance facing east. Temenos is 65 m x 45 m. Temple overlies an earlier, slightly smaller temple of cella defined by beam slots and ambulatory by postholes (cella 6.5 m x 6 m, ambulatory 11 m x 10 m). Two other associated structures: one a rectangular building with hearth and the other a semi-circle open to SW. Bath complex is about 50 m to south of temple.
5 Rural temple group.
6 Small "votive" cups, many brooches, tweezers, some coins.
7 Mid-second - mid-late fourth century AD.
8 Magilton 1979, 1980.

COLLYWESTON, Northants

1 SK 9902.
2 T 36.
3 An octagonal Romano-Celtic temple. Diameter about 6 m. Oriented NS-EW. Entrance uncertain. Stone foundation, probably wooden superstructure. Foundations for internal structures. Opus signinum floor. No ambulatory.
4 In a complex of at least four temples and three other ancillary buildings. Possible temenos visible on aerial photographs.
5 Probably a rural temple complex.
6 Half of a millstone, reused as a base for a cult figure.
7 Second - third century AD.

2 T 37.
3 A hexagonal Romano-Celtic temple. Diameter about 6 m. Oriented NS-EW. Entrance to SE. Floor of limestone set in clay. Hearth along NW wall, niche in NW wall. Possible ambulatory. Stone foundations, wood superstructure.
4 As above.
5 As above.
6 A bronze flagon, needle.
7 Late first - fourth century AD.

2 T 38 (Circle "C" in Knocker 1966).
3 A circular Romano-Celtic temple. Diameter 12.9 m. Stone foundation, wooden superstructure.
4 As above. Either cuts or is cut by a rectangular building ("B" in Knocker 1966). Relationship uncertain.
5 As above.
6 None.
7 Late first - fourth century AD.

2 T 39 (Structure "F" in Knocker 1966).
3 A circular Romano-Celtic temple. Diameter 9.8 m. Entrance to east. Stone foundation, wooden superstructure. Floor roughly paved. Central pillar base.
4 As above.
5 As above.
6 None.
7 Late first - fourth century AD.

8 Knocker 1966, 52-72; Green 1976, 167; Drury 1980, 71-73, Fig 3.9; Lewis 1966, 78-85, 141, 188.

CROFT AMBREY, Here & Worcs

1 SO 531576.
2 T 40.
3 A probable Romano-Celtic temple on a possible pre-Roman site. Structure probably rectangular, terraced into hillside. Ambiguous internal pits, postholes and clay floor. Oriented NS-EW.
4 No directly associated structures. Terrace in hillside of south side of hillfort, within a late annexe.
5 Unknown, probably rural?
6 Over 100 complete pots smashed on site, brooches, rings, an iron bell (paralleled at Maiden Castle). Many burned bones of sheep and cattle.
7 Mid-first - mid-second century AD.
8 Stanford 1974, 137.

CROWNTHORPE, Norfolk

1 TG 088029.
2 T 41.
3 A rectangular Romano-Celtic temple. Cella 9.5 m x 8.6 m. Ambulatory 17.2 m x 15 m. Oriented NS-EW. Entrance uncertain. Hearths, postholes in cella, and a massive masonry footing in centre of cella.
4 Unknown.
5 Unknown.
6 None.
7 Uncertain.
8 Lewis 1966, 10, 166; Green 1976, 204.

FARLEY HEATH, Surrey

1 TQ 0544.
2 T 42.
3 A square Romano-Celtic temple. Cella 6.7 m square, ambulatory 20 m square. Oriented approximately NS-EW. Entrance uncertain. Stone foundations.
4 Set in an irregular ten-sided temenos (paralleled at Coblenz) about 125 m diameter. This is within a rhomboidal ditch and bank of pre-Roman date with a Roman wall added, approximately 200 m on a side. A paved pond just outside SE corner. No other buildings known.
5 Considerable Roman occupation of nearby fields of third - fourth century AD. Either rural or settlement site. Frequently interpreted as a rural fair site.
6 Over 1000 coins. Bronze sceptre binding depicting: dog, stag, raven, a possible Sucellos figure with axe-hammer, with Taranis and his symbol of a wheel or rosette, a trident, possibly a bull boar and two ravens. Three enamel inlaid bronze miniature stools, a bronze eagle, a bronze plaque of Cupid with shield and Medusa head, a bronze hawk, many brooches, bracelets and rings.
7 Late first - early fifth century.
8 Tupper 1850; Winbolt 1927, 194-195; Goodchild 1938, 10-25; Green 1976, 219; Lewis 1966, 166, 198.

FRILFORD, Oxon

1 SU 439962.
2 T 43.
3 A square Romano-Celtic temple. Cella 7.7 m square, ambulatory 16.9 m square. Oriented NS-EW, entrance to east. Stone foundations. Three rectangular annexe rooms added to the back (west) wall, and a smaller square room added to the north wall at east end in late third century AD.
4 A second round Romano-Celtic temple is nearby to south (T 44 below), and considerable Roman occupation is immediately adjacent. Inside temenos? Theatre to east of temples.
5 Probably a rural settlement religious complex, as at Gosbecks (see above, T 24-33).
6 None.
7 Late first - fourth century AD.

2 T 44.
3 A circular Romano-Celtic temple, 11 m diameter. Entrance to east. Stone foundations, probably timber superstructure. A hearth in north part of interior may be a secondary feature.
4 The square Romano-Celtic temple (T 43 above) is 20 m to north inside temenos. Theatre nearby. Built directly above a Celtic shrine (S 12) which was deliberately levelled, circa AD 80, to allow construction of this temple.
5 As above.
6 Miniature sword and shield may be either from the Celtic shrine or a Roman deposit during the levelling of the site.
7 Late first - late fourth century AD.

8 Bradford & Goodchild 1939, 1-70; Harding 1972, 61-64; Green 1976, 193-194; Lewis 1966, 166, 188.

GODMANCHESTER, Huntingdon
1 TL 2470.
2 T 45.
3 A circular Romano-Celtic temple. No other details published.
4 Underlies T 46 below. In mansio complex.
5 Small town.
6 Small bust of Minerva, pipe-clay Venus, three bronze leaves, one with inscription to Maband/Abandinus.
7 Probably first - second century AD.

2 T 46.
3 A square Romano-Celtic temple of stone foundation with timber superstructure to cella and ambulatory.
4 Overlies T 45 above. Mansio complex.
5 Small town.
6 As above.
7 Second - third century AD.

2 T 47.
3 An irregular octagonal Romano-Celtic temple with only six masonry walls - rest of timber.
4 Close to T 46 above, in mansio complex.
5 As above.
6 As above.
7 Late third - fourth century AD.

8 Rodwell 1980, 563, 567, 571; Green 1976, 209.

GREAT CHESTERFORD, Essex
1 TL 5042.
2 T 48.
3 A square Romano-Celtic temple. Cella 7 m on a side, ambulatory 12.3 m square. Stone construction, oriented NS-EW, with porch to east. Cella had mosaic floor with space for a central altar. Walls plastered, with design of fruit and flowers.
4 One of a pair of buildings (the second is rectangular, 4.6 m x 3 m, by 3 m deep) about 1 mile east of the Roman town. Many potentially ritual shafts nearby (see appendix II above).
5 Approximately 1 mile east of Roman town, otherwise solitary.

6 Bronze reclining river god (from a shaft), bronze bust of Luna, steelyard weight depicting Diana, bone knife handle of Hercules wearing a torc, pipe-clay horse and rider, silver votive mask, several bronze feathers, a small silver disc with a standing figure ornament, many coins.
7 Mid-first - late fourth century AD.
8 Neville 1848, 89; Brinson VCH Essex III, 1963, 83; Goodburn 1979, 310; Green 1976, 210-211; Lewis 1966, 166.

GREAT DUNMOW, Essex
1 TL 6224.
2 T 49.
3 A small rectangular Romano-Celtic temple without ambulatory. Dimensions 6.5 m x 5.5 m.
4 A timber lined well nearby, and in early fourth century a two-roomed timber building 4.8 m x 4.5 m built over the well. Associated three small pits with ritual deposits.
5 Small town.
6 Ritual pits: glass vessels, coins, pewter bowl. Over 200 coins and fragments of bronze bracelets found in and around temple.
7 Probably third - fifth century AD.
8 Rodwell & Rowley 1975, 88; Green 1976, 211; Drury, Essex Arch Hist, forthcoming.

GREENWICH PARK, Kent
1 TQ 4077.
2 T 50.
3 A square Romano-Celtic temple, about 10 m on a side. No evidence of an ambulatory. Oriented NS-EW, entrance to east. Stone construction, on an artificially raised platform. Tesselated floor.
4 In a temenos. No associated buildings, solitary?
5 Probably rural.
6 Many coins, inscription to Aesculapius, another possible inscription to Numen of Emperor, a limestone sculpture fragment of a draped female arm.
7 End of first - late fourth century AD.
8 Haverfield 1932, 1; Sheldon & Yule 1979, 311-317; Green 1976, 226; Lewis 1966, 126-129, 141.

HARLOW, Essex
1 TL 4711.
2 T 51 (cf S 8, appendix V).
3 A square Romano-Celtic temple. Cella 5.8 m square, ambulatory 14.9 m square. Oriented NW-SE, entrance to SE. Stone construction. Annexe rooms added to front, possibly to sides also.
4 Inside a temenos which surrounds a low hill beside River Stort, temple on hill-top. Temenos later rebuilt with ancillary rooms to east and west of gate, circa AD 200. Probably ritual Iron Age antecedents.
5 Probably a rural complex.
6 Altar inscription to Numen of Emperor, a bronze lar, small bronze head of Silenus, miniature axes and spears, lead curse dedicated to Mercury.
7 Late first - early fourth century AD.
8 Wheeler 1928, 300-326; Selkirk 1968, 287-290; Green 1976, 209-210; Lewis 1966, 167, 197.

HAYLING ISLAND, Hants

1 SU 7206.
2 T 52 (cf S 9, appendix V).
3 A circular Romano-Celtic temple. Diameter 13.8 m. Porch to east. Stone foundation and lower wall courses.
4 Located just off-centre of a square double-walled temenos, aligned accurately E-W with an east facing entrance. Maximum dimensions 40 m square, with an internal ambulatory between the two walls 4 m wide. Inner temenos wall probably a colonnade. Eastern colonnade filled by a range of rooms - probably an entry hall and two flanking ancillary rooms. Ambulatory gravelled, and a gravelled path leads to temenos entrance and through to temple porch. Overlies an Iron Age shrine predecessor, continuity clear.
5 Social context is rural - no known nearby buildings. Construction style and technique are paralleled at the contemporary palace at Fishbourne, and construction at both places probably involved the same architects and builders.
6 A large number of coins and brooches and other bronze objects. Two brooches are of a horse and rider type paralleled at the temple sites of Hockwold, Nornour, Cold Kitchen Hill, Lamyatt Beacon and Woodeaton, while a third also has a parallel at Nornour.
7 Begun circa AD 55-60, occupation ends in early third century AD (decline is contemporary with that of the Fishbourne palace).
8 Downey, King & Soffe 1980, 289-304.

HENLEY WOOD, Yatton, Somerset

1 ST 441652.
2 T 53.
3 A square Romano-Celtic temple. Cella 7.7 m square, ambulatory 15.4 m square. Stone construction. Cella floor raised above ambulatory. Oriented NS-EW, entrance to east. Sheep burials under slab floor of ambulatory.
4 Built over two earlier phases of rectangular buildings, probably earlier shrines or temples. Ditched temenos, with entrance at NE. No other buildings known.
5 Probably rural.
6 Coins, bronze figurine of a female deity.
7 Early third - late fourth century AD.
8 Wilson 1965, 216; 1969, 227; 1970, 296; Green 1976, 182-183.

HOCKWOLD, Norfolk

1 TL 687888.
2 T 54.
3 A circular Romano-Celtic temple with, uniquely, a square cella. No dimensions published. Cella formed of four birch column bases, beneath each of which was a deposit of pig and bird bones. Construction of timber superstructure.
4 Associated fore-buildings of various periods, one circular. Two second century cremations in front of temple sealed with deer antlers and part of a statuette.
5 Rural.

6 Six crowns from floor of cella, one miniature bronze axe, one bronze letter "M", bronze hand holding a pine branch probably of Atys, two bronze discs with Celtic heads, bronze vase with medallion of Atys.
7 Early second - late fourth century AD.
8 Wilson 1963, 138; 1966, 209; 1967, 241; Muckleroy 1976, 173-291; Green 1976, 212; Lewis 1966.

IRCHESTER, Northants
1 SP 9265.
2 T 55.
3 A square Romano-Celtic temple. Cella 5.2 m square, ambulatory 11.6 m. Stone foundations, oriented NW-SE, entrance to SE. Cella is open to SE, ambulatory has enlarged door jambs.
4 Inside rectilinear temenos, with entrance facing SE and aligned on temple entrance. Possibly associated building, interpreted as priests' quarters?
5 In small town.
6 Torso of Mercury of stone, pipe-clay Venus, possible fragment of a Jupiter-column.
7 Early second - third century AD.
8 Hall & Nickerson, 1967, 65-99; Green 1976, 180-181; Lewis 1966, 2, 13, 51, 167.

JORDAN HILL, Dorset
1 SY 7082.
2 T 56.
3 A square Romano-Celtic temple. Cella 7.69 m square. Outer wall of ambulatory was not found, though a portico and pavement encircling cella was recognised. Oriented NS-EW, entrance to east. Ritual shaft in SE corner (R S 52, appendix II).
4 Inside a square temenos enclosing hilltop. No associated buildings known. Roman cemetery nearby.
5 Probably rural.
6 Shaft contents (swords, coins, bird skeletons), over 500 coins. Other hoards from the same hill have produced almost 5000 more coins.
7 Early mid-third - late fourth century AD.
8 Manning 1972, 224-250; Green 1976, 201; Lewis 1966.

KELVEDON, Essex
1 TL 865190.
2 T 57.
3 A circular Romano-Celtic temple 7.5 m diameter. Entrance faces east. Timber construction. Floor metalled or tesselated.
4 No associated structures. Pits nearby held finds listed below, but no domestic debris.
5 Small town.
6 Pipe-clay lion and plate brooch from temple. From pits: a lead curse dedicated to Mercury, seven cast bronze letters, one palaeolithic hand axe, several small bronze rods.
7 First - third century AD.
8 Rodwell 1972, 333-334; Richmond 1958b, 150; Rodwell & Rowley 1975, 88; Green 1976, 213.

KENCHESTER, Here

1 SU 4343.
2 T 58.
3 A rectangular Romano-Celtic temple. No detailed information. Stone foundations.
4 Other buildings present, association unproven.
5 Small town.
6 One bronze bull head, one bronze horse head, bronze figurines of lion, stag and cock, six miniature bronze axe, an altar, two busts of Minerva, a pot with lid placed under foundations.
7 Undated.
8 Rodwell & Rowley 1975, 10; Green 1976, 169.

2 T 59.
3 A rectangular Romano-Celtic temple.
4 Associated buildings.
5 400 m from east gate, south of road.
6 Identified on aerial photographs, unexcavated.
7 Undated.
8 Baker 1966, 192-195; Lewis 1966, 2, 71.

LAMYATT BEACON, Somerset

1 ST 669362.
2 T 60.
3 A square Romano-Celtic temple. Cella 5 m square. Narrow vestibule/ambulatory to east, while the N, S and W ambulatories are laid out as separate rooms, the whole being 10 m square. A door in the middle of the outer wall of the south ambulatory leads down a flight of steps to a sunken room. Two annexes added to NE and SE corners to flank entrance. Stone construction. Oriented roughly NS-EW, entrance to east.
4 A second rectangular building oriented EW lies 1 m north of temple. A small cemetery beyond.
5 Rural site.
6 Part of an iron sceptre, six votive spearheads, model sickles and choppers, glass beads, five enamelled brooches of horse and rider type (cf Hayling Island, Hockwold, Nornour, Cold Kitchen Hill and Woodeaton), bracelets, rings, spoons, votive plaques, bronze figurines of two Mercuries, one Mars, one Minerva, one Hercules, one Paterfamilias, and part of a life size statue of Mars. Over 2500 coins. Red deer antlers (cf Brean Down).
7 Late third - fourth century AD.
8 Wilson 1974, 452; Green 1976, 185; Leech 1980, 331-333.

LANCING RING, Sussex

1 TQ 177066.
2 T 61 (cf S 11 in appendix V).
3 A square Romano-Celtic temple. Cella 5 m square, ambulatory 12.5 m square. Buttresses on ambulatory corners. Stone construction. Oriented NS-EW, entrance to east. Several phases. Cella paved with sandstone.
4 Inside temenos, also of several phases. The sleeper beam/upright timber Iron Age predecessor is a few meters to the east. Romano-Celtic cremations to SW and SE of temple. Inside an area demarcated by cross-dykes, about 200 m from Iron Age hillfort.

5 Probably rural?
6 None?
7 Late first - third century AD.
8 Frere 1940, 141-172; Winbolt 1935, 59-60; Bedwin 1981, 37-56; Green 1976, 220; Lewis 1966, 167.

LOWBURY HILL, Berks
1 SU 5482.
2 T 62.
3 A Romano-Celtic temple site. Difficult to determine size or shape from published accounts. Foundation burial of a woman, SE corner.
4 Temenos present. Possibly other buildings.
5 Rural.
6 28 brooches, at least ten signet-rings, seven bracelets, four pairs tweezers, 750 coins.
7 Late first - fourth century AD.
8 Atkinson 1916; Green 1976, 194; Lewis 1966, 77, 97.

LULLINGSTONE, Kent
1 TQ 5365.
2 T 63.
3 A circular Romano-Celtic temple, 5.5 m diameter. Oriented east, roughly tesselated floor. Stone foundations. Rectangular space in west wall opposite door.
4 Located to north of villa complex. No other buildings.
5 Villa complex.
6 None.
7 First - second century AD.
8 Meates 1958, lxiii; Meates 1959, 132-133; Wilson 1961, 189-190; Green 1976, 227; Lewis 1966, 167.

LYDNEY PARK, Glos
1 SO 6203.
2 T 64.
3 Large rectangular Romano-Celtic temple. Cella 15.3 m x 8.6 m. Ambulatory 24.6 m x 18.4 m. Oriented NW-SE, entrance to SE. Stone construction, on an artificial podium. NW wall of cella divided into three "chapels". Mosaic floor of fish and sea monster. Funeral-like ceramic structure in floor of cella, interpreted as a place to deposit votives.
4 Inside a ditch and bank enclosure of Iron Age date. A water tank to north. Associated bath complex. Associated "Abaton" or long residential building for priests and supplicants. Another guest house, in courtyard style.
5 Rural temple complex.
6 Nine statuettes of dogs of bronze and stone, bronze relief of a sea deity, fragment of a bronze "fisherman" with tritons, oculist's stamps, votive limbs, stone statuette of Mother Goddess with cornucopiae, bronze figurine of Venus, head plaque of either Bacchante or Apollo, votive chainmail, 300 bronze bracelets, 320 pins, 40 bronze spoons, nearly 5000 coins, four inscriptions to Nodons.
7 Late third - mid-fifth century AD.
8 Wheeler 1932; Green 1976, 169-170; Lewis 1966, 200, 190.

MAIDEN CASTLE, Dorset

1 SY 6688.
2 T 65 (cf S 14 in appendix V).
3 A circular (oval) Romano-Celtic temple. Diameter 7 m. Drystone walls, stone floor. Entrance faces down path (to east) to main east gate. A carefully made pit-hearth in front of door.
4 Located 7 m south of T 66 below. Inside Iron Age hillfort, stone ornamental gate inserted in Iron Age gateway when temple built, so hillfort may serve as a temenos. Other buildings present. Four E-W oriented burials inside hillfort west rampart of fourth century.
5 Rural temple complex.
6 171 coins, two bronze fragments of Mars figurines, base of a statue of Diana, with dogs.
7 Probably mid-fourth century AD.

2 T 66.
3 A square Romano-Celtic temple. Cella 3 m x 3 m. Ambulatory 6 m x 6 m (paved floor). Oriented WNW-ESE, entrance to ESE. Stone construction. Cella plastered.
4 Located 7 m north of T 65. Buildings adjacent interpreted as priests' quarters, rectangular, two roomed, 2.8 m x 4 m, entrance at north end. Paved approach path, with two post sockets near SE corner of temple.
5 Rural temple complex.
6 Model hammer, three horned bull figurines, a nude female figurine, a feathered plaque of Minerva, coins.
7 Mid-fourth - late fifth century AD.
8 Wheeler 1943, 72-78, 131; Green 1976, 200; Lewis 1966, 168.

MUNTHAM COURT, Sussex

1 TQ 109095.
2 T 67 (cf S 15 in appendix V).
3 A circular Romano-Celtic temple, 11 m diameter. No ambulatory. Defined by postholes for upright timbers. No orientation noted.
4 In a palisaded (temenos?) enclosure. Other buildings present, especially rectangular posthole structures, interpreted as granaries of Iron Age, but could be buildings.
5 Probably rural.
6 Three shallow pits in floor, each with the skull of an ox resting on the jumbled bones of the post-cranial skeleton. Also a bronze boar plaque, a bronze pommel, bronze horse bridle cheek piece, an enamel fish brooch, and a votive clay human leg. Also a fourth century well with many dog skeletons in fill.
7 Third - fourth century AD.
8 Holleyman & Burstow, 1955, 204-205; Burstow & Holleyman 1956, 196-198; 1957, 222-223; Holleyman 1961, 20.

MUTLOW HILL, Cambs

1 TL 6063 (approximately).
2 T 68.
3 A circular Romano-Celtic temple, 10.7 m diameter. Foundations of chalk blocks, probably a timber superstructure. No orientation.

4 Built next to a Late Neolithic tumulus, with several Bronze Age urned cremations. No other Roman structure known.
5 Rural.
6 One human skeleton with a bronze ring - provenance uncertain. One stylus, three fibulae, two bronze amulets, 79 coins.
7 Third - fourth century AD.
8 Neville 1852, 229-230.

NETTLETON SCRUBB, Wilts
1 ST 822769.
2 T 69.
3 A rectangular Romano-Celtic temple, 19.5 m x 7.3 m overall. Cella or inner room 5.5 m x 7.3 m. Oriented NE-SW, entrance in SE corner. Terraced into hillside. Floor paved, a drain leads out from the rock face, possibly a sacred spring.
4 On a hillside near a stream overlooking a Romano-Celtic small town or village, and opposite T 70 below. Three associated buildings nearby.
5 Town or village.
6 Relief of Diana, relief of a wheeled cross, a miniature bronze axe, two fragmentary reliefs of Mercury and Rosmerta, coins.
7 Probably late second - late fourth century AD.

2 T 70.
3 An unusual octagonal Romano-Celtic temple, with three concentric octagons and a cella interpreted as "open". Outer ambulatory 20 m diameter, cella diameter approximately 6.7 m. Entrance to east. Oriented NS-EW. Aedicula built into ambulatory wall. Internal division into seven cells around cella, of uncertain purpose.
4 In a Romano-Celtic settlement. Probably built over and replacing an earlier, simple circular temple about AD 250. No details on earlier structure. An associated structure is designated xviii, two roomed rectangular of stone construction, about 2 m north, built along the artificial channel of the river (18.5 m x 7 m overall).
5 Settlement.
6 Altar to Apollo Cunomaglus, three miniature altars. An altar to Silvanus and the Numen of the Emperor from the associated building xviii. Bronze plaques of Apollo probably from this temple.
7 Mid-third - late fourth century AD.

8 Lewis 1966, 10, 186; Green 1976, 189-190; Wedlake 1982.

NORNOUR, Isles of Scilly
1 SU 944148.
2 T 71.
3 A circular Romano-Celtic temple without ambulatory. Structure 12 m diameter, with massive drystone walls. Entrance to east.
4 Associated buildings. Evidence of local manufacture of jewelry and pipe-clay figurines. No temenos.
5 Probably rural.
6 At least six pipe clay Venus figurines, seven Deae Nutrices of pipe-clay, several miniature votive pots, 20-30 rings, glass beads, and over 250 wheel-brooches, over 200 coins.
7 Probably late first - late fourth century AD.
8 Dudley 1967, 1-64; Green 1976, 198.

ORTON LONGUEVILLE, Huntingdon

1 TL 149977.
2 T 72.
3 A square Romano-Celtic temple. Cella 4 m square, ambulatory approximately 9 m square. Stone foundations, timber superstructure. Orientation uncertain, probably to east.
4 Inside a temenos, associated with an agricultural "estate" or settlement. No directly associated buildings known.
5 Estate or settlement.
6 None.
7 Third - fourth century AD.
8 Wilson 1974, 433.

PAGAN'S HILL, Somerset

1 ST 557626.
2 T 73.
3 An octagonal Romano-Celtic temple. Cella 8 m diameter, ambulatory 18 m. Stone construction. Oriented NS-EW, entrance to east. Cella raised above ambulatory about 30 cm. Ambulatory paved with irregular flagstones, exterior of ambulatory regularly buttressed. Cella interpreted as an open portico type; unlikely. A three sided open foundation in centre of cella, facing entrance, possibly as backing for a statue. Area between door of cella and the ambulatory entrance partially enclosed as a vestibule.
4 Enclosed in a courtyard formed by buildings to east and north. Eastern range of two long rooms with front verandahs(?) separated by a central entrance aligned on temple. North range of at least ten rooms, joined to east range slightly later but apparently part of original design. No buildings or temenos to south or west. To west of temple a well (cf RS 83 in appendix II). Path leads from temenos entrance to temple, roughly paved, with coins trampled into makeup. Traces of Iron Age occupation beneath temple, and temenos ranges overlie an Iron Age ditch.
5 Rural temple complex, on hill slope overlooking River Chew.
6 At least 200 coins, about twelve complete pots from the wall, a fragment of a perforated bronze sheet, a ring, brooches.
7 Mid-late third - fifth century AD.
8 Rahtz 1951, 112-142; Rahtz & Harris 1958, 15-51; Green 1976, 184; Rodwell 1980, 227, Fig 10.5; Lewis 1966, 197, 170.

PULBOROUGH, Sussex

1 TQ 0518.
2 T 74.
3 A small square Romano-Celtic temple, 8 m square. Ambulatory possibly not recognised. Stone foundations, probably timber superstructure. Orientation unknown.
4 No associated structures known.
5 Rural.
6 Coins, bracelets.
7 First - third century AD.
8 Green 1976, 219; Lewis 1966, 86.

RAINSBOROUGH, Northants

1 SP 526348.
2 T 75.
3 A small square probably Romano-Celtic temple, 3 m square. Stone foundations. NS-EW orientation.
4 Built over the filled-in inner ditch and causeway of entrance of Iron Age hillfort. No other associated structures.
5 Rural?
6 Coins.
7 Third - fourth century AD.
8 Avery, Sutton & Banks 1967, 211.

RAPSLEY, Surrey

1 TQ 0841.
2 T 76.
3 An unusual semi-circular structure interpreted as a shrine or temple. A solid masonry semicircle 2.7 m x 2.6 m, possibly a large basin, as associated with a drain and pipes. Surrounding this a semicircle defined by postholes, 9.5 m x 4.6 m. Oriented N-S. Porch to E at base of semicircle. Tesselated floor.
4 In a villa complex, but no associated structures.
5 Villa.
6 None.
7 Early second - early third century AD.
8 Hanworth 1969 , 17.

RICHBOROUGH, Kent

1 TR 323598.
2 T 77.
3 An unusual Romano-Celtic temple with cella 5.8 m square but a rectangular ambulatory 12.3 m x 12 m. Oriented NW-SE, entrance to SE. Construction of chalk block foundations, possibly timber superstructure. Built on a raised podium.
4 One of a pair of temples, see T 78 below. No temenos.
5 350 m south of Roman fort.
6 Coins, a bronze spatula or spoon.
7 Late third - fifth century AD.

2 T 78.
3 Rectangular Romano-Celtic temple. Cella 7 m x 6.7 m, ambulatory 14.1 m x 13.2 m. Construction of chalk block foundation. Orientation NW-SE, entrance to SE.
4 One of a pair of temples with T 77 above.
5 350 m south of Roman fort.
6 Coins, Samian ware.
7 Late third - fifth century AD.

8 Bushe-Fox 1926, 7, 34; Lewis 1966, 3, 13, 51, 168.

SAPPERTON, Glos

1 SO 9503.
2 T 79.
3 A rectangular Romano-Celtic temple.
4 Inside a sharply quadrangular temenos of three banks and two ditches. Outside temenos are three other rectangular and square buildings. Known from aerial photographs and stray finds; unexcavated.

5 Rural complex.
6 Stray finds of numerous coins and Romano-Celtic sherds.
7 Undated.
8 RCHM Gloucestershire I, 1976, 99.

SILCHESTER, Hants

1 SU 6462.
2 T 80 (Temple in Insula XXX in Boon).
3 A square Romano-Celtic temple. Cella 11 m x 11 m, ambulatory 22 m x 22 m, built on a podium. Oriented NS-EW, entrance to east.
4 One of a pair of temples (see T 81 below) in a walled temenos inside east city gate. An associated building interpreted as priests' quarters, also an apsidal building.
5 Civitas capital, Calleva Atrebatum.
6 Twelve miniature bronze axes, probable dedication to Hercules Saegon and a bronze figurine of Hercules. Other finds from area listed below, see T 83.
7 Mid-first - early fifth century AD.

2 T 81 (in Insula XXX in Boon).
3 A square Romano-Celtic temple. Cella 5.5 m x 5.5 m, ambulatory 12.25 m square, built on a low podium to south of T 80 above.
4 Second of a pair of temples in temenos inside east city gate. Associated priests' quarters as above.
5 As above.
6 As above, also two terracotta miniature lamps.
7 Mid-first - early fifth century AD.

2 T 82 (in Insula XXV in Boon).
3 A rectangular Romano-Celtic temple. Cella 4.3 m x 3.7 m, ambulatory 11.1 m x 10.7 m. Oriented NS-EW entrance to east, tesselated floor.
4 In insula of city, approximately 100 m south of Forum. Associated buildings nature uncertain north temenos.
5 As above.
6 See below, T 83, at least three pieces of two stone statues, at least one of Mars, the other either Peace or Victory.
7 Mid-first - mid-third century AD.

2 T 83 (Temple in Insula VII in Boon).
3 An unusual Romano-Celtic temple, with circular cella 10.8 m in diameter within a sixteen-sided ambulatory of 20 m diameter. Stone foundations for wooden superstructure. Tesselated flooring.
4 Inside a rectangular temenos south of Forum in city. Associated building in temenos, of uncertain type.
5 As above.
6 Finds from city, unascribed to any particular temple: uninscribed altars, bronze and gold leaves/feathers, bronze bust of Minerva, bronze Venus Anadyonene, bronze Venus, bronze horse, bronze busts of Mercury and Bacchus, bronze statuette of Venus, three pipe-clay Venuses, bronze cock, bronze eagle.
7 Late first - mid-third century AD.

2 T 113 (in Insula XXXVI in Boon).
3 A square Romano-Celtic temple, about 6 m overall and lacking an ambulatory. Oriented NS-EW. Of stone construction.
4 Inside a rectangular temenos (30 m x 35 m) in Insula XXXVI. Two associated pits.
5 As above.
6 Two miniature votive pots, five complete and broken pins and a glass setting from a ring or brooch.
7 Undated.

8 Boon 1974, 152-172; Lewis 1966, 168, 203-204; Green 1976, 195-196.

SLONK HILL, Sussex
1 TQ 226065.
2 T 84.
3 A possible Romano-Celtic temple, a square structure 12 m on a side oriented accurately NS-EW. Entrance to east. Postholes for upright timber framing.
4 Inside a ditched temenos, with an east entrance.
5 Rural.
6 None, possibly lamb and pig limbs in a pit.
7 First - early second century AD.
8 Hartridge 1978, 69-141; Rodwell 1980, 216-218, Fig 10.3.

SPRINGHEAD, Kent
1 TQ 618725.
2 T 85 (Temple 1 in Penn 1958).
3 A square Romano-Celtic temple, built on a podium. Cella 4 m x 4 m, ambulatory 8 m x 8 m. NS-EW. Stone construction. An integral annexe room, 2 m square, in centre of west wall with entrance from ambulatory. Two annexe rooms added to front to flank on north and south the east-facing entrance, 3 m square each. Centre of the west wall of cella has a masonry foundation built in it.
4 In an extensive complex of at least eight temples and many other associated structures, within a temenos precinct.
5 Temple complex in a small town.
6 A pseudo-Venus, a bronze thumb, a miniature bronze axe, a bronze plaque or defixio, brooches, coins, tweezers, pins, bracelets, Jupiter Column?
7 Late first - third century AD.

2 T 86 (Temple II in Penn 1962).
3 A square Romano-Celtic temple of unusual design built on an artificial podium. Cella 5.5 m x 5.5 m, ambulatory 11.4 m x 11.4 m. Stone construction. Cella built of eight pillars, probably colonnaded. Ambulatory solid walls and all of stone. Oriented NS-EW, entrance to east. Stone bench along inner wall of ambulatory. Altar base in middle of west "wall" of cella. Two annexe rooms flank east entrance steps, 3 m square.
4 As above. About 2 m south of T 85, above, linked by a wall. Tiled altar base in front of temple.
5 As above.
6 Coins, brooches, votive pots, face-urns, two defixios.
7 Second - third century AD.

2 T 87 (Temple III in Penn 1960).
3 A rectangular structure, possibly a temple or a sacral pool, 8.9 m x 5.8 m. Oriented E-W. Extremely thick stone walls with clay and opus signinum facing.
4 About 2 m north of Temple 85 above.
5 As above.
6 Full of potsherds, but no other rubbish in fill.
7 Mid-second - late third century AD.

2 T 88 (Temple IV in Penn 1960).
3 A rectangular Romano-Celtic temple of two rooms. Oriented NE-SW, entrance probably to SW. Stone construction. Inner room 2.1 m x 1.5 m. Outer room (or porch, entry vestibule?) 2.1 m x 2.1 m. Outer room has a masonry altar base in middle of the NE wall, and a hearth in NE corner.
4 About 10 m NE of T 85 above.
5 As above.
6 Four infant foundation burials, two were decapitated. Bronze necklace, fertility pendant, a silver leaf, two bracelets fragments, a decapitated bird foundation burial.
7 Date uncertain.

2 T 89 (Temple V in Penn 1962).
3 A rectangular Romano-Celtic temple of one room, 4.6 m x 3.0 m. Stone construction. Oriented NS-EW, entrance to east. Probably either a porch or antechamber to east.
4 About 2 m south of T 86 (above) with a front wall aligned on the frontage of T 86.
5 As above.
6 Three coin hoards, each in separate jumbled piles, pins, brooches, bracelets (possibly associated with children and fertility?) and three face-urns.
7 Probably third - fourth century AD.

2 T 90 (Temple VI/Gateway in Penn 1967).
3 A square bulding, possibly either a temple or an exceptionally monumental gateway structure into temenos enclosure, 6.75 m square, of stone construction. No cella, in centre of floor a tiled base for a statue. A votive pit (see finds below). Oriented NS-EW, two entrances east and west.
4 Built aligned with east wall of temenos, with east wall also fronting onto the "East Temenos Road" from which there is a possible entrance, aligned on the entrance in the west wall.
5 As above.
6 In votive pit, a bird burial, a bronze ring, an iron ring, 21 coins and part of an incense cup.
7 Date uncertain.

2 T 91 (B 20 in Fig 12.1, Harker 1980).
3 A square Romano-Celtic temple. Stone construction. Cella 4 m square, ambulatory 8 m square. Oriented NS-EW, entrance to east.
4 Located "behind" and to the west of T 85 and T 87 in NW corner of temenos precinct. Front of T 91 is aligned with back walls of T 85 and T 86.

5 As above.
6 None.
7 Uncertain, probably second - fourth century AD.
8 Penn 1959, 1960, 1961, 1963, 1965, 1968, 1969; Harker 1980, 285-288; Green 1970, 228; Lewis 1966, 169, 204.

STROUD, Hants
1 SU 7223.
2 T 93.
3 A possible Romano-Celtic temple represented by an octagonal building, 8.3 m in diameter and oriented NS-EW. Construction is of stone, with foundations nearly 1 m thick. A pit was found in the SE corner, but may not be a primary feature.
4 Located in SE corner of a villa complex between the main wing of villa and a second wing (at right angle to first) of granary and sheds. Interpreted as either a shrine or a garden pavilion.
5 Villa complex.
6 None.
7 Uncertain.
8 Williams 1909, 33; Rodwell 1980, 219; Lewis 1966, 86, 50-52.

SOUTHWARK, Surrey
1 TQ 327803.
2 T 94.
3 A probable Romano-Celtic temple is represented by a few construction features, building rubble and finds in the Cathedral Crypt Site. Remains too scanty for size, shape, orientation etc.
4 Unknown.
5 Civitas.
6 In wells or pits: one statue of a hunter god with hounds and stag, one limestone altar.
7 Uncertain.
8 Hammerson 1978, 206-212; Goodburn 1978, 453.

THISTLETON, Rutland
1 SK 910171.
2 T 95 (cf S 21 in appendix V).
3 A circular Romano-Celtic temple, 12.6 m in diameter. Oriented E-W, entrance to east. Originally of timber construction with limestone slab floor, probably Iron Age, later rebuilt with walls of limestone. Second phase an altar base of cement set in floor. Later a tesselated floor.
4 Traces of a rectangular building closely associated, no trace of a domestic occupation but no other information.
5 Probably rural.
6 Coins, a silver plaque dedicated to Veteris, and silver feather, both from small pits near temple.
7 First - early fourth century AD.
8 St Joseph 1958, 98, pl xv.2; Wilson 1961, 175; 1962, 171-173; Greenfield 1964, 238; Wilson 1965, 207; Lewis 1966, 84, 190, 90-95.

THORPE, Notts
1 SK 760504.
2 T 96.
3 A circular Romano-Celtic temple. No published details.
4 In a temenos, in small Roman town beside River Trent.
5 Small town.
6 None.
7 Undated.
8 Wilson 1975, 12; Rodwell & Rowley 1975.

TITSEY, Surrey
1 TQ 4054.
2 T 97.
3 A rectangular Romano-Celtic temple. Cella 6.4 m x 6.1 m. Ambulatory walls not found, due to unusual disturbance around cella. Oriented NW-SE, entrance to SE. Foundation trenches more than 1 m deep, walls 1 m of stone construction. Cella "front" corners (NE and SE) buttressed, or possible statue bases?
4 Inside a rectangular temenos which faces onto a Roman road, road only 5 m from front wall of cella. A villa is more than half a mile away, any association problematical. No other buildings.
5 Rural?
6 Coins, a bronze lozenge shaped sheet, a strip of lead.
7 Late first - third century AD.
8 Graham 1936, 84-101; Green 1976, 226; Lewis 1966, 169, 201.

ULEY, (West Hill), Glos
1 ST 7898.
2 T 98 (cf S 22 and S 23 in appendix V).
3 A rectangular Romano-Celtic temple. Cella 9 m x 8 m, ambulatory 14 m x 12 m. Oriented NW-SE, entrance to NE. Stone foundations, possibly wooden superstructure. Ambulatory only on three sides (NW, SW, SE), with a secondary porch added in front of cella over entrance to NE. Centre of cella a large pit, possibly for a lead-lined water tank, with many coins. Built over a probable Iron Age shrine, and probably preceded by at least one earlier Roman temple to SE of this temple.
4 Associated with at least two other rectangular structures, both of which could serve as priest/guest accommodation and a "temple shop". Several earlier, similar buildings probably demolished before temple built, and associated therefore with a predecessor. Possibly succeeded on same site by a Christian church.
5 Rural complex.
6 Large quantities of coins, bracelets, pins, brooches, spoons, bronze leaves/feathers, defixios, miniature axes and spears, figurines of Sol, Jupiter, Winged Victory, two altars to Mercury, one Mercury figurine, fragments of an over life-size stone statue Mercury. Bones of ovi-caprids (93% of total) and of cocks support ascription of temple to Mercury.
7 Early mid-fourth - late fourth century AD for this temple. The putative temple of second - third century date remains unidentified but is likely in view of the associated structures and finds.
8 Ellison 1980, 305-328.

UPTON ST LEONARD, Glos

1 SO 859151.
2 T 99.
3 An octagonal Romano-Celtic temple, without ambulatory, of 10 m diameter. Defined by beam-slot foundation gullies, therefore probably of wooden construction. Oriented to east, approached by a metalled path.
4 Inside a ditched enclosure of three sides, open to fourth. Several probably associated rectangular structures.
5 Rural. Beside Portway Roman Road.
6 A defaced sculpted stone head, coins.
7 Undated.
8 Rawes 1978, 11-13.

VERULAMIUM, St Albans, Herts

1 TL 1307.
2 T 300.
3 A square Romano-Celtic temple. Cella 7 m square, ambulatory 16 m square. Stone construction. Oriented NW-SE, entrance to NE.
4 Inside a temenos, behind theatre. Two associated rectangular buildings attached to outside NW and SE walls of ambulatory.
5 Civitas.
6 Coins, fragments of defixios.
7 Late first - fifth century AD.

2 T 101.
3 A unique triangular Romano-Celtic temple. Approximately 30 m x 26 m overall. Oriented SW-NE. No cella in usual sense. An outer wall encloses a colonnaded courtyard with entry from street at narrow end to SE. Beyond this to NW, at broad end of triangle are three rooms, one in each of the back corners and one in the centre, aligned on the entry, with a water tank in floor, this one measures 5.2 m square.
4 The outer wall may form an enclosure, and there appears to be a concentric fence outside this. The two ancillary rooms in the corners also have tanks in floor.
5 Civitas.
6 Ox sacrifices in south corridors of courtyard. Lamp chimney, glass Medusa medallion, small bronze snakes, 15 miniature pots, a votive ox skull.
7 Approximately first - fifth centuries AD.

8 Frere 1972; Lewis 1966, 95-96, 191, Figs 96, 97; Wilson 1975, 24-25; Green 1976, 206-207.

WALTON ON HILL, Surrey

1 TQ 2255.
2 T 102.
3 A circular/polygonal Romano-Celtic temple, 9.8 m diameter, circular outside but polygonal inside. Deep stone foundations. Window glass. No information on orientation. No ambulatory.
4 Located to south of main villa complex, no associated features.
5 Villa.
6 None.
7 Late second century - ?
8 Lowther 1940, 181, pl XVIII; Lewis 1966, 86.

WEST COKER, Somerset

1 ST 5113.
2 T 103.
3 A Romano-Celtic temple of uncertain size or shape. Originally identified as a villa, the finds leave little doubt that it was actually a temple (cf Leech 1980, 329).
4 Associated structures of unknown type.
5 Perhaps in a villa, or perhaps more likely in a temple complex similar to Uley?
6 A stone lined cist with sheep bones, a bronze statuette of Mars, bracelets, coins, a bronze plaque or defixio to Mars Rigisamus.
7 Uncertain.
8 Moore 1862, 392-395; 1863, 321; Haverfield 1906, 331; Leech 1980, 329; Green 1976, 184; Lewis 1966, 127, 141.

WEYCOCK HILL, Berks

1 SU 821778.
2 T 104.
3 An octagonal Romano-Celtic temple, cella 10.7 m diameter, ambulatory 19.3 m diameter. Massive stone foundations over 2 m deep and 1 m wide. Oriented NS-EW, entrance probably to east.
4 Temenos walls visible on aerial photos. An associated inhumation cemetery of E-W oriented burials. Several walls, one of which contained a complete(?) horse, and to south of temple probable ancillary structures.
5 Probably rural.
6 Bronze head of a female deity, many coins.
7 Probably mid- fourth century - ?
8 Neville 1849, 114-123; Cotton 1957, 48-68; 1961, 30; Lewis 1966, 171.

WINCHESTER, Hants

1 SU 4829.
2 T 105.
3 A rectangular Romano-Celtic temple on Lower Brook Street Site. Cella 7 m x 6 m, ambulatory 13.2 m x 11.7 m. Oriented WNW-ESE, with entrance to ESE. Front of cella with two corner pilasters, front of ambulatory with four pilasters, flanking entrance. Probably stone construction.
4 Associated well, and a second structure to south, defined by beam slots, 9 m x 5 m, with a room and a projecting east facing porch (cf Shrine 20 at South Cadbury in appendix V).
5 Civitas.
6 Inscription to Matres of Germany, Italy, Gaul and Britain. Wooden female deity from well, probably Epona?, also two bronze statues.
7 Late first century - circa 300 AD.
8 Biddle 1975, 295-337, Fig 10.

WINTERTON, Lincs

1 SE 910181.
2 T 106.
3 A circular Romano-Celtic temple 17.5 m in diameter. Stone construction, entrance probably to east. Overlies both an earlier and smaller circular building. Four rectangular pillar bases set 5 m apart in a square, centrally within the temple.

4 Built over a sunken water tank in villa complex.
5 Villa complex.
6 Bronze eagle.
7 Early second - late second century AD.
8 Stead 1976, 51, Fig 26; Green 1976, 162.

WOODEATON, Oxon
1 SP 533123.
2 T 107 (cf S 24 in appendix V)?
3 A rectangular Romano-Celtic temple. Cella 5.8 m x 5 m, ambulatory 11.8 m x 11 m (earliest phase may not have had an ambulatory). Stone foundations, probably wooden superstructure. Oriented NS-EW, entrance to east.
4 Inside a walled temenos, parts of which were destroyed in 19th century agricultural works. No known associated buildings, but quantity of domestic debris ploughed out in this field and adjacent fields makes either a temple, associated group or small settlement likely. Temple is placed eccentrically within temenos. Probable Iron Age antecedents for temple and temenos. Massive quantity of finds has led to speculation about use of site for periodic fairs or markets.
5 Either a rural group or associated with a settlement.
6 Finds concentrate in the open area of temenos, not in temple. Bronze model anchor, votive chain mail, figures of sheet bronze crown, bronze Venus, bronze kilted Celtic goddess, bronze letters M, N, A, T, V, E, bronze plaque of Mars, five bronze eagles, two sceptre heads in form of a helmeted busts of Minerva, bronze plaques of Cupid, plaque of a nude man with club and cloak, fragmentary stone relief of Mars, bracelets, rings, coins.
7 Mid-first - fifth century AD.
8 Goodchild & Kirk 1955, 19-38; Harding 1972, 64-65; Green 1976, 177-178; Lewis 1966, 170, 201.

WORTH, Kent
1 TR 335558.
2 T 108 (cf S 25 in appendix V)?
3 A rectangular Romano-Celtic temple. Cella 5.69 m x 5.79 m, ambulatory 15.82 m x 16.17 m. Oriented NW-SE, probably entry to SE. Foundation and walls of unmortared chalk blocks. Fragmentary pebbled floor in east corner of cella, and a loose flint structure in the north corner? Probable Iron Age predecessor, represented by four postholes.
4 No temenos or associated structures known.
5 Rural.
6 Coins, a complete pot, brooches, two fragments of a stone statue include a hand holding a spear and a hand resting on a shield.
7 Mid-first - late fourth century AD.
8 Klein 1928, 76-86; Hawkes 1940, 115-121; Green 1976, 231-232; Lewis 1966, 170.

WROXETER, Salop

1 SJ 5608.

2 T 109.

3 A rectangular temple, largely classical but with some Romano-Celtic features. Cella 9.5 m x 7.7 m on podium raised above floor of ambulatory/court. Ambulatory 30.15 m x 15.3 m. Oriented NS-EW, entrance to east. Cella set halfway back in "ambulatory" leaving a colonnaded "court" in front. Pedestals for statues at angles of cella.

4 Associated shops and a rectangular enclosure, like theatre at Verulamium.

5 Fronts on Watling St, just south of Forum, civitas capital.

6 Head and leg (life size) of stone goddess, horse's head in stone, relief of phallus with quadriga, relief of two nude standing figures and altars. Deposits of pots with ox and sheep bones under southeast corner of ambulatory.

7 Mid-late second - late third century AD.

2 T 110.

3 A rectangular Romano-Celtic temple. Unexcavated, located on aerial photos.

4 Associated one-room rectangular building.

5 North of Forum, Civitas capital.

6 None - but cf Green 1976 for list of ritual finds from city area.

7 Undated.

8 Lewis 1966, 3, 36, 184, 69-71, 96; Wacher 1974, Fig 81, pl 72; Green 1976, 162-164.

WYCOMB, Glos

1 SP 0220.

2 T 111.

3 A square rectangular Romano-Celtic temple of two rooms (no ambulatory). 12.6 m x 6.4 m overall, oriented N-S. Entrance to east, into the south and larger room. The northern room is 2 m x 1 m. Centre of floor of south room a massive sculpted stone now defaced. Stone foundations.

4 Underlied T 112 below. Extensive associated foundations in this and adjacent fields, a temenos enclosure and probably a theatre.

5 Rural temple complex?

6 Over 500 coins; fibulae, keys, tweezers, styli, possibly bronze statuette of a warrior god, possibly Mars (this may come from T 112 below).

7 First - probably early third century AD.

2 T 112.

3 A square Romano-Celtic temple. Cella was probably present but unrecognised as such. Ambulatory 13.5 m square. Oriented NS-EW, entrance to east. Stone foundations. Ambulatory paved with flat slabs.

4 Overlies T 111 above; inside temenos with other associated buildings and a probable theatre.

5 Rural temple complex.

6 Coins, miniature bronze axe, two Genii Cucullati reliefs, one with two figures on either side of a hooded god carrying a round object. Second relief, a figure also holding a round object stands beside the Genius, a third figure is broken off.

7 Third - fifth century AD.

8 Lawrence 1864, 302-306, 422-426;
Lewis 1966, 109, 170, 187, 194, Fig 32; Green 1976, 175.

INDEX

T 1 Bancroft, Bucks
T 2 Bath, Avon
T 3 Bourton Bridge, Glos
T 4 Bourton Grounds, Bucks
T 5 Bow Hill, Sussex
T 6 Boxted, Kent
T 7 Bozeat, Northants
T 8 Bream Down, Somerset
T 9 Brigstock, Northants
T 10 Brigstock, Northants
T 11 Bury Hill, Glos
T 12 Cadbury Congresbury, Somerset
T 13 Caerwent, Gwent
T 14 Caerwent, Gwent
T 15 Caistor-by-Norwich, Norfolk
T 16 Caistor-by-Norwich, Norfolk
T 17 Caistor-by-Norwich, Norfolk
T 18 Camerton, Somerset
T 19 Cannington, Somerset
T 20 Castor, Cambs
T 21 Chanctonbury, Sussex
T 22 Chedworth, Glos
T 23 Chelmsford, Essex
T 24 Colchester, Essex
T 25 Colchester, Essex
T 26 Colchester, Essex
T 27 Colchester, Essex
T 28 Colchester, Essex
T 29 Colchester, Essex
T 30 Colchester, Essex
T 31 Colchester, Essex
T 32 Colchester, Essex
T 33 Colchester, Essex
T 34 Cold Kitchen Hill, Wilts
T 35 Coleshill, Warks

T 36 Collyweston, Northants
T 37 Collyweston, Northants
T 38 Collyweston, Northants
T 39 Collyweston, Northants
T 40 Croft Ambrey, Here
T 41 Crownthorpe, Norfolk
T 42 Farley Heath, Surrey
T 43 Frilford, Oxon
T 44 Frilford, Oxon
T 45 Godmanchester, Huntingdon
T 46 Godmanchester, Huntingdon
T 47 Godmanchester, Huntingdon
T 48 Great Chesterford, Essex
T 49 Great Dunmow, Essex
T 50 Greenwich Park, Kent
T 51 Harlow, Essex
T 52 Hayling Island, Hants
T 53 Henley Wood, Somerset
T 54 Hockwold, Norfolk
T 55 Irchester, Northants
T 56 Jordan Hill, Dorset
T 57 Kelvedon, Essex
T 58 Kenchester, Here
T 59 Kenchester, Here
T 60 Lamyatt Beacon, Somerset
T 61 Lancing Ring, Sussex
T 62 Lowbury Hill, Berks
T 63 Lullington, Kent
T 64 Lydney Park, Glos
T 65 Maiden Castle, Dorset
T 66 Maiden Castle, Dorset
T 67 Muntham Court, Sussex
T 68 Mutlow Hill, Cambs
T 69 Nettleton Scrubb, Wilts
T 70 Nettleton Scrubb, Wilts
T 71 Nornour, Scilly
T 72 Orton Longueville, Huntingdon
T 73 Pagan's Hill, Somerset
T 74 Pulborough, Sussex
T 75 Rainsborough, Northants

T 76 Rapsley, Surrey
T 77 Richborough, Kent
T 78 Richborough, Kent
T 79 Sapperton, Glos
T 80 Silchester, Hants
T 81 Silchester, Hants
T 82 Silchester, Hants
T 83 Silchester, Hants
T 84 Slonk Hill, Sussex
T 85 Springhead, Kent
T 86 Springhead, Kent
T 87 Springhead, Kent
T 88 Springhead, Kent
T 89 Springhead, Kent
T 90 Springhead, Kent
T 91 Springhead, Kent
T 92 Colchester, Essex
T 93 Stroud, Hants
T 94 Southwark, Surrey
T 95 Thistleton, Rutland
T 96 Thorpe, Notts
T 97 Titsey, Surrey
T 98 Uley, Glos
T 99 Upton St Leonard, Glos
T 100 Verulamium, Herts
T 101 Verulamium, Herts
T 102 Walton on Hill, Surrey
T 103 West Coker, Somerset
T 104 Weycock Hill, Berks
T 105 Winchester, Hants
T 106 Winterton, Lincs
T 107 Woodeaton, Oxon
T 108 Worth, Kent
T 109 Wroxeter, Salop
T 110 Wroxeter, Salop
T 111 Wycomb, Glos
T 112 Wycomb, Glos
T 113 Silchester, Hants
T 114 Claydon Pike, Glos

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ABBREVIATIONS

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C.B.A. London = Council for British Archaeology

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